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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/L.105) (*continued*)

1. Mr. MARTIN (Canada) wished to make a suggestion, on behalf of the sponsors of the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105) concerning the composition of the committee referred to in section B, paragraph 5, of that draft. The task of that committee would be to advise the Secretary-General on the organization of an international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The sponsors of the draft resolution considered that the committee should be small and that its members should be qualified persons; the composition of the committee, moreover, should take into account the need for maintaining proper geographic representation of the main regions and groupings among Member States.
2. The sponsors of the joint draft resolution therefore suggested that the committee should be composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Brazil, India and the Soviet Union. The last three delegations should be given time to study the proposal, as they had only just been informed of it. The suggestion did not constitute a formal revision of the joint draft resolution, particularly since there could be no question of confronting the First Committee with an unalterable list of candidates.
3. Mr. Martin wished to express the hope that the moderate statement made by the Soviet representative on the previous day (708th meeting) presaged the willingness of the Government of the Soviet Union to follow the path of international co-operation in the important field of atomic energy.
4. Mr. SANDLER (Sweden) thought that the first question to consider was whether the destructive and constructive aspects of nuclear energy were so closely linked that no practical results could be expected with regard to peaceful uses until substantial progress had been made with regard to military uses. It was therefore necessary to clarify the connexion between a plan such as the one presented by the United States for developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy on the

one hand, and a disarmament plan as it applied to nuclear weapons on the other.

5. That question had already been touched upon in the debate on disarmament, especially by the representatives of the United Kingdom and India; it had also figured prominently in the exchange of Notes between the United States and the Soviet Union (A/2738). Thus Mr. Lloyd, speaking of the working paper (DC/53, annex 4) which the United States had submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, had said (685th meeting) that any scheme for an international atomic energy agency arising out of President Eisenhower's plan would have to be correlated with a plan for the control of atomic energy. Mr. Menon, however, had said (700th meeting) that the object of disarmament was not the regulation of atomic energy for peaceful ends but the prohibition of atomic energy for military ends, and that the two questions should not be confused.

6. In the exchange of Notes between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union had linked the establishment of an international agency to further the peaceful uses of atomic energy with the problem of disarmament—specifically, with the proposal for an unconditional undertaking not to use atomic weapons.

7. It should be noted, first, that both sides had expressed the fear that the nations might relax their vigilance—one side referring to the United States plan, and the other to the unconditional undertaking.

8. Secondly, the Soviet Union held that the generation of electricity with atomic materials increased the quantity of explosive and fissionable material. But the United States refused to admit that the peaceful utilization of atomic energy must necessarily increase stocks of materials available for military purposes. That was the problem of denaturing dangerous fissionable materials. The Soviet argument, incidentally, was consistent with the idea upheld by the majority in the former Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations, namely, that the ownership of atomic installations should be vested in an international authority—an idea which the Soviet Union had rejected out of hand.

9. The implementation of the United States plan would be greatly facilitated if a method could be found for denaturing dangerous materials so that their military utilization would be rendered virtually impossible. According to a well-known American scientist, such a method had been devised; moreover, the United States Government had also referred to safeguards against the diversion of fissionable materials for military purposes. Mr. Sandler had been under the impression that some method of denaturation had been envisaged as an integral part of President Eisenhower's plan. If that was so, there could hardly be any convincing reason for keeping secret a method of such importance, which would have such a salutary effect.

10. A felicitous change had occurred, meanwhile, in the Soviet attitude. It would appear, from Mr. Vyshinsky's statement before the General Assembly on 30 September (484th meeting), that the Soviet Union no longer insisted on an unconditional undertaking not to use atomic weapons as a condition *sine qua non* for progress in disarmament; presumably, therefore, that demand had also been withdrawn in regard to plans for furthering the peaceful uses of atomic energy. That interpretation had been confirmed by Mr. Vyshinsky in his statement before the First Committee on 8 November (708th meeting). The earlier question thus arose again: should there be some link and, if so, then of what kind and scope, between the disarmament problem and the United States plan? It was to be hoped that some relationship of cause and effect would arise between the two.

11. People had long nurtured hopes based on illusions. One of those illusions was the notion that technology, by the very nature of the devices used, could impose on all nations the requirement of living in peace. A striking illustration was Benjamin Franklin's reaction to Montgolfier's successful ascent in the first hydrogen balloon: Franklin had thought that war had now become impossible, since no country could any longer ensure the security of its borders. A similar illusion was the idea that the peaceful use of dangerous fissionable materials would by itself prevent the military use of those materials. For the technical possibility of using fissionable materials in a productive manner would not govern man's decision not to use them for purposes of destruction. On the other hand, a vast international co-operative effort to facilitate the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes could have felicitous repercussions in other fields and could create a favourable atmosphere for disarmament. Thus what counted was the human element.

12. In the present stage of the disarmament problem, formulae of agreement still had to be found; action on the United States plan, however, could be taken immediately. Whatever the effects of the United States plan for an international agency, the fulfilment of that plan would in itself represent great progress. There was no reason to link that progress with a problematical progress in the field of disarmament. In other words, as the representative of India had urged, it was essential to dissociate the two questions.

13. Mr. Sandler wished next to present his country's attitude towards the substance of the United States plan. Sweden, he said, had an experimental reactor and was preparing to build a second and more powerful one, mainly to produce motor power. Isotopes from foreign reactors had also been used. Sweden was interested in the possibility of receiving certain materials, and it was perhaps even more interested in exchanging scientific and technical information. It was already a member of the European Organization for Nuclear Research, which refrained from all activities for military purposes and always published the results of its work. That organization, incidentally, was proposing to build not a reactor but a proton synchrotron and a synchro-cyclotron for research on high-power particles, including work on cosmic rays. The existence of an international atomic energy agency would undoubtedly increase the possibilities of exchanging information, and the Swedish delegation hoped that the present discussions would lead to its establishment.

14. With regard to the organization of the agency, Sweden wished to see the agency established within the framework of the United Nations. The question was whether it was advisable to achieve that result by establishing a new specialized agency, and it was difficult to give an opinion on that subject so long as the organization of the agency had not been sketched at least in outline. Mr. Sandler wished, in that connexion, to thank the Secretariat for having undertaken a preparatory study on that subject. The relationships between the different specialized agencies and the United Nations varied considerably, and it would be useful to obtain information from the Secretariat on the preliminary work it had done on that point. Mr. Sandler wondered whether it would be advisable to create the agency by means of a special agreement among certain States without at the same time deciding the question of its relationship with the United Nations. If, however, preliminary action by a few States was the only means of avoiding unjustifiable delay, such action should be undertaken in such a manner as to make it possible subsequently to bring the agency within the framework of the United Nations.

15. It was clear from the statements made by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada (707th meeting) that the character of the agency as it was now envisaged was somewhat different from that outlined by the United States in its exchange of Notes with the Soviet Union. The agency was now presented not as a bank, but as a broker. That was a very important change, which freed the agency from the task mentioned in the United States memorandum of 19 March 1954 (A/2738) of stockpiling and ensuring the necessary protection to reduce to the minimum the possibility of a surprise and clandestine use of such materials. It simplified the objectives, and therefore the structure, of the agency, and would thus facilitate the rapid realization of the plan.

16. Mr. Sandler wished to thank the United States for its proposals to establish a reactor training school and to invite foreign specialists to take part in the work being done in United States cancer hospitals. It was with the same appreciation that Sweden took note of the facilities offered by the United Kingdom, Canada and France.

17. Turning to the question of the international scientific conference, Mr. Sandler said that the programme should not be too ambitious, as that would necessitate the division of the conference into too many sections. It would be better to restrict the programme and to concentrate first, for instance, on problems connected with the use of power-generating reactors. An international conference on the utilization of nuclear power had already taken place at Ann Arbor, in the United States, and various aspects of the problem had been discussed on the basis of declassified information. The value of a new conference would largely depend on the availability of knowledge which had not yet been made public. Mr. Sandler recalled, in that connexion, that Mr. Lodge had stated (707th meeting) that further information would subsequently be made available.

18. Mr. Sandler pointed out that there was some ambiguity in the idea that the conference should be made up of scientists on the one hand and government officials on the other. Were the former to present scien-

tific papers and the latter to take decisions on them? For his part, Mr. Sandler endorsed the idea of convening a scientific, rather than a governmental conference, with a restricted agenda and without the power of taking decisions on behalf of States, but with the right to submit technical recommendations to be taken into consideration by the international agency.

19. Those of the sponsors of the joint draft resolution who had already spoken had agreed that the Secretary-General should undertake the organization of the conference. He could expect assistance in that task from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which had taken the initiative in the establishment of the European Organization for Nuclear Research. It was proposed that he should also be assisted by an advisory committee. Mr. Sandler felt that if it was considered useful to establish such a committee, its members must represent countries with considerable experience in the atomic energy field.

20. Sweden was very much in favour of the action envisaged, but it considered that part A of the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105) unduly restricted the role of the United Nations, while part B seemed over ambitious.

21. The great importance of the future agency would lie in its twofold role as a centre and distributor of information in the nuclear field. It was regrettable that that field should to some extent have come within the orbit of State secrecy, since men of science were in constant danger of being labelled security risks.

22. It was to be hoped that by the early realization of President Eisenhower's grandiose idea, the door would be opened to "an open world".

23. Mr. MENON (India) wished to speak on a point of order. Reference had been made to a report or survey made in the Secretariat on the atomic energy problem. Unless the document was secret, it would be desirable for the Committee to have access to it.

24. The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that the Secretariat committee had been established to enable the Secretariat to perform the duties which would be assigned to it by the General Assembly. So far as the organization of the conference was concerned, only preliminary studies had been possible because of existing uncertainties. So far as the organization of the agency was concerned, the main problems were of a constitutional nature. The studies carried out had covered both accepted patterns and precedents, and the new developments which might better correspond to the needs of the present situation. So far, there were no documents summing up the results, but only a series of internal Secretariat documents, covering the various points. The results of the study should, however, be made available to the Committee if it so desired.

25. Mr. MENON (India) said that in his next speech he would have to go into the structure of the various international organizations and also touch on a number of points to which the Swedish representative had referred. It would accordingly be useful, unless there were administrative or other reasons to the contrary, for the Secretariat documents to be made available to delegations at least on request.

26. The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that there was nothing confidential about the studies. The reason why they had not been put in final form was that it had not been thought necessary to do so. It would in any case have been difficult to do so before listening

to the current debate. The Secretary-General thought that the Secretariat committee was now in a position to prepare such a document, and assured the Committee that that would be done.

27. The CHAIRMAN said that although the question raised by the Indian representative was interesting, it was not a point of order. A point of order was a query to the Chairman whether the debate should be conducted in accordance with a particular procedure. Other problems should be dealt with by the various delegations in their statements in the discussion.

28. Mr. BLANCO (Cuba) observed that the United Nations, which since 1946 had been dealing with the question of atomic energy from the point of view of disarmament, was now dealing for the first time with the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. That question was of supreme importance, and the date 8 December 1953 was significant in United Nations history, for on that day the President of the United States had launched the idea of international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. There could be no better proof of the ardent desire for peace which animated the Government and people of the United States.

29. During the general debate (483rd plenary meeting), the Chairman of the Cuban delegation had said that the fate of the world depended on the conclusion of a constructive agreement on the question of atomic energy, and that therefore any attempt by any State to obstruct such agreement would constitute a serious crime against humanity.

30. In their statements, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Belgium and Sweden had informed the Committee of the progress thus far achieved in the use of atomic energy. At the same time they had emphasized the need for international co-operation in directing the use of fissionable materials to peaceful purposes, and for the dissemination of information on nuclear technology.

31. In addition to its practical task, which would be immense, the proposed international atomic energy agency would contribute substantially to the spiritual progress of the human race. As a learned humanist had recently pointed out, although man had risen to the superhuman level by his mastery over the hidden forces of nature, he suffered from a fatal defect—he had not risen to the superhuman level of wisdom corresponding to his superhuman power, a wisdom which would enable him to use atomic energy for useful and reasonable purposes only. President Eisenhower's plan represented precisely the first attempt to remedy that defect and to raise man's mind to the level required by man's own salvation.

32. Cuba wished to express its gratitude to President Eisenhower and the United States Government for taking that generous step, which augured so well for all countries, especially for those which were underdeveloped. The beginnings would undoubtedly be difficult, but once the initial stage was over the use of atomic energy in industry, in agriculture and in medicine would transform the face of all the nations; it was sufficient to recall, in that connexion, the examples given by previous speakers of the use of radio-active isotopes and the generation of electric power.

33. In conclusion, Mr. Blanco said that it was the Cuban delegation's fervent hope that the greatest possible number of countries, in a spirit of confidence and

good will, would co-operate in the common endeavour. The Cuban delegation hoped, too, that the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105) would be adopted unanimously.

34. The CHAIRMAN, referring to the observations he had just made concerning points of order, drew attention to the rules laid down on that subject in paragraphs 41 and 42 of the report of the Special Committee on measures to limit the duration of regular sessions of the General Assembly (A/2402). In accordance with those rules, he proposed in future to accept points of order in two cases only: first, where a representative asked the Chairman to apply a certain rule of procedure, and, secondly, where a representative referred to the manner in which the Chairman should apply a given rule or the rules of procedure as a whole. All other matters should be dealt with in the general debate, which gave representatives ample opportunity of expressing their views.

35. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan) said that, thanks to an ever-increasing understanding of the mysteries of nature, scientific progress had given man the means to improve his individual and social well-being. That had been the case from the discovery of the wheel down to the discovery of atomic energy. Nuclear energy could be used in many ways for the benefit of man and, while the appalling dangers to which the world would be exposed by its misuse should not be forgotten, it was equally necessary to bear in mind that atomic science could be used to enrich human life and to eradicate hunger and disease, which were the real causes of conflict between men and between nations.

36. The Pakistan delegation welcomed the proposals contained in the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105). In his speech in the General Assembly (482nd meeting), Mr. Zafrulla Khan had already expressed Pakistan's warm support for President Eisenhower's generous announcement and had, in particular, emphasized the importance to the under-developed countries of the prospect of low-cost power production. It was to be hoped that all countries which had knowledge of nuclear science and possessed nuclear materials would join the proposed agency. It would be particularly desirable for the Soviet Union to be a member and participant. The proposed agency was truly international in its organization and purposes; for that reason, the Pakistan delegation supported the proposal that an agreement should be concluded between the United Nations and the agency, which would thus have the status of a specialized agency.

37. The Second Committee of the General Assembly had been discussing the possibility of establishing a special United Nations fund for the development of under-developed countries. In view of the reluctance which the United States and United Kingdom representatives had shown in regard to that project, doubt had arisen as to whether those two countries were really willing to contribute further to any new international agency for the development of the under-developed countries. The plan now under discussion removed that doubt. The plan was truly international in character and would lead to economic and social development on as extensive a scale as was envisaged in the Special United Nations Fund on Economic Development (SUNFED) project. In that connexion, the Pakistan delegation hoped that the same co-operative spirit would be shown by the United States, the United Kingdom and other industrially developed countries in the discussions on the latter project.

38. Pakistan reserved the right to comment on the joint draft resolution when it came up for discussion. At the present stage it wished to emphasize the view that the under-developed countries should be represented both in the international agency and on the advisory committee. Those countries would face many administrative problems in making full use of the equipment placed at their disposal, and they would also have to undertake survey and research work themselves. It was therefore obvious that they must be represented on the two bodies concerned.

39. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) said the Egyptian delegation had studied with the keenest interest the United States representative's latest statement (707th meeting) which was in reality a programme for carrying into effect the proposals presented to the General Assembly by the President of the United States on 8 December 1953 (470th meeting). It was gratifying to all delegations that the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada should have taken action with a view to placing atomic energy at the service of peace. The representatives of those countries had laid particular stress on the new fields opened up by the atomic discoveries, and Mr. Loutfi felt that much could be expected of the proposed international agency for encouraging research in and promoting the development of that new form of energy for peaceful purposes, as well as from the proposed international technical conference which was to be held under United Nations auspices in the near future.

40. The Egyptian delegation was also very interested in certain projects which the United States proposed to initiate even before the establishment of the international agency: namely, the opening of a school which would specialize in the theory and application of atomic energy; the organization, under the auspices of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, of courses in the use of atomic energy in medicine and biology; and the publication of information on atomic questions.

41. The Egyptian delegation had also been gratified to note that the Government of the United States would be prepared to conclude bilateral agreements with other countries with a view to providing them with the information, technical assistance and nuclear materials required for the construction and operation of experimental reactors in those countries. The Egyptian delegation was equally gratified that the United Kingdom, France, and Canada should have stated that they too were prepared to help with technical training, even before the international agency was set up.

42. Lastly, it should be emphasized that without the co-operation of the Soviet Union, no action in the sphere of atomic energy would be completely satisfactory. Egypt was still convinced that, as in the case of disarmament, a unanimous resolution could be adopted on the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

43. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) said that, in view of the importance of the question and the wealth of information supplied to the Committee, the present debate would prove to be one of the most important ever held in the United Nations.

44. It was very encouraging that the Powers which had already made so much progress in nuclear science should have agreed among themselves to offer jointly to share the fruits of their experience with others, and to present practical proposals to promote the peaceful use of atomic energy; nevertheless, some grounds for

anxiety still remained. There was indeed a painful contrast between the rapid and brilliant progress of scientific discovery and the persistence of practices which marked a return to the most backward periods of history. Unfortunately, technical and scientific progress was not accompanied by political and moral progress. It should be remembered that the industrial revolution, which had aroused such great hopes, had in fact aggravated social and international problems. The considerably more dangerous era of the atomic revolution must therefore be approached with full realization of the limitations of technical and scientific progress. At the present time, the goal which all responsible persons must set themselves was to ensure that that revolution constituted a solution of the social problem, and led to peace, justice and international collaboration.

45. It was clear that the United Nations could not bring about the desired moral revolution; it was not even in a position to give the world a new legal order. It could, however, contribute to the creation of a moral climate by mobilizing the psychological forces of world public opinion. Above all, the United Nations could promote international co-operation though the proposed international agency; such co-operation could make atomic science available to all countries, and extend its benefits to all peoples.

46. As could be seen from various resolutions of the General Assembly, the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy had been under consideration since 1946. But because that question had been linked up with that of disarmament it had been impossible, for eight whole years, to achieve any progress in the matter. That state of affairs had come to an end on the day when President Eisenhower, speaking in the General Assembly (470th meeting), had proposed that atomic energy, instead of remaining a secret of State, should become the collective property of all mankind through the establishment of an international agency for the development of the peaceful uses of that energy.

47. Mr. Belaúnde turned next to the exchange of Notes between the United States and the Soviet Union (A/2738). Although the Soviet Union Government, in its Note of 22 September 1954, had not altogether abandoned its previous position, and still maintained that the prohibition of atomic weapons should receive priority, it had nevertheless stated that it was prepared to open further negotiations in order to study the views of the United States concerning certain types of peaceful uses where the question of the possible diversion of materials for the production of atomic weapons did not arise. Moreover, there were certain criticisms in that same Soviet Note which implied that the Soviet Union accepted the United States plan as a basis for discussion. Mr. Belaúnde mentioned, in that connexion, the reference in the Soviet Note to the composition of the agency, the stipulation that the agency should submit reports to the Security Council or the General Assembly, and the stipulation that the Security Council should intervene in any question involving a danger to peace.

48. The international agency under United Nations auspices proposed by President Eisenhower, which was to have held, administered and distributed stocks, thus acting rather like a bank, differed from the agency contemplated in the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105) now before the Committee. As the representative of the United Kingdom had pointed out (707th

meeting), there were two theoretical possibilities for the organization of the agency. On the one hand, it could be regarded as an atomic bank, with a right to the possession, or at least to the disposal, of atomic materials, and hence with authority to deal directly with the countries concerned. On the other hand, it could be regarded as a kind of clearing-house, acting as a mere intermediary. It would seem that it was the Soviet objections that had led to the adoption of the latter concept.

49. Actually, whether the agency was regarded as a bank or as a clearing-house, the practical results for the small countries which would benefit therefrom would be identical. What mattered was that the Powers which possessed atomic energy were prepared to supply it to other countries under bilateral contracts negotiated under the auspices of the agency. The Peruvian delegation was therefore of the opinion that the international agency, so conceived, would be in complete conformity with President Eisenhower's original idea. What was essential was that all countries should have access to the agency and that technical development should thus become widespread.

50. Mr. Belaúnde felt that it was an excellent idea to organize a technical conference open to all Members of the United Nations as well as to the specialized agencies. Certain points would doubtless have to be cleared up, for example, whether the conference would be composed only of experts or whether it would also include statesmen. Those details could be settled later by the Secretariat, or they might be dealt with in the First Committee by means of slight amendments to the joint draft resolution. The purpose of the conference was, not only to pool the knowledge and experience acquired by every country in that field, but also to consider the needs of every country.

51. The Peruvian delegation wholeheartedly approved the countries proposed by the Canadian representative as members of the advisory committee which was to assist the Secretary-General in preparing the conference.

52. The Peruvian delegation desired to stress the importance of using atomic energy to meet the needs of the under-developed countries. That question was closely related to the proposal for the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development, which was before the Second Committee.

53. Mr. Belaúnde stated further that it might be worth while at a later stage to consider the possibility of establishing regional centres for atomic research and the application of atomic energy similar to the European centre for nuclear research. Such centres might specialize in problems affecting particular regions. As the representative of France had explained (708th meeting), there were still parts of the world where conventional methods of power production could be developed to a much greater extent. Mr. Belaúnde pointed out that there were some countries whose power resources had not been exploited at all. The regional centres could study the needs of those countries and decide whether conventional or nuclear energy was more likely to promote their development.

54. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would associate itself with the sponsors of the joint draft resolution, and that the text would be adopted unanimously.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.