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Chairman: Mr. Francisco URRUTIA (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 67

**International co-operation in developing the peaceful
uses of atomic energy: report of the United
States of America (A/2734, A/2738, A/C.1/
758, A/C.1/L.105) (*continued*)**

1. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) said that his delegation had voted for the inclusion of the item under discussion in the agenda of the present session in the conviction that the consideration of that item would make the peoples of the world aware of the problems arising out of the development of nuclear energy.

2. On 8 December 1953, speaking in the General Assembly (470th meeting), President Eisenhower had outlined a programme for the peaceful use of atomic energy in the framework of an international agency. On 5 November, in the First Committee (707th meeting), the United States representative had made a specific offer to share the benefits of atomic science with other peoples. The United States had been joined by other countries which could claim the gratitude of the nations that would benefit directly or indirectly from the peaceful use of the new energy. One after the other, speakers had depicted an epoch when human suffering might be alleviated, and those responsible for raising the standard of living of peoples might be justly proud.

3. Paraguay did not have the resources of some other countries, and it gratefully welcomed the generous offer of the United States and other countries, which would enable it to hasten its economic development.

4. There was no doubt that the seven-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105) would give all peoples an opportunity to form closer ties and understand each other better, and would remove the spectre of a third world war. It would allay the fears haunting humanity, which was aware that an atomic war could end only in the complete destruction of civilization. The Paraguayan delegation would therefore vote for the joint draft resolution.

5. Referring to the generous offer made by the United States and the United Kingdom to give certain quantities of fissionable materials to the proposed international agency, Mr. Montero de Vargas said that it

deserved the gratitude of those who wished to establish peace on the basis of international co-operation.

6. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the peoples of the world were anxiously waiting to be freed of the fear of an atomic war. The Ukrainian people whole-heartedly supported the constant efforts of the Soviet Union to strengthen peace, to eliminate the danger of an atomic war and to ensure that atomic energy was used for the welfare of mankind.

7. The exchange of views in the First Committee had shown that in all countries, irrespective of their progress in nuclear science, there was a desire for international co-operation in the peaceful use of atomic energy.

8. Some Ukrainian scientists, in co-operation with the scientists of other Soviet Republics, had made a decisive contribution to the birth of the new era.

9. World public opinion was closely following the present discussion, and expected the United Nations to take constructive decisions designed to ensure that atomic energy was used only for peaceful purposes.

10. There was no doubt that the problems raised by the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes were closely linked with the question of prohibiting the use of atomic energy for military purposes. Mr. Palamarchuk drew attention, in that connexion, to the report submitted by the First Committee to the General Assembly (A/12) prior to the establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. In that report, it had been recalled that the United States representative had expressed the view that the proposed commission should inquire into all aspects of the problems presented by the discovery of atomic energy and of the other forces capable of use for mass destruction. The United States representative had stated further that the object of the commission was to study and recommend measures which would permit and promote the use of those forces for peaceful and humanitarian purposes, under security conditions which would protect the world against their use for destructive purposes. It had also been stated in that report that great emphasis had been placed, during the discussion, on the importance of giving the peoples of the world a solemn assurance that atomic energy would be used only for the peaceful development of the world economy and to further the welfare of mankind.

11. The resolution which the General Assembly had then adopted (resolution 1 (I)) provided, *inter alia*, that the Atomic Energy Commission should make proposals for the exchange of scientific information, for the establishment of controls to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and "for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction".

12. The principles laid down in that resolution were just as valid today as they had been in 1946. The history of the study of such problems in the United Nations showed that the question of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes had never been separated from the question of prohibiting the use of that energy for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

13. Moreover, the recently adopted resolution on disarmament (resolution 808 (IX)) suggested that the proposed international convention should provide for the total prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction of every type, together with the conversion of existing stocks of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes.

14. The Soviet Union had been trying since 1946 to secure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of adequate control. Once that decision had been taken, there could be no further obstacle to the use of atomic energy in the cause of progress alone. That was the basic idea underlying Soviet policy in the matter of atomic energy, but that did not imply that the Soviet Union underestimated the efforts made to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

15. As the representative of Peru had rightly said on 9 November (710th meeting), atomic energy must be taken out of the hands of the military and placed into the hands of civilians. That did not mean that an insignificant part, but that the whole mass of available fissionable materials should be taken away from the soldiers. But the proposals now submitted to the First Committee by the United States and six other Powers (A/C.1/L.105)—which, incidentally, differed considerably from those presented by President Eisenhower on 8 December 1953 (470th plenary meeting)—did not remove the danger that the bulk of fissionable materials would be used for the manufacture of weapons; in actual fact, they sanctioned such manufacture. Thus they would intensify the armaments race. It was impossible to agree to such a position. As a result of the desire of certain States to increase their stocks of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the armaments race and the threat of atomic warfare still existed. If it was remembered that the cold war policy still formed the basis of international relations, it would be appreciated that, in present circumstances, atomic weapons should be prohibited first of all. The peoples must be saved from the illusion that the danger of nuclear warfare would be less threatening if States agreed to devote some part of their atomic resources to peaceful purposes.

16. Although President Eisenhower had stated in December 1953 that the United States wanted agreements, not wars, among nations, and although the United States representative had said on 8 November 1954 (709th meeting) that the setting up of an international agency would be an experiment in the field of international co-operation which might enable progress to be made in disarmament, large sums had been devoted to the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs both in the United States and in other Western countries.

17. The Soviet Government had opened negotiations with the United States to discuss the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and the possibilities of reaching agreement on the matter were still far from exhausted. The

Chairman of the Soviet delegation had outlined on 12 November (715th meeting) some important principles on which international co-operation should be based, and the Ukrainian delegation completely agreed with them. The principle that international co-operation was required for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes inspired the Ukrainian delegation to make certain observations on the future activities of the international agency.

18. The agreements to be reached must not put one country or a group of countries in the privileged position demanded by the doctrine of world atomic domination which was frequently invoked in the United States. Moreover, the jurisdiction, terms of reference and activities of the international agency to be set up under the auspices of the United Nations must be in accordance with the principles of the Charter. From the statements made by the United States representative on 8, 12 and 15 November (709th, 715th and 717th meetings), it could be deduced that the United States did not deny the need to link such a body to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The statements had not, however, been clear enough, and in any event they had not been included in the seven-Power draft resolution. The Ukrainian delegation considered that, when matters concerning the maintenance of peace and security arose, the international atomic energy agency should bring them before the Security Council and be responsible to it, in accordance with the Charter.

19. In conclusion, Mr. Palamarchuk expressed the hope that the negotiations on setting up the agency would be successful and that the foundations for fruitful co-operation in the field of atomic energy would thus be laid.

20. Mr. FRANCO Y FRANCO (Dominican Republic) said that, although his country was physically small, it could not be indifferent to the problems of peace, international security and the welfare of mankind. It was true that the Dominican Republic had no definitely identified uranium deposits and that its industrial development was of very recent origin, but it had followed the discussion which had just taken place with interest and attention; that discussion would certainly be counted among the most important held by the United Nations since the signing of the Charter. Once again it had been proved that the unshakable will of the free peoples of the earth to take up and carry through the work of peace would overcome the obstacles laid in its path by the political and ideological expansionist designs known to all.

21. Until recently, problems of atomic energy had meant only war and its train of suffering and misery. It had therefore been a memorable day when President Eisenhower had submitted his generous proposal. Clearly, the work of salvation he had proposed could only be done in an atmosphere of confidence, understanding and good faith. As the representative of France, Mr Moch, had very rightly said (708th meeting), in the atomic field, more than in any other, the cause of international co-operation was a cause of peace.

22. The delegation of the Dominican Republic sincerely associated itself with other delegations in expressing gratitude to the authors of that generous initiative, and it would vote in favour of the seven-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105). It would support the draft in respect of both the international atomic energy agency and the international conference on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

23. The prospect of the peaceful use of atomic energy had aroused great hopes among the peoples of the under-developed countries. It was astonishing that unanimity on President Eisenhower's proposal had not been achieved earlier. It was inconceivable that the implementation of such a generous, wise and humanitarian initiative should be delayed. It was necessary, therefore, to proceed with the task even if the desired unanimity was not forthcoming. Moreover, it was desirable to ensure that the use of the veto did not make it possible to paralyse or distort the international agency's activities.

24. The Soviet delegation had thought there were some restrictions in the draft resolution before the Committee. If there were, they could easily be explained by the Soviet Union's indecision, vagueness and long silence before replying to President Eisenhower's proposals.

25. The Dominican Republic offered its heartfelt thanks to the United States and United Kingdom delegations for the generous offers they had made at previous meetings, and expressed its earnest hope that President Eisenhower's noble proposals would be given full and speedy effect.

26. Mr. DE LA GUARDIA (Panama) wished to associate himself, on behalf of his delegation, with those who had already paid a tribute to the President of the United States for the happy initiative he had taken, and to congratulate the authors of the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105) for giving shape to the plan.

27. Since the first experiment, in 1945, had revealed the explosive force of the atom, humanity had lived under the threat and fear of similar explosions, instead of gaining the feeling of security resulting from its mastery over nature. The tripartite declaration made by Mr. Truman, Mr. Attlee and Mr. MacKenzie King in 1945 showed that official circles in three great countries had already understood at that time that atomic energy ought to be subject to international control. It was for the same reason that the United Nations General Assembly had created the Atomic Energy Commission in January 1946 (resolution 1 (I)). But the work of the Commission had been fruitless. It was not until the President of the United States had made his statement of 8 December 1953 (470th plenary meeting) that the possibility of applying atomic energy in the service of life had emerged. That proposal had been followed by negotiations which in their turn had led to the present debate.

28. It was clear that, by using atomic energy for economic and social progress, men would not completely eliminate the danger which was latent in the atom. That question, however, had been considered elsewhere, in connexion with disarmament. To make the solution of the problem of the peaceful uses of atomic energy dependent upon a disarmament agreement would be tantamount to abandoning the conquest of peace through co-operation.

29. The seven-Power draft resolution might have been more detailed; but in such an important matter it was better to proceed step by step. Panama would support the draft, which, it believed, was adequate to the task facing the United Nations.

30. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that the USSR Government had repeatedly stated its opposition to the exploitation of

atomic energy for purposes of destruction and had put forward specific proposals for the use of atomic energy for exclusively peaceful ends.

31. In the USSR, the Government had already taken steps to apply atomic energy to agriculture and industry. On 27 June 1954, a turbine driven by atomic energy had gone into operation, for the first time in history.

32. Man had thus achieved domination over a natural force of unprecedented power. One kilogramme of uranium produced 20 million kilowatt-hours, or the equivalent of 2,500 tons of the best coal. The discovery of nuclear fuel opened up vast prospects for its use in industry, agriculture, transport, medicine and other fields.

33. In the USSR it was believed that the discovery of atomic energy would make it possible to raise the productivity of manpower and to carry the mechanization of production further, which ultimately meant abundant productivity.

34. Certain circles in the United States had objected to the peaceful use of atomic energy. Thus, on 4 June 1954, there had been a statement in the American Petroleum Institute to the effect that the possibility of using atomic energy in industry, aviation and motor and rail transport constituted a serious threat to the oil companies. That statement showed that it was believed that the use of atomic energy entailed great financial risks and was not economically profitable. Similarly, a book recently published in Philadelphia under the title, *Atomic Energy*, purported to demonstrate that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes was absurd.

35. Yet in 1954 the statesmen of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other countries were devoting much attention to the question. It was to be regretted that their statements did not bring out the need for prohibiting the manufacture and use of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

36. The exchange of Notes between the United States and Soviet Governments on the peaceful application of atomic energy clearly showed the Soviet Union's untiring efforts to ensure that atomic energy should be devoted exclusively to peaceful ends.

37. The Soviet Union had always set much store by direct negotiations between States on all questions in dispute. The USSR Government was alleged to have stated that, if its proposal for prohibiting weapons of mass destruction was not accepted, it would not continue negotiations for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Mr. Vyshinsky had already demonstrated the baselessness of such allegations. The representative of the Dominican Republic had asserted that the USSR had long refused to reply to the United States proposals, but that statement, too, Mr. Vyshinsky had refuted.

38. The USSR Government asked that fissionable materials should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Byelorussian delegation supported that position and still upheld the principle of agreed decisions on the most important international problems. It was convinced that no obstacles should lie in the way of a settlement of the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.