

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



1474th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 22 November 1966,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 14

Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency

1. The PRESIDENT: I have pleasure in inviting the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Sigvard Eklund, to present the General Assembly with the Agency's report for the year 1965-1966.^{1/}
2. Mr. EKLUND (International Atomic Energy Agency): Just over ten years ago, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, speaking in this Hall, opened the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency with the words: "You are here to establish an international agency which will represent a ... decisive step on our road towards the full and free utilization of atomic power for the benefit of all mankind."^{2/}
3. The tenth General Conference of the Agency, which took place in Vienna two months ago,^{3/} gave us an opportunity to see how far we have been able to realize those hopes in the past decade and to draw upon our experience in planning for the years ahead.
4. Dr. Bunche, speaking for Secretary-General U Thant, said at the opening of our Conference that "like other international bodies and like the United Nations itself the Agency does not operate in a vacuum. The realization of its objectives depends very largely on the political climate in the world and on the solution of the major political problems of the time".^{4/}
5. A factor of paramount importance is the dual nature of atomic energy, which is reflected in the dual

function of the Agency: not only to promote, but also to safeguard the peaceful uses of atomic energy. What we call atomic energy in a broad sense is making its impact on our society in many areas. Of these, I should like here to dwell upon just a few: energy, as a key to industrial development, food and water.

6. Ten years ago, nuclear energy as a source of electric power was represented by one small plant generating five megawatts of electricity. Today, these five megawatts have grown to approximately 8,000 megawatts. This figure is expected to reach 30,000 megawatts by 1970, and more than 200,000 megawatts in 1980. In one of the great industrial countries more nuclear plant has been ordered during the past year than the total of all other types of power-generating plant. One of the most significant decisions has been to construct a 2,200 megawatt station in the midst of a coal-producing area. Similar progress is taking place in most large industrial nations. Some smaller ones have indicated that they will, in future, turn exclusively to nuclear power. A new generation of breeder reactors, which will come off the line in a decade or so, will use only about one fiftieth or so of the primary fuel needed by earlier plants to generate the same quantity of electricity.

7. The Agency's own programmes are being modified to meet this changing picture. A study we have just completed for the United Nations Development Programme in a developing country shows that that country can profitably look to nuclear power to meet its expanding needs in the 1970s. In many other developing countries in fuel-deficient areas, such as southern and south-eastern Asia, the same picture is likely to emerge, and the Agency can help by arranging for careful, thorough and objective studies of their future power requirements. Those countries will require more help in training their technicians, in choosing safe locations for their reactors and plants, in ensuring fuel supplies, in dealing with problems of disposal and management of nuclear waste. They will also need guidance in choosing between the proven reactor systems now being vigorously marketed by manufacturers, so as to ensure that they obtain the character and size of plant best suited to their national requirements. They will also need the considerable capital required for nuclear plants, and I hope that international and regional financing institutions will look sympathetically upon the needs of developing countries in this respect.

8. One of the main themes of our tenth General Conference was that the Agency should now be able to do more to help the developing countries, and that the time is coming for some reorientation of its programmes, which I welcome. This view is perhaps

^{1/} Annual Report of the Board of Governors to the General Conference, 1 July 1965-30 June 1966 (Vienna, July 1966), and supplementary report; transmitted to members of the General Assembly by notes of the Secretary-General (A/6345 and Add.1).

^{2/} Document IAEA/CS/OR.1, p. 6.

^{3/} Tenth regular session of the General Conference, held at Vienna from 21 to 28 September 1966.

^{4/} International Atomic Agency, document GC(X)/OR.101, para. 20.

watts safeguarded has almost doubled in the year. Even so, it still represents only about 6 per cent of the world's present peaceful nuclear power output.

19. The International Atomic Energy Agency General Conference two months ago gave much encouragement to this vital part of our work. I have been particularly encouraged by the interest shown recently by the General Assembly. In the debates in the First Committee on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a large number of representatives referred to the International Atomic Energy Agency system of safeguards. I believe that the Agency's extensive and direct practical experience with the complex problem of ensuring that peaceful nuclear activities are not diverted to military use can prove useful to the community of nations if the negotiations on non-proliferation are brought to early fruition.

20. In the meantime, we shall continue to concentrate on our work in the hope that the roads of the technician and of the statesman will meet in the near future. I will conclude, therefore, by reaffirming what I said in this Assembly last year. The Agency, in accordance with its Statute, will stand ready and willing to play its part when it is called upon to do so.

21. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): Ten years in the life of an international organization is not an overly long period of time. The ten years of existence of the International Atomic Energy Agency, however, seem to have been a rich and satisfying period of continuous progress and creative work. Under its Statute, which was approved in this very building in October 1956, the central goal of the Agency is the "development on practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes". During the past ten years its realization has become much closer.

22. Such figures as, for example, those of the 900 experts who have served in various countries since the establishment of the Agency, or of the almost 3,000 fellowships which have been awarded, or of the \$3 million worth of equipment which has been provided under the auspices of the Agency, are but an illustration of its significant and valuable achievements.

23. In the annual report [A/6345 and Add.1] and in the introductory statement made a moment ago by Mr. Eklund, the Director-General of the Agency, we can find very clear and well-documented information concerning the past year's activities of the Agency. It is not our intention to dwell upon this material, for the Polish delegation to the tenth General Conference of the Agency had the opportunity to present its views on the subject. There are, however, a few comments which we should like to make at this juncture.

24. My delegation has noticed with satisfaction the constant growth of the Agency's membership over the years. Newly emerged countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have applied for membership, and thus the Agency's roster has increased from 59 members in 1957 to almost 100 at the present time, with applications from Sierra Leone, Singapore and Uganda being unanimously approved by the General Conference. It is our sincere hope that this development towards universal membership will not stop half-way but that, on the contrary, all States will be able to make

their contribution to the peaceful development of atomic energy through the Agency.

25. The field in which the Agency's programme is being realized is a highly sensitive and important one; for properly channelled, atomic or nuclear energy can give rise to magnificent development and well-being for the human race. Misused, however, for war purposes, it can destroy the human race in a matter of minutes. Thus a direct relationship exists between the general international situation and the prospects for the Agency's work. An atmosphere of international tension and violence is not conducive to trust and confidence, which are so necessary in converting atomic energy to peaceful uses. On the other hand, valuable contributions by the Agency itself, in the field of disarmament, safeguards and so on can certainly help to diminish tensions, violence and suspicion. That is why my country attaches such importance to this aspect of the Agency's activities.

26. During its years of membership, Poland has been privileged to participate in and profit from many valuable projects organized in co-operation with other members of the Agency. Among them, mention should be made of a project in the field of reactor physics, with the co-operation of Norway and Yugoslavia; in the field of solid-state physics with application of nuclear methods, a project envisaged in co-operation with India and the United Arab Republic; and the experiment in magneto-hydrodynamics, one of the ventures undertaken jointly with France. Finally, one project undertaken by us, with some other socialist countries, was that of supplying a number of medical laboratories to developing countries.

27. In speaking of my country's contribution to the use of atomic energy, I cannot fail to mention that, during next year, 1967, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Marie Sklodowska-Curie, a great Polish scientist, will be celebrated. Since it was she who, with her husband, a great French scientist, Pierre Curie, laid the foundation for the future development of nuclear power, we regard it as very fitting that the Agency has decided to join UNESCO and other organizations in world-wide celebrations of that event.

28. There are two important decisions of the recent General Conference of the Atomic Energy Agency which we consider to be of significance. In resolution 215, the Conference requested the Director-General of the Agency to consult the directors of ILO and UNESCO with a view to intensifying the co-operation and co-ordination already established in the field of education and training, in particular for academic and technical purposes. My delegation expects that the measures undertaken to implement that resolution will once and for all eliminate overlapping and duplication of work done by other international agencies such as, unfortunately, has occurred in some scientific and educational projects.

29. Another important decision can be found in resolution 217, by which the Conference requested a review of the activities of the Agency in order to find ways and means to increase its assistance to developing countries and invited the Board to undertake promptly a systematic and objective review of the

or that which would facilitate such participation by imposing conditions which completely ignore the fate of several million human beings."

And I stated further:

"There is only one way to solve this important problem, and our delegation has been undertaking consultations along those lines without much response so far because of the rigidity of the positions taken in this debate. This is the way of diplomatic negotiation, of the search for impartial solutions which will lead the United Nations towards a harmonious settlement and not over a precipice. We believe, for example, that, if the General Assembly were to request the Secretary-General, or if it so prefers, a group of countries, to confer with all the parties concerned in solving this problem, in order to discover what each of those States really wants and to propose or suggest suitable alternatives that will lead to a final solution, we should be able to break the vicious circle in which we find ourselves and enter a new and more constructive phase." [1379th meeting, paras. 62, 63 and 66.]

29. The result of the debate and of the votes last year is well known. Chile, for its part, was not satisfied with a merely passive attitude towards this problem, which would be an easy position to take but which would not help to find a solution.

30. That is why we have now endeavoured to contribute a positive element reflecting our conviction that we must introduce into this problem, which has been so hardened by passions and intransigence, a new alternative that will hold out hopes of a just and practical solution.

31. We are aware of the modest proportions and limitations of our power and weight in world affairs, but we have been encouraged to make such an effort by our faith in the United Nations and in the moral function which the small and medium-sized countries can exercise if they act together to strengthen this Organization, and through it world peace.

32. The draft resolution which we are co-sponsoring is the outcome of long efforts in which we have combined diverse texts prepared by various delegations. It is, therefore, a compromise text and, of course, there are elements which every sponsor would have wished to express in some more or less specific manner, but ultimately all of them have yielded to the needs of brevity, that allows the proposed committee the greatest possible freedom of action in discharging its difficult task. For Chile, this draft resolution contains all the basic elements of the text which we prepared last year and which, as I have just said, was the subject of consultations with several delegations at that time though it led to no definitive reaction.

33. The delegation of Chile is convinced that the draft, which we have this time been able to prepare with greater care and advance preparation, offers a broad, valuable and constructive alternative to this Assembly in its efforts to find a way out of the impasse and to move towards an equitable solution, without prejudging the present situation. We are not so naïve as to believe that the process which will

lead us to that solution will be easy or rapid. It is not without reason that this problem has been discussed for seventeen years, as has been mentioned here. We are aware of all the *a priori* difficulties and negative positions, but we place our faith in the superiority of negotiation over immobility. We are also convinced that the growing world-wide feeling in favour of a realistic and equitable solution that will strengthen the United Nations will ultimately be decisive and will give the United Nations a universality, without any exclusion, which will enable it to work more effectively on its fundamental tasks of maintaining peace and security and protecting human rights.

34. As regards the other two draft resolutions, I should like to say briefly that my delegation will support the continued application of the two-thirds majority rule for changing the representation of China. As I said last year, this is a matter that is undoubtedly important, and we find it hard to imagine that a simple majority vote would be enough to approve the type of action proposed in draft resolution A/L.496 and Add.1 sponsored by Albania and other countries.

35. The solution advanced in that draft resolution is, in our opinion, unjust and unacceptable, since it advocates the participation of mainland China and disregards the position of Taiwan China. Last year we abstained from the vote on the Albanian draft resolution since it contained two contradictory positions which we considered equally negative, but this year there is a constructive alternative which we ourselves are proposing and which we are urging the Assembly to adopt. Since we do not consider the Albanian draft resolution satisfactory and its acceptance would destroy our own initiative, we are bound logically to vote against it.

36. Thus, in respect of this most delicate item, we shall be acting in complete accord with the thinking which we explained last year.

37. Mr. BAKALA (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Our delegation has followed with particular attention the debate on item 90 of our agenda entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".

38. The fact that this item is being debated by the General Assembly unmistakably demonstrates the moral presence of Peking China among us, despite the physical absence of its representatives, whose seat is illegally occupied by the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek. We know that the latter was overthrown in 1949 by a revolution of the people and that he took refuge on Formosa under the protection of United States troops. From statements made here it appears that this problem has been discussed for the last sixteen years.

39. Our delegation is therefore surprised that falsely subtle minds, enamoured of twisted and devious reasoning, should try to lead the Assembly astray by arguing that there do not exist sufficiently clear elements to enable it to decide in favour of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations. They feign not to know the truth. They lie to others

peaceful activities in the field of atomic energy to the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguard system. This would create a mutual trust that no clandestine military development exists.

40. The Norwegian delegation has been seriously considering whether it would be appropriate to take an initiative in this matter during this twenty-first session of the General Assembly. After consultations with other delegations, we decided that we would not risk any initiative which might have a disturbing influence on the discussions now under way concerning an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We therefore found it appropriate not to submit a formal proposal in the matter for the time being. The Norwegian delegation would, however, support the suggestion made by the representative of Japan that the General Assembly might request the International Atomic Energy Agency to report on the present safeguards system, and whether this system of safeguards can play a useful role in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation of the statement made by the representative of the Agency, Mr. Piskarev, concerning the Agency's safeguard activities.

41. Furthermore, the representative of the Netherlands made a statement in the First Committee [1446th meeting] giving a broad outline of the safeguard activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency, submitting in particular tactical suggestions of co-operation between the Agency and EURATOM. The Norwegian delegation associates itself with the suggestion made by the Netherlands delegation on a possible programme of action with regard to the promotion of the application of the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards system.

42. The Norwegian delegation has also noted with interest the statement made in the First Committee by the Canadian delegation [1444th meeting] that if provisions were made for the compulsory application of international safeguards to all foreign transfers of fissile materials, this would in itself be an effective obstacle to further proliferation.

43. In spite of the importance which the Norwegian Government attaches to the work carried out by the International Atomic Energy Agency in its large field of activities, and in particular to the safeguards system developed by the Agency, I do not wish unduly to prolong my intervention. I should like to conclude by once more congratulating the Agency on its important endeavours and to express the appreciation of the Norwegian delegation with regard to the tenth report of the Agency.

Mr. Mudenge (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

44. Miss MEAGHER (Canada): The occasion of the presentation to the General Assembly of the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [A/6345 and Add.1], by its Director-General, provides a regular opportunity for all Member States of the United Nations to focus their attention on the achievements of this important organization in the specialized field of atomic energy. This year the occasion takes on particular significance in that the International

Atomic Energy Agency is celebrating its tenth anniversary and it is natural, therefore, that we should assess its accomplishments, not only in terms of the past year, but over the first decade of its life.

45. Canada was among the pioneers in the development of nuclear energy and we have concentrated a considerable part of our scientific effort on nuclear research and development. Moreover, the Canadian Government has taken a deliberate and conscious policy decision to restrict our nuclear energy programme exclusively to peaceful purposes. It is not surprising, therefore, that the aims and objectives of the International Atomic Energy Agency, directed as they are to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, should have engaged our sympathetic interest. Canada has been a member of the Agency from its inception and we have tried to play a responsible and constructive role in its deliberations and in its operations. In common with all its members we have a stake in the success of the Agency and we feel that at the ten-year mark in its history it is right to pause and take stock.

46. It is the Canadian view that the record of the International Atomic Energy Agency is one which should give sober satisfaction to all its member States. The Agency is still relatively young but it is already well established among the organizations of the United Nations family, it is developing along sound and fruitful lines, and it has many solid achievements to its credit. The application of atomic energy to peaceful purposes is of enormous and evergrowing importance to the peoples of the world, its potential is incalculable, and all countries have an interest in sharing the benefits of scientific progress in this area. The Agency has a vital role to play in this development, in a variety of ways, and we believe that its usefulness and authority are growing steadily as it demonstrates with each passing year its increasing capacity to serve the international community.

47. A notable contribution of the International Atomic Energy Agency to nuclear co-operation, and one which can be made only at the international level, has been to draw up and promulgate international codes and standards which protect the health and safety of those who come in contact with nuclear materials and facilities. Another of its regulatory functions, and, in our view, one which is of paramount importance, is the establishment of an international safeguards system to ensure that nuclear materials and facilities intended for peaceful purposes should not be diverted to military ends. Canada has given whole-hearted support to all efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and, as a corollary of this policy, we have actively supported and participated in the development of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system.

48. The Agency's programme of scientific conferences, symposia and panels provides opportunity and encouragement for the exchange of information and experience on an international level in the various aspects of nuclear research and development. These meetings of scientists from many countries, including Canada, not only add to the storehouse of knowledge, but contribute to international understanding and co-operation in the nuclear field. Moreover, the dissemination of the results of such exchanges, as well as of other publications, increases the information on

nuclear research and development available to all member States. Canada will continue to participate in this programme which, we believe, provides a very useful service to the whole membership.

49. The International Atomic Energy Agency, like other organizations of the United Nations system, has an active programme of technical assistance to developing countries. A significant part of this programme is related to the use of atomic energy in agriculture and health, and it is a matter of satisfaction to the Canadian Government that considerable progress has been made in working out sensible measures of co-ordination with the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization in these fields. The Agency's technical assistance programme is financed by an operational budget which is dependent on voluntary contributions by member States. Unfortunately, the target for this voluntary budget, which is modest in comparison to the needs, has never been met, and it is the hope of the Canadian Government that as many Member States as can possibly do so will contribute to the voluntary fund. It is of course true that, even if the \$2 million target figure were reached, the resources would still be inadequate to meet the legitimate requirements of the developing countries and it will continue to be necessary to establish the highest priorities among these requirements. The Director General, in his annual report, has submitted thoughtful suggestions for working out a programme to meet the high priority needs of developing countries in the years ahead and Canada will join with other members of the Agency and with the secretariat in the formulation of a constructive programme of nuclear technical assistance.

50. When one speaks of the peaceful uses of atomic energy these days, one's thoughts immediately and naturally turn to the harnessing of nuclear energy for the production of electrical power. Whatever the fuel used, the development of electrical power is essential to the national economy, and the potential of nuclear power has caught the world's imagination. In some countries, nuclear power plants are already in commercial operation on a considerable scale; in others, plans are going ahead for a nuclear power programme. We recognize that the IAEA has a special role in this major industrial field of fundamental interest to all Members and that it will have an increasingly worthwhile part to play, particularly in helping Member States to determine when and how they should embark on a nuclear power programme. A related area of particular importance to developing countries and one in which the Agency's increasing interest can be of service is the use of nuclear power for desalting water.

51. As I said earlier, we in Canada are satisfied that the International Atomic Energy Agency, in its first ten years, has established a sound foundation on which to build in the future. It has made good progress and we expect that in the years ahead, as atomic energy takes on greater and greater importance throughout the world, the Agency's responsibilities and authority will grow correspondingly. We think that the Director-General and his staff are to be congratulated on the solid achievements already won. I should like to assure the General Assembly that Canada can be counted upon to continue to lend its

co-operation to the IAEA in its efforts to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy for the welfare of mankind.

52. Mr. ROSCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The great scientific discoveries of our age in the fields of nuclear fusion and fission have opened up vast new sources of energy, and created tremendous new opportunities for economic and scientific development and for the improvement of the living standards and welfare of the nations. At the same time these discoveries have made it possible for nuclear energy to be used also for the destruction and mass annihilation of people.

53. Our task is to prevent the military utilization of discoveries in the field of atomic energy and to direct all the efforts of the nations to the wide utilization of nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes.

54. The Soviet Union, which has made great contributions to the constructive uses of atomic energy, constantly devotes much attention to the world-wide development of this major branch of the national economy. The Soviet Government is also making considerable efforts to extend its co-operation with other States in the peaceful uses of atomic energy to further the progress of mankind.

55. The International Atomic Energy Agency, in which the Soviet Union has played an active part since its inception, was founded to promote international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

56. This is a commemorative year for the International Atomic Energy Agency. At the recent session of the General Conference of the Agency held in Vienna, some of the results of the Agency's activities over the last decade were reviewed.

57. In his congratulatory telegram addressed to this session of the General Conference of the Agency, A. N. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, stated that the Soviet Government attached great importance to international co-operation in the field of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, believing that such co-operation contributed to the acceleration of economic and scientific development for the benefit of all mankind. In his message the head of the Soviet Government also said:

"The problem of preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons is also now becoming extremely acute. It is essential that those who are striving to obtain nuclear weapons and are openly demanding the revision of the frontiers that have been established in Europe should be denied access to such weapons. The achievement of agreement on the banning of underground testing of nuclear weapons would also be of great significance. There is no doubt that the fulfilment of these noble tasks might open up new possibilities for an even wider development of international co-operation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy."^{5/}

58. During its existence, the IAEA has achieved good results in regulating international co-operation in

^{5/} See International Atomic Energy Agency document IAEA.GC(X) OR.104, para. 43.

the peaceful uses and development of atomic energy in a number of countries. The Agency plays a valuable role in organizing international scientific and technical exchanges in the various fields of atomic science, and in assisting developing countries to establish and develop their national economies and science by using the atom for peaceful purposes.

59. The IAEA report, submitted to the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly [A/E.345 and Add.1] shows the wide range of tasks, whether purely scientific or practical, assumed by the Agency in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

60. Important activities of the IAEA include, in our opinion, the holding of scientific conferences, symposia and seminars, attended by many atomic energy specialists from a large number of countries, the organization of exchanges of experts, and missions of experts to the developing countries to give them practical assistance in the training of local technical staff.

61. The Soviet Union takes part in practically all the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Co-operation between it and other countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy is being successfully developed. Contacts between Soviet scientists and those of other countries are steadily increasing, and exchange visits are being organized on a large scale between experts in nuclear physics, high energy physics, controlled thermonuclear reactions and other fields, based on agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and many other countries. The Soviet Union takes an active part in the conferences and symposia organized by the Agency on current issues of atomic science and technology. It is extending hospitality to scientists and specialists from countries members of the IAEA who are carrying out various international tasks, including tasks of the IAEA itself.

62. The Soviet Union participates on a large scale in providing technical assistance to the developing countries through the Agency. At the recent General Conference, the Soviet Government made a further contribution to the operational budget of the IAEA. We are donating all kinds of equipment and laboratories to meet the needs of the developing countries, and we are granting scholarships to train staff in these countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

63. In considering the IAEA's activities, we cannot fail to draw the attention of the General Assembly to one of the obstacles to the achievement of truly equal international co-operation, namely the fact that the membership of the Agency is not universal. For instance, the German Democratic Republic, which has made considerable progress in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, is not yet a member of IAEA.

64. The IAEA is not working in a vacuum, and the international situation must have an influence on its work. The conditions of international tension now prevailing in the world are an obstacle to development of normal international co-operation in all fields of international relations, including that of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The inability to solve the problem of nuclear disarmament and to agree on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is seriously

affecting the development of co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, including co-operation within the IAEA.

65. The solution of the problem of disarmament, and of nuclear disarmament in particular, would open up tremendous possibilities to mankind through the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Soviet Government is waging an unrelenting struggle for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, for disarmament and for the use of nuclear energy for exclusively creative purposes.

66. The Agency's safeguards system, which plays an important part in its activities, can contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as has been noted by many speakers who preceded me at this rostrum.

67. The People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic took an important initiative at the tenth General Conference of the Agency in expressing their readiness to place their atomic installations under the Agency's control, provided that the non-nuclear Powers of NATO, and in particular the Federal Republic of Germany, were prepared to do likewise. A similar statement was made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

68. The Soviet Union whole-heartedly supports the socialist countries' initiative which demonstrates their goodwill, and their sincere efforts to ensure the IAEA's safeguards should prevent the use of atomic energy for military purposes, by comprising a wider circle of non-nuclear States. If the Federal Republic of Germany really does not wish to manufacture its own nuclear weapons, then it must respond to the proposal of the socialist countries and place its atomic installations under IAEA safeguards.

69. We have described some aspects of the International Atomic Energy Agency's activities. In our opinion, the Agency can play a more important role in promoting international co-operation between States for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and in assisting member States, especially the developing countries, to establish and develop their own atomic science and technology. The Soviet Union for its part will continue to play an active role in IAEA activities.

70. The Soviet delegation has no objection to the consideration of the IAEA report and will vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.499] submitted by the delegations of Austria, Poland and Tunisia.

71. Mr. BIELKA-KARLTREU (Austria): The tenth regular session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency provided an excellent opportunity for taking stock of the Agency's accomplishments since its Statute was approved here in October 1956.

72. The great hopes which were placed in the Agency at the time of its creation may not as yet have been fully realized. The then-prevailing assumption that the Agency would have to act as a clearing-house for fissile material and that atomic energy would immediately become a competitive and economic source of power proved to be somewhat premature. Consequently, the Agency had to face a number of unanticipated difficulties in establishing a programme which

could effectively serve those of its members that found themselves at different stages of technological development.

73. Despite these obstacles, the Agency has vigorously pursued its main objective stated in article II of its Statute, which is "to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world". As a result of these efforts, the balance drawn at the end of the first decade of the Agency's activities is an altogether favourable one. It has developed sound programmes in a great number of technical fields and has been able to discharge satisfactorily most of its statutory functions.

74. There can be, however, no doubt that the main contribution of atomic energy to the welfare of nations still lies ahead of us. Whilst it has become clear that atomic energy can play the role assigned to it, it is also obvious that the Agency will need our continued and increased support if we want it to discharge its noble task of putting nuclear energy at the service of all peoples, and, in particular, of the developing countries.

75. The statement of the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency contained, in our view, a number of encouraging factors and guidelines for the future work of the Agency, and I should like to pay tribute to Mr. Eklund for his tireless efforts in the service of its members. Indeed, much credit is due to him and his staff for the fine record which that organization has achieved in the past years.

76. The fact that nearly one hundred countries have joined the Agency demonstrates the growing efficiency and usefulness of that organization, which has succeeded in directing its main activities to the practical uses of nuclear energy in the various scientific and industrial fields. An examination of the annual report of the Agency for the past year [A/6345 and Add.1] shows the increasing extent to which the Agency is prepared to assist the development of nuclear power and to ensure that neither nuclear fuel nor nuclear technology becomes a monopoly of advanced countries.

77. The Agency's studies regarding the factors of nuclear-power costs are undoubtedly of great assistance to a large number of Member States and will exercise a decisive influence on national power-policies. In this connexion it is encouraging to note that, for certain purposes and in certain places, nuclear power has become competitive with conventional energy sources.

78. At a recent meeting in Manila, on problems and prospects of nuclear power applications in developing countries, a group of experts of the region served by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) came to the conclusion that nuclear energy could be an attractive alternative in those areas where the cost of fossil fuels was high, as is the case in Southern Asia and the Far East. To quote the words of the distinguished Director-General of the Agency, "it would be no exaggeration to say that the take-off step has been reached".

79. The current favourable outlook, Mr. Eklund pointed out, was the result of nearly two decades of intensive research and development in physics and

technology. The satisfactory and safe operating experience with nuclear plants had given manufacturers and operators confidence and had provided data for improvements in designs of reactor systems, equipment and components.

80. This advance in nuclear technology will also have a direct impact on the use of power plants for the purpose of desalination. Dual-purpose reactors are expected to be economical in the not-too-distant future for the supply of both electricity and water for domestic, industrial and agricultural needs. The Agency's activities in this field are followed with great interest not only by developing countries with large arid areas but also by highly industrialized with a high level of water consumption.

81. The extensive research and training programme of the Agency in the broad field of the applications of radio-isotopes has also produced remarkable results. With the help of Special Fund projects, the agricultural applications of radio-isotopes are steadily moving from the laboratory to the field and factory. The same is true in the field of medicine and in the application of nuclear science to hydrology and industrial purposes.

82. The atom is already at work for the benefit of man, but much remains to be done. It is therefore of great importance to strengthen the Agency's role in the broad field of training and technical assistance. The Agency could effectively help its members, in particular the developing countries, in the planning, development and implementation of nuclear-power programmes by undertaking power-survey missions and pre-investment studies and by providing experts and fellowships. It could advise them on health and safety standards as well as on the disposal of radioactive waste, and it could act as a "broker" by ensuring a continuous supply of materials to member States and by helping members in the financing of their projects.

83. My country has, since the very inception of the Agency, never left any doubt as to its position with regard to the application of effective safeguards against the use of fissile material for military purposes. Austria was among the first countries to accept the Agency's safeguards on their territory and has, to that effect, concluded an agreement with the Agency and the Government of the United States.

84. The adoption of the revised safeguards-system by the ninth General Conference last year represents, in our opinion, an important if not decisive step towards the creation of a universally accepted safeguards system. Its extension to all reactors, small or large, is all the more important as it is reasonable to assume that many nuclear power plants will be built within the next decade. The same applies to reprocessing plants and other installations which produce or use fissile material. It is therefore encouraging to note that the Agency's Board of Governors adopted, in June 1966, a resolution representing a first move towards an inclusion of nuclear facilities, other than reactors, in the Agency's safeguard-system.

85. There can be no doubt that this trend could have an importance reaching far beyond the immediate sphere of the Agency's work. The general acceptance by the Agency's safeguard system could give the

Agency a vital function in controlling the large quantities of fissile materials which could be produced in the future by nuclear reactors or other installations, and in preventing the use of such materials for military purposes.

86. During the recent discussions in the First Committee on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, this potential role of that Organization was mentioned by many speakers and it was recognized that international safeguards could serve as an effective political instrument for the promotion of mutual confidence and the stabilization of peace.

87. The Agency has thus, after a decade of trial, reached a vital juncture in its development. Ready to assume responsible functions that might be entrusted to it in connexion with progress in the field of disarmament, that Organization is already playing a decisive role in ensuring that atomic energy is put at the service of mankind.

88. My Government is proud to be host of an international organization which pursues such a noble task, and I should therefore, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Agency, like to reiterate the pledge of my Government to lend to the activities of that Organization its active and continued support.

89. Mr. ESCHAUZIER (Netherlands): The tenth regular session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, held in Vienna two months ago, marked the opening of the last chapter of the Agency's first decade. While such an occasion is an important milestone in the history of any international organization, I think that there are ample reasons to celebrate this event, with more than usual satisfaction, in the case of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

90. It is therefore a particular pleasure for me to welcome the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Sigvard Eklund, in our midst. I wish to assure him that my delegation listened to his introduction to the Agency's annual report with very keen interest.

91. As my delegation pointed out when the present item on our agenda was discussed a year ago, both the nature and the objectives of the Agency are of a very special character and differ considerably from those of other United Nations bodies. Looking back over the past nine years, there is no gainsaying that the Agency has, by and large, justified the expectations as to the role it was designed to play as the major technical arm of the United Nations in the field of atomic energy. It has gradually become engaged in a wide range of activities. Moreover, the Agency has very wisely concentrated its activities, in increasing measure, on a number of selected areas of priority, which are of special interest to a great majority of Member States requiring technical assistance. This policy is in keeping with one of the basic aims of the "Atoms for Peace Programme"—namely, to increase assistance to developing countries in order to help accelerate their own programmes of development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

92. The broad objectives of the Agency have been outlined in a long-term plan, which is being imple-

mented by biennial programmes admitting of a certain degree of flexibility with a view to changing circumstances. In its quest for greater efficiency, the Agency is making a commendable effort to improve its programming procedures by adopting a policy of so-called "integrated programming". This practice cannot fail to be beneficial, provided that Member States requesting technical assistance fully co-operate with the Agency by adopting the same principles of integrated programming on a national level. As one of the younger members of the United Nations family, the Agency has justly striven to improve the co-ordination of its activities with the specialized agencies as well as with regional organizations whose objectives are related to those of the International Atomic Energy Agency. More specifically, one of the main problems is how to co-ordinate the Agency's technical assistance programme with technical assistance provided by the United Nations Development Fund, by other organizations, or under bilateral arrangements. Other examples of proper teamwork are the pre-investment studies on power, carried out by the United Nations Development Fund with the International Atomic Energy Agency as executing agency. But planning and programming will remain ineffective if adequate means are not provided for.

93. It is my conviction that the Agency has reached a degree of maturity and is now in a position which would enable it to do more than it can actually achieve because of its limited financial resources. The Agency has now come to the point where the secretariat has been forced to admit that it can do no better than "to make optimum use of diminishing resources". The means actually at the disposal of the Agency continue to be unduly restricted, as has already been pointed out by the representative of Canada, mainly because voluntary contributions tend to fall considerably short of the "target" set by the Board of Governors. Despite the optical effect of the annual gross of the Agency's budget, and mindful of the inflationary cost factors, the Agency's financial position is bound to deteriorate on an accelerating scale as long as this situation continues to prevail. Appeals to the Secretariat to exercise the greatest possible economy may be appropriate, but this is only a part of the dilemma facing the Agency. In view of the rapidly increasing number of requests for various forms of assistance by member States, it is more imperative than ever to ensure that the Agency can in future rely on adequate resources commensurate with the scope of its activities as approved by the Board of Governors. In my view, this ought to be one of the matters of special concern for the Board of Governors and the General Conference in the context of the review of the Agency's activities referred to by the representative of Poland. The possibilities for the Agency to finance projects together with other international financing agencies should also be further explored.

94. I wish to express my delegation's deep satisfaction that the revised safeguards system adopted during the ninth regular session of the General Conference in Tokyo has now been provisionally extended by the Board of Governors to materials in chemical re-processing plants.

95. My delegation has paid particular attention to the Director-General's remarks on the Agency's

safeguards system. It seems to me that the time has come to ask the Director-General to include in his report to the next General Assembly a special chapter on the history, principles and progress of the Agency's safeguards activities. Incidentally, it would appear to me that the statement or report by the Director-General might also be of interest to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. I am saying this because one of the most significant developments over the past months is the growing awareness of the role the Agency may be destined to play in the context of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and eventually of other measures to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race. The current interest in the Agency's statutory functions has brought into focus one of the hitherto "dormant" articles of its charter. According to article III.B.1, the Agency shall conduct its activities in accordance with United Nations policies furthering safeguarded world-wide disarmament and with any international agreements entered into pursuant to such policies.

96. Safeguarding peaceful activities and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons are two distinct but congruent aspects of the same question; in fact, they are complementary to each other. In his intervention in the First Committee on 1 November [1438th meeting], the Netherlands State Secretary, Mr. Van der Stoep, underscored the importance my delegation attaches to a full implementation of article III.A.5 and article XII of the Agency's Statute. I shall therefore refrain from restating our position. But I should like to recall to this body the proposal by the Netherlands delegation that the Agency's safeguarding functions should be broadened and eventually be universally accepted by voluntarily placing nuclear facilities under Agency safeguards; transferring bilateral agreements to Agency controls; accepting the Agency's safeguards system for any future multilateral agreement such as denuclearized zones; and finally, harmonizing the safeguards of existing regional organizations with the Agency's system and implementing the Agency's statutory functions under articles IX, XI and XII of the Statute as a custodian and supplier of nuclear weapons by the transfer of such materials from military stockpiles.

97. In this connexion I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the proposals made by the delegation of Norway which have our full support.

98. With reference to the remarks of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I want to reiterate our previous assurance that the offer by the Governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia will be seriously considered by the Netherlands Government in close consultation with its Euratom partners.

99. If I may be allowed to revert briefly to the question of non-proliferation, it seems appropriate to draw attention to another provision testifying to the foresight of the framers of the Statute. According to article XII.C, non-compliance with safeguards provisions by a member State shall be reported to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations. This procedure would converge with similar procedures which may be envisaged under a possible withdrawal clause in a non-proliferation treaty. It is

not difficult to imagine circumstances under which the examination by the highest political authority of the United Nations of the alleged reasons for withdrawal could usefully be supplemented by the already existing fact-finding machinery of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

100. These and other aspects of the Agency's future role in the context of non-proliferation and related measures should be explored scrupulously and conscientiously. It stands to reason that, at least initially, member States may still have differences of opinion on the exact nature and extent of the Agency's functions in this field. There is no doubt, however, that a significant breakthrough in political thinking has occurred if the Agency is now generally accepted, as it seems to be, as an important auxiliary organ for halting the spread of nuclear weapons. An international organization can become no more than its members want it to be. It would appear to my delegation that there is a rising tide of expectations and a growing consensus about the potentialities of the International Atomic Energy Agency for the future. If we are determined to exploit the latter to the full in the spirit of articles II and III of the Statute, the Agency will at long last prove equal to the task of accelerating and enlarging "the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world".

101. Mr. GONZALEZ DE LEON (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): I asked for the floor in order to refer to the recent statement in this plenary meeting by Mr. Sigvard Eklund, Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency. My delegation listened with the greatest interest to the various points raised by Mr. Eklund and wishes to place on record the satisfaction of the Government of Mexico with regard to the steadily expanding and increasingly well-directed activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

102. The IAEA has continued to provide assistance and co-operation in the most diversified fields of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and has been increasingly successful in facilitating the exchange of the data and information which the world of today requires in order to integrate this mighty source of energy and wealth into the process of development. However, there are two fields of the Agency's activity to which my Government attaches major importance: technical assistance and the provision, to States which cannot obtain them for themselves, of material and equipment for the development of their industry and nuclear installations. The Agency, which is a real pool of knowledge, experts and materials, is a most valuable source of assistance to the developing countries, countries among which I may single out my own as one which has received from it the greatest facilities and the widest co-operation.

103. We have also noted with pleasure that the system of safeguards, to which the nuclear installations and materials of my country are subject, has successfully broadened in scope so that it now applies not only to new and more extensive fields but also to a large number of States.

104. The system of safeguards, which is an essential mechanism for supervising nuclear development and

for ensuring that that development will not be diverted towards objectives other than the quest for human well-being, constitutes by definition one of the best guarantees, it being objective and impartial, against the spread of nuclear weapons. Therefore, even before there was any thought of entrusting to the Agency any part of the supervisory functions to be defined, in a future treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the countries of Latin America, in the Preparatory Commission set up to prepare a treaty for the permanent denuclearization of that geographical region, included the IAEA system of safeguards from the outset as an integral part of the system of control envisaged in the draft of the treaty.

105. The work of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America is now far advanced. We are convinced that the desire to free this part of the world definitively from the danger and the heavy burden that are implicit in the possession of atomic weapons is not only a noble and praiseworthy objective in itself but one that is within the immediate grasp of the nations of Latin America. With this in mind, the Government of Mexico, through its delegation to the tenth regular meeting of the Agency's General Conference, held in Vienna from 21 to 28 September 1966, made the following statement:

"My delegation believes this to be an appropriate time to refer to an item to which it attaches the greatest importance. I mean the plan to establish a permanent denuclearized zone in Latin America. The delegations present here have already been informed of the efforts in which the Latin American countries have been engaged in order to attain this objective: the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America, set up at the end of 1964, has been working hard to mould into an international instrument the undertaking of all its members not to produce or to acquire, on any account, nuclear weapons. The reasoning behind so noble an idea is familiar to all, for fundamentally it is a corollary to general and complete disarmament, whereby our geographical region will be freed from the dangers of a possible nuclear conflict and all possibility will be ruled out of its involvement in a sterile armaments race, which would be, to say the least, an absurd misuse of the limited resources available to Latin America for urgently needed economic and social development."^{6/}

106. The Preparatory Commission,^{7/} which met in the Mexican capital in the spring of 1966, adopted the "Proposals for the preparation of a Treaty on the Denuclearization of Latin America" [A/6328], a document which includes, in addition to the obligations to be assumed by the States parties to the treaty, certain measures, all very necessary, for supervising the implementation of those obligations. Among these control measures, and as an essential factor in this effective implementation, provision is made for the participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

^{6/} International Atomic Energy Agency, document GC(X)/OR.103, para. a. 74.

^{7/} Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America, third session, held in Mexico City from 19 April to 4 May 1966.

107. The Agency's system of safeguards, which in accordance with paragraph 5 of article III A of the Statute may be extended "on the request of the Parties, to any bilateral or multilateral arrangement, or on the request of a State, to any of the activities of that State in the field of atomic energy", would be applied as part of the system of control envisaged in the future Latin American treaty on denuclearization, in pursuance of the principle laid down in paragraph 1 of article III B, which establishes that "in the exercise of its functions, the Agency will act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to promote peace and international co-operation, in conformity with the policy of the United Nations to achieve world disarmament with due safeguards, and in conformity with all international agreements reached in the implementation of that policy".

108. The Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America will meet again in January 1967 and the intention of its members is to arrive, if possible, at a definitive formulation of the denuclearization treaty. In the circumstances, the Governments represented here will appreciate how urgent it is that the Agency should consider as soon as it can the form in which it will assist the Latin American Governments in the implementation of the treaty. My delegation therefore considers that it is not too soon to take this matter up seriously, in order that at its first meeting in the new year the Board of Governors can have before it specific suggestions in this respect, so that, as soon as the treaty on the denuclearization of Latin America enters into force, the Agency can proceed to draw up the arrangements for the application of its system of safeguards in accordance with the terms of the treaty.

109. I should like now to reiterate my country's interest in this aspect of the Agency's future activities. My delegation is sure that the co-operation which we expect from it in this matter will constitute an inestimable contribution to the success of the Latin American denuclearization treaty and will be able to serve as a model for other similar regional treaties. The Agency is an effective organization, endowed with the necessary means and experience to assist in this undertaking, and in the opinion of my Government, States Members should make the greatest possible use of it.

110. Mr. MICHALEK (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation has listened carefully to the statement in which the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Eklund, presented the report on the activities of the organization for the past year [A/6345 and Add.1].

111. This year the International Atomic Energy Agency has entered another decade of its activities. We are of the opinion that, in the coming period, the co-operation among States in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy, along with the work done by the International Atomic Energy Agency, must give ever-greater effect to the implementation of the requirement that the atom should serve solely the cause of peace. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always taken a stand and will continue to take a stand in favour of such co-operation among States

which would serve the development of science and technology to the benefit of all countries and nations.

112. In speaking of the activities of the Agency, I cannot fail to mention, at least briefly, the general atmosphere and environment in which the organization works. There are not, and cannot be, doubts about the fact that the International Atomic Energy Agency has been linked immediately, by virtue of the very essence of its activities, with questions of the international situation and, in particular, with the cause of world peace. Finally, this has found very specific reflection in a number of passages of the Agency's Statute. Should the international situation further deteriorate, then also the activities of the whole organization would be sensibly affected in an unfavourable manner; on the other hand, every improvement in the international atmosphere will find its positive expression in the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. As a matter of course, this is not only a question of a unilateral process of influence exerted upon the organization by the general situation. It is our profound conviction also that the International Atomic Energy Agency alone can contribute, through its own activities, to the improvement of the situation in the world and that it alone plays, and can do so to a still greater extent, a significant role as a positive factor in international relations.

113. I should like to avail myself today of the opportunity, in particular, to express appreciation of the work which the Agency has done in the course of the ten years of its existence. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic notes with satisfaction that the importance and significance of the Agency throughout the world is rising steadily. Within our possibilities, we shall continue to give it our active support in the years to come and contribute our share to the promotion of its activities in the interest of universal peaceful scientific and economic development.

114. The Czechoslovak delegation is appreciative of the fact that, in recent years, the International Atomic Energy Agency has begun directing its attention to a greater extent than before to the important field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, that is, to nuclear power. Further, we value positively the activities of the Agency aimed at the use of radio-isotopes and sources of radioactive radiation in science, technology, industry, agriculture and other fields as well as in the processing and liquidation of radioactive waste and in the security of labour with radioactive materials and the protection of health. A number of scientific conferences, symposiums and panels which the International Atomic Energy Agency organized in those fields reached high scientific levels, and their recommendations constituted a great contribution to the activities of individual Member States.

115. The Agency played a major role in the field of co-ordination of research and preparation of handbooks and rules concerning various aspects of nuclear energy, particularly in the field of nuclear security. We value positively also the endeavours of the Agency to co-ordinate its activities with those of other international organizations in fields concerning problems for which solutions were sought within the International Atomic Energy Agency. We also appreciate the role played by the Agency in the preparation and

organization of the Geneva Conferences on peaceful uses of atomic energy.

116. The programme for technical co-operation and assistance, which the Agency develops with great initiative in many regions, has also been of great advantage to member States. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic participates actively in this programme too. Czechoslovak scientists who have had significant success in a number of fields participate in scientific panels and conferences organized by the Agency; several important scientific conferences and meetings have been organized directly also in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In the field of technical assistance, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic makes its scientists available for the purposes of the Agency, in compliance with its needs, for the posts of experts and visiting professors in developing countries. In addition, Czechoslovak research institutes are actively involved in the scientific programmes of the International Atomic Energy Agency as well as in the promotion of the exchange of scientific and technical information. It is in these fields that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to give the Agency its active support.

117. It was a great honour for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to be a member of the Preparatory Committee which laid the foundations of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and to have a Czechoslovak representative as the first Chairman of the Board of Governors at the very outset of the Agency's existence. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as one of the founding members of the International Atomic Energy Agency, considers itself honour bound, in view of its active participation in the founding of the organization, to take the greatest possible part in its development. From the very beginning, it has endeavoured to contribute toward the attainment of the goal that the Agency, a world centre for the use of nuclear energy, be governed by the prevailing spirit of co-operation among nations without which firm foundations of peace cannot be built up. This constructive guideline is essential in determining our view on the activities of the Agency and its organs at present as well as in the future.

118. In closing my observations, I should like to express the hope that the draft resolution co-sponsored by Austria, Poland and Tunisia [A/L.499], will receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

119. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): We wish to compliment Mr. Eklund, the distinguished Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, on the statement he has made here today. The International Atomic Energy Agency has indeed made impressive progress in implementing the objectives of its statute, and the United States hopes that in its second decade the Agency will make even more rapid progress.

120. We were particularly pleased to hear Mr. Eklund's discussion of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system. As we stated in the First Committee on 9 November [1448th meeting], the United States strongly favours the application of international safeguards to all peaceful nuclear activities in the world. My Government therefore strongly supports the

International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards programme. One of the conspicuous achievements of the International Atomic Energy Agency in the past few years has been the Agency's very responsible attitude toward fulfilling its mandate in this field. The original drafters of the Agency's Statute had the wisdom and foresight to couple the objectives of promoting and enlarging the peaceful uses of nuclear energy with that of developing a safeguards system to assure that projects with which it is related are used only for peaceful purposes. In view of the recent dramatic upsurge in the demand for nuclear power throughout the world, resulting from increased availability of such power at costs competitive with conventional power, the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards responsibilities take on added and urgent importance.

121. President Johnson stated in a message to the International Atomic Energy Agency's General Conference on its tenth anniversary in September, that:

"... the Agency has a crucial responsibility to see that the vast beneficial uses of nuclear energy are not diverted for military purposes. I cannot say often enough that the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons is one of the most important tasks of our times. We look on the Agency's safeguards system as one of the principal instruments for accomplishing this task. The United States Government fully supports the Agency system and we will do all in our power to support the continued growth and technical effectiveness of the system. But its success depends upon the support of all members—and I urge all members to foster the continued healthy development and widespread application of this vital system."^{5/}

122. The most recent step taken by the Agency, earlier this year, is the extension of its safeguards procedures to fuel reprocessing plants. Coverage of this important link in the fuel cycle is a major step forward. The United States promptly undertook to have these procedures applied to the nuclear fuel services reprocessing plant in West Valley, New York, in connexion with the processing of irradiated fuel from our large Yankee Nuclear Power Station, which is already subject to International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. My Government also proposed at the International Atomic Energy Agency General Conference in September 1966 that the Agency take another step forward to extend coverage of its safeguards procedures to fuel fabrication and associated recovery processing, another major link in the nuclear fuel cycle.

123. I should like to say here for the record that we in the United States, as a country with nuclear projects under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, have found these safeguards to be fairly and competently administered, with no interference with the normal operation of the facility. From our own experience we can testify that these safeguards in no way involve burdens or risks to the host country. For example, the Agency's procedure of consulting in advance with the host country regarding the assignment

of inspectors avoids any risk that could arise if the inspector were a national of a hostile State.

124. It is gratifying to note that the number of reactors under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards or containing safeguarded material has reached a total of fifty-seven in twenty-five countries—referred to by the Director-General—involving a capacity of 2,500 thermal megawatts. Agreements have been signed for bringing the safeguards responsibilities of fourteen United States bilateral agreements under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

125. The Agency's safeguards system has proved itself to be effective in accomplishing its primary task of providing a mechanism by which a country can successfully assure all other countries that its nuclear programme is truly peaceful, and receive similar assurances in return. By thus dispelling suspicions that countries may be secretly preparing to produce nuclear weapons, International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards make an important contribution to curb nuclear proliferation. We are therefore pleased to note both the commendable achievements of the Agency in establishing an effective, non-burdensome safeguards system, and the growing support around the world for wider application of this system.

126. In this connexion my delegation has already made clear the interest with which the United States has noted the offer of Poland and Czechoslovakia to place their peaceful nuclear programmes under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. As I said earlier in the First Committee on 9 November, although the United States would have preferred to see this offer made without conditions, we nevertheless believe that it deserves and is receiving—and I repeat "receiving"—serious consideration by Western Governments. I regret that the representative of the Soviet Union saw fit to question the serious consideration being given to this proposal by the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Governments.

127. Mr. COSTA (Brazil): It is with gratification that the Brazilian delegation refers to the constructive work accomplished by the International Atomic Energy Agency since its inception ten years ago. Indeed, we take pride in recalling the participation of Brazil in the Agency's establishment and our active collaboration in its work ever since.

128. Ten years have elapsed since the conference which was held in New York for the elaboration of the Agency's statute. If one pauses and looks ahead, one can already visualize the substantial expansion of all programmes on the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Such an expansion, if not coupled with appropriate safeguards, would undoubtedly place in the hands of an increasing number of countries stockpiles of fissionable material, thus making possible their diversion to military ends. It is needless to emphasize, at the present stage, that if we are to ensure the peaceful character of the nuclear programmes under the Agency, it is essential to increase the effectiveness of the system of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and control of a non-discriminatory nature over nuclear facilities. In the light of the potentialities of nuclear research, the existing mechanism is but a prototype capable of

^{5/} International Atomic Energy Agency, document GC(X)/OR.103, para. 4.

coping only with the present stage of experimental nuclear technology.

129. The recent debates in the First Committee seem to reflect an improvement in the atmosphere for an early agreement on a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We deem of great significance the impressive number of references made by several delegations to the important role to be played by the International Atomic Energy Agency in the implementation of the treaty. May I recall that the delegation of Japan advanced the suggestion during the debates that the General Assembly should request from the International Atomic Energy Agency a report on the role which the Agency can play in the context of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the effectiveness of the present safeguards system.

130. In Latin America, the Agency provided useful assistance in the drafting of statutory provisions for a control system designed to ensure the efficacy of a treaty establishing a nuclear-free zone in this hemisphere. Such provisions are part of a set of proposals to be examined by the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America at its next session in Mexico City early in 1967 [see A/6328 and Corr.1].

131. The Agency's report to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly [A/6345 and Add.1] summarizes the activities which it has conducted in many important fields.

132. We welcome the study prepared by the Agency on the application of safeguards to more sophisticated nuclear facilities as a significant step towards the adaptation of the present system to the revolution of nuclear technology. Despite the experimental character of the provisions now being enforced, we trust that their application to installations such as re-processing plants will be of singular importance when we resort to the Agency's machinery for the implementation of a treaty on non-proliferation.

133. In conclusion, let me stress that the efforts towards a treaty on non-proliferation or in the direction of the creation of nuclear-free zones would be far more difficult if we could not count upon the technical framework and the valuable experience acquired by the Agency throughout a decade of earnest and devoted activities in various fields related to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. With these reasons in mind, the Brazilian delegation reaffirms its support and pledges its full co-operation in exploring all possible means of diversification and expansion of the International Atomic Energy Agency's work so that the Agency may effectively discharge the responsibilities which the future will certainly thrust upon it.

134. Mr. ECOBESCU (Romania) (translated from French): On 26 October 1956, at the Headquarters of our Organization and under the auspices of the United Nations, an event took place which was to open a new chapter in one of the most important fields of international co-operation. It was then that the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency was signed.

135. During the ten years that have since elapsed, the General Assembly has been kept regularly informed of the aims, efforts and achievements of the

Agency. Although the report now before us [A/6345 and Add.1] deals with only one year of activities, it nevertheless prompts us to look back over this first decade which, being the first, has perhaps also been the most difficult. Therefore, we have before us not only a report but also an anniversary.

136. May we therefore take this opportunity to express our satisfaction on the creation and development of the Agency, and our gratitude to the Director-General, Mr. Eklund, whose thorough report has helped us to understand better and to follow more closely the activities of that important institution in the United Nations family.

137. It has quite rightly been said that every scientific discovery, while solving an old problem, at the same time creates many new problems which in turn demand solutions. Perhaps this has never been felt more obviously than in the case of nuclear energy.

138. Indeed, while it is true that this source of energy can be used to inflict untold damage and destruction on the human race, it is also true that its use for peaceful purposes opens up unique opportunities for mankind to rise to new levels of civilization.

139. It was this latter objective that the Agency had in mind when it proclaimed in article II of its Statute:

"The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world."

140. These words specify not only the aims of the Agency, but also the principle of universality that would ensure their attainment. We wish to stress on this occasion that this principle is seriously undermined by the fact that the People's Republic of China, which is a nuclear Power, and other States are prevented from participating in the work of the Agency. This situation must be brought to an end, both in the interest of international co-operation in the nuclear energy field and to make the organization's activities more effective.

141. The report shows the progress made by the Agency in carrying out its task and the wealth of experience it has gained, and it bears witness to the usefulness and need of international co-operation for peaceful ends.

142. During these last ten years, the International Atomic Energy Agency has become established as an organization useful to Member States, contributing as it does to the development of international co-operation in a field so important to the contemporary world as that of the peaceful application of nuclear energy.

143. It can clearly be seen from the report before us that the Agency's main achievements are those which meet the most urgent needs of national economies, namely, the development of nuclear energy, the training of specialists in nuclear physics, the provision of technical assistance, the elimination of certain destructive agents attacking trees and cereal crops, and larger-scale projects such as the desalination of sea water.

144. We might also mention the Agency's contribution to the application of radio-active and stable

isotopes in medicine, industry and hydrology, as well as the outstanding studies it has made of various problems.

145. The importance of the development of energetics in the general economic progress of each country is well known. In view of the growing importance of nuclear energy, we think that the Agency should pay special attention to this problem in all its aspects.

146. We feel that the extension of technical assistance given to the developing countries should continue to be one of the Agency's chief preoccupations. The Agency is particularly well situated to assist in the training of national specialists in the nuclear field.

147. No country which lacks highly qualified specialists can embark on the very difficult but absolutely necessary course of nuclear energy. The importance and the urgency of this problem were emphasized by the adoption at the last session of the General Conference^{9/} of a resolution^{10/} which Romania was privileged to sponsor, together with Bulgaria, India, Italy, Mexico, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

148. No country in the world today can be insensitive to the impressive possibilities opened up for our economies by the application of nuclear energy in various sectors of production or research. This is only natural, since in our era, which is characterized by a technical and scientific revolution on a vast scale and by an irreversible movement of mankind towards progress and civilization, the influence of science and technology, including the achievements of nuclear science and technology, on the economic and social development of a country, is constantly growing.

149. In this connexion two main requirements are called for. One is the need for every country to develop its own scientific and technical research. This applies particularly to research into the peaceful applications of nuclear energy, because otherwise there is a grave risk that the progress of science as a whole may be retarded, that economic and social development may be halted and that the importation of brain power may become permanent, with resulting dependence on other countries.

150. The other requirement springs from the concept of fruitful international co-operation. This takes into consideration the experience of history which shows that all peoples, whether large or small, can make a contribution to the enrichment of the heritage of universal science. Scientific and technical research represents one of the main manifestations of a people's genius and ingenuity, its thought and creative capacity, which enable it to assert its personality fully.

151. As regards nuclear energy, it was precisely this need for effective international co-operation between States, based on the principles of respect for sovereignty, equality, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual benefit, which led to the establishment of the Agency.

152. Romania, committed as it is to a vast programme of economic and social development, attaches great importance to the problem of the peaceful use of atomic energy. This concern finds its expression, among other things, in long-term programmes and, above all, in the ten-year plan for the development of the country's power resources. This explains the interest and support which Romania, as a founder member of the Agency, attaches to the Agency's activities.

153. We are convinced that the International Atomic Energy Agency has the necessary means and resources to contribute through its activities not only to the development of fruitful co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy but also in the creation of an atmosphere of friendship and the relaxation of tension between States.

154. Mr. BEN AISSA (Tunisia) (translated from French): The International Atomic Energy Agency has presented its yearly report to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Eklund, the Director-General of the Agency, has just submitted, in his usual lucid fashion, the Agency's report [A/6345 and Add.1] for the period from 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966, and the Tunisian delegation wishes to convey to him its sincere thanks.

155. The Agency's activities continue to increase and its efforts in promoting the peaceful use of nuclear energy for progress and prosperity give rise to the greatest hopes. The Agency has already directed its activities towards increasing its contribution to the economic life of Member States. Thus, many countries which, like Tunisia, suffer from a lack of water are particularly interested in the outstanding progress achieved in the technology of the production of nuclear energy associated with the desalination of sea water and brackish water. Moreover, the widespread and important applications of radio-isotopes and stable isotopes to the biological sciences, agronomy and industry are to an increasing extent passing from the stage of laboratory experiments to actual practice in the field. These activities, which are becoming increasingly important, should not make us lose sight of the Agency's contribution to the elimination of a number of dangers inherent in the handling of nuclear energy. In this respect I am happy to note the Agency's efforts to solve problems relating to safeguards or the elimination of waste products. In our opinion, these efforts should be rapidly completed by the establishment of a system of assistance in the case of nuclear accidents.

156. The increase in the Agency's membership, together with the needs of several developed and developing countries, make it necessary for the Agency to increase its technical assistance and training activities. The International Centre for Theoretical Physics at Trieste plays a very important part in that respect for all the developing countries. Unfortunately, the Agency's resources in that field remain limited, and the Tunisian delegation would like to express the hope that a number of States will make it possible for the Agency to expand its activities in this as well as in other fields.

157. Before concluding, the Tunisian delegation would like to congratulate the Director-General of the Inter-

^{9/} International Atomic Energy Agency, document GC(X)/COM.1/99.

^{10/} International Atomic Energy Agency, Resolutions and Other Decisions Adopted by the General Conference during its Tenth Session, document GC(X)/RES/215.

national Atomic Energy Agency for the spirit of co-operation shown by the Agency's officials in their relations with the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Tunisian delegation hopes that draft resolution A/L.499 will be adopted unanimously.

158. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since there are no other speakers, I shall ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by Austria, Poland and Tunisia (A/L.499) under which the General Assembly would take note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency for the year 1965-1966. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts this draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 90

Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (*continued*)

159. Mr. Amjad ALI (Pakistan): The question we are discussing today is, in reality, nothing more than the question of having a founding Member of this Organization represented here by its own Government. That this essentially uncomplicated question has been subjected to so much confusion, surrounded by so many irrelevancies, distorted by so much artifice, is a great tragedy for mankind. It is also a sad commentary on the lucidity of the General Assembly's deliberations.

160. Confronted with persistent attempts at obfuscation, my delegation is among those which are forced, time and again, to reiterate the plain and simple issues of the case.

161. First, we are dealing here not with the question of the admission of a State but with the question of its representation. Speaking in this debate at the twentieth session, [1372nd meeting] I referred to our position on this issue which was clearly stated by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan when he addressed the fifth session of the General Assembly on 25 September 1950. We think that the statement deserves to be quoted again. The Foreign Minister stated:

"Much stress has been sought to be laid on whether that government is peace-loving or not, and whether it is able and willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter. This is the language of Article 4 of the Charter itself, but those who have sought to base themselves upon it appear to forget that Article 4 relates to the admission of new Members and not to the validity of representation, with which alone we are here concerned. China is not applying for admission to the United Nations. It is a Member State, a permanent member of the Security Council, one of the Big Five." [283rd meeting, para. 175.]

He went on to say:

"The sole question is: who is entitled to represent China, a Member State, in the Assembly?" [*Ibid.*, para. 177.]

162. Second, since the question is one of representation, or, in other words, of the credentials of the representatives of a Member State, it cannot be considered an "important" question in the technical sense of that term as used in the Charter. Article 18 requires

that the question of the admission of new Members should be decided by a two-thirds majority. To recognize, as one must, that this is not a question of admission and yet to hold that it should be decided by a two-thirds majority is manifestly self-contradictory. It immediately follows that draft resolution A/L.494 and Add.1 seeks to fasten an arbitrary course of action on this Assembly.

163. Third, there is not the slightest doubt that it is the Government of the People's Republic of China which has effective control of the territory, and represents the population, of China. To hold otherwise is to evince a total evasion of realities. On that ground alone, the case for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is compelling.

164. Those of us who demand this restoration have no need, in strict law, to try to establish the title of the People's Republic of China on its achievements or its pivotal position in world affairs. But the legal considerations are further reinforced by what President de Gaulle has called "the weight of both evidence and reason". There is unchallengeable evidence before this Assembly of the following principal facts:

165. First, the People's Republic of China, representing the largest nation in the world, which has also the longest political history, has restored China's integrity and redeemed its pride. A China which was humiliated during the period of colonialism, which was subjected to the indignities that were the common lot of the peoples of Asia and Africa, a China which was ravaged by disunity and sunk in despair, is now a China that ranks among the greatest Powers in the world. Is there anyone who upholds the values of the freedom and self-respect of nations who will not applaud this consummation? Is there anyone not blinded by the fears and prejudices of race who will not rejoice in this achievement?

166. Second, despite the unlawful denial to China of its legitimate representation in the United Nations, the People's Republic of China does enjoy widespread international recognition. It maintains diplomatic and consular relations with about fifty countries. These include three permanent members of the Security Council and all China's land neighbours. Its diplomatic representatives have entered into parleys with the diplomatic representatives of even the United States; we understand that 131 meetings have so far taken place.

167. Third, the People's Republic of China has been a party to international agreements of a supremely important character. It has scrupulously carried out the agreements it entered into on Indo-China in 1954 and on Laos in 1962. Further, it has concluded and implemented boundary agreements with all its Asian neighbours except one, and the exception was not China's choice. On any objective appraisal, its attitude in these agreements was characteristic of a great and gifted nation. It has been an attitude of fair-mindedness and magnanimity.

168. Fourth, the policy of preventing China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations has—and I quote the Foreign Minister of Pakistan when addressing the Assembly—"imposed a disability, not on the

People's Republic of China, but on this Organization" [1423rd meeting, para. 51]. The Foreign Minister added:

"To persist today in preventing the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations and all its organs, on whatever pretext or by whichever stratagem, is to ignore the realities of the world situation. The absence of the real representatives of China from the United Nations is the most important single cause of the decline of its effectiveness and the inability of the world community to deal realistically with the problems of disarmament and to settle the many conflicts and tensions in Asia." [Ibid.]

169. We have had occasion many times to stress that the absence of China from these counsels lends a distinct air of unreality to our deliberations here. It weakens the capacity of this Organization to deal with the problems of disarmament. It removes this Organization from the realities of the Asian continent. By so doing, it paralyses its functions of resolutely seeking a settlement of those grave disputes in Asia which, if unresolved, carry the seeds of future disaster.

170. On the other hand, all current evidence suggests that this absence has not placed the People's Republic of China at any disadvantage which, with its resources of matter and spirit, it is unable to conquer. The thinking that a denial of representation to China would compel it to change its policies and accept some kind of subservience has now conclusively been shown to be nothing more than an illusion.

171. In the face of all these considerations of law and of fact, the conclusion becomes inescapable that the present policy of the United Nations is as unjust as it is sterile. Founded on a series of myths, it is sustained by nothing but a process of mystification.

172. The Pakistan delegation considers it a misfortune for the United Nations that attempts should be made to lend some respectability to this policy in ever new and seemingly ingenious ways. We are offered what is called the "two Chinas" concept. This means that we should give representation to a second China, a second China which nowhere exists. In other words, we are asked to impose a duality on a nation, not because any human, moral or legal considerations warrant our doing so, but only because the members of a certain emigré régime are people that some of us would like to see around. My delegation would plead with the proponents of this scheme not to resort to this manoeuvre. We beg them not to try to sow confusion on an issue which otherwise is abundantly clear. I repeat that this confusion is not to the detriment of China so much as it is to that of the United Nations.

173. Since the proponents of this concept seem to realize its lack of validity, we are now given another draft resolution [A/L.500], which, it pains us to observe, is yet another stratagem for delaying the doing of what is right. In order to make my delegation's position clear on this draft resolution, I shall have to advert to some remarks made by its sponsor in this debate.

174. We listened with attention and respect to the statement of the representative of Italy on Friday

last [1470th meeting]. First of all, he pointed to the fact that the discussion of this question has been so far unfruitful. We agree, but we ask him, who is to blame for this issue not being resolved in accordance with law and facts? Because some Members do not wish to recognize realities, does it follow that, in order to persuade them to do so, we must cloak these realities? Then, Minister Piccioni posed the question: "... is the People's Republic of China prepared to comply with the terms of the Charter of San Francisco as it governs the United Nations?" [1470th meeting, para. 65]. We ask the counter-question—and this is not by way of trying to make any debating points: why should we pose this question about the People's Republic of China and not about the Government of every other Member State of the United Nations? Did we ever pose this question to the Governments of those countries where régimes were changed during their membership of this Organization? Are there not some Governments represented here which have persistently defied the Charter, shown contempt for the resolutions of the Security Council or the General Assembly, and attempted to scrap solemn international agreements? If we do not require these Governments to purge themselves of this guilt in order to continue to enjoy the privileges of membership, do we have any semblance of justification for asking a pledge of good faith from the hitherto untried—untried in the United Nations—Government of the People's Republic of China? The representative of Italy, in fact, posed the question: does the People's Republic of China really want to be represented in the United Nations? A counter-question again will, we hope, help to clarify the answer: how do you expect the People's Republic of China to signify its desire? Do you seriously believe that it will come begging to us, that it will don sackcloth and ashes in order to regain what has all along been its due? References have been made in this debate to certain strong statements about this Organization made by the leaders of China. This point was disposed of by the representative of France at the 1372nd meeting of this Assembly, and I can do no better than quote his words:

"In this situation, which directly impedes the attainment of universality by the United Nations, should we allow ourselves to be deterred by this or that statement by the Chinese leaders which is harsh or critical of our Organization? What Government, if it found itself in the same circumstances, kept out of the United Nations for so many years, could be expected to show kindly feelings towards the United Nations?" [1372nd meeting, para. 47.]

175. It is on the basis of questions of this nature—questions which are merely contrived—that the main thesis of the representative of Italy subsists. The thesis is:

"... there is also a difference in our interpretation of the intentions of the Peking Government. Actually, over the last sixteen years a whole series of statements have been made in regard to these intentions, which can be interpreted in a variety of ways." [1470th meeting, para. 66.]

176. In all fairness, could not the same thing be said of the intentions and statements of virtually any

Government in the world? What Government is there whose intentions cannot be interpreted differently by its adversaries from how they are understood by its friends? If so, what can be the intention of asking these questions except to import an element of mystery where none exists?

177. That being the nature of this thesis, it follows that the whole approach of draft resolution A/L.500 rests on a wrong premise. The third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution talks of the complexities of this question which require the most searching considerations. There can be no end to human ingenuity in creating complexities in the simplest questions. But we, the Members of the United Nations, are entitled to ask the questions: are we to undertake a study of the question whether or not we should conform to the Charter and bring this Organization into a rational relationship with world realities? Are we to evade the natural solution? What is this draft resolution but a clothing in more formal guise of a practice annually resorted to in the past and later abandoned because it had ceased to carry any support? I refer to the practice of postponing the consideration of this question at each session of the Assembly.

178. Considering all these principles, the Pakistan delegation would earnestly plead with this Assembly

not to block any further the only course of action which pays heed to realities, which is compatible with the standards laid down in the Charter and which conforms to the moral imperatives of the situation. That course of action is laid down in draft resolution A/L.496 and Add.1 which my delegation has deemed it a privilege to co-sponsor.

179. I want to stress, in conclusion, that, by adopting this draft resolution, the Assembly will neither do a favour to China nor defeat the policies of any Government which is not at present friendly to the People's Republic. All it will do is to restore the integrity of this Organization, enhance its effectiveness and enable it to enjoy the respect of public opinion throughout the world.

180. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): There are no further speakers on my list for this afternoon.

181. I should like to take this opportunity to remind Members of the Assembly that once the list of speakers is closed, the President will expect representatives to be ready to speak in the order in which their countries appear on the list. I remind Members that the list will be closed at noon tomorrow.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.