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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

**AGENDA ITEM 14**

**Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency**

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it as the first item on its agenda the fourth annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency covering the period 1 July 1959 to 30 September 1960 [A/4531 and Corr.1 and Add.1]. I take pleasure in giving the floor to the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Sterling Cole, to present the report.

2. Mr. COLE (Director-General, International Atomic Energy Agency): Mr. President, I have great pleasure in presenting to the General Assembly the fourth annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, as is required by the Statute of the Agency. The report consists of two parts: the main part is the report of the Agency's Board of Governors to the General Conference covering the period 1 July 1959 to 30 June 1960 [A/4531 and Corr.1] and the second part is a supplement [A/4531/Add.1] covering developments during the period 1 July to 30 September 1960 and giving a summary of action taken by the General Conference at its fourth regular session in September.

3. The General Conference of the Agency opened the same day as this Assembly, and it is therefore quite fresh in our minds. I am pleased to inform you that, in my view, it was the most constructive and encouraging conference that we have had since the Agency was set up a little more than three years ago. In saying this, I do not, of course, for a moment gloss over the serious problems which still confront the Agency. In this connexion, I cannot do better than refer to a comment made in the course of the debate by the representative of India, Mr. Homi Bhabha, the distinguished scientist, who is well known to many of you here. He said that, "if the Agency had not been created in 1957, the need for it would have been greater in the present year."

4. The validity of Mr. Bhabha's statement is fortified by the fact that production of nuclear weapons material would seem to be within the reach of more and more Governments as present technology improves.

5. Before going into the affairs of the Agency, I think that the Assembly would be interested in a brief picture of the present state and prospects of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The general picture throughout the world has not changed substantially since I spoke here a year ago [835th meeting]. However, the use of isotopes continues to flourish, radiation uses continue to expand and to bring new benefits to industry, to medicine and to agriculture. Here, the Agency is beginning to see the first fruits of its own work of spreading this technology in the less developed areas. On the other hand, the main use foreseen from nuclear energy, namely, the production of cheap electric and motive power and heat, still remains to most countries a prospect for the future rather than a reality for the present, although today's assessment is generally more optimistic than that of, for example, two years ago. The Agency's scientific Conference on Small and Medium Power Reactors, held in Vienna from 5 to 9 September 1960, showed that there are good prospects for important, if not spectacular, technical improvements, particularly in large power reactors. Several large nuclear power stations have come into operation in the past year or are on the point of beginning their work. I would reiterate that all signs still point to the likelihood that nuclear power will first become competitive in the larger plants and under special circumstances, but, in isolated areas, nuclear power offers even now challenging prospects.

6. Plans for the construction of nuclear power plants are also going ahead in countries which are not among the atomic Powers as, for instance, in Brazil, India and Japan. The first nuclear ship for peaceful purposes, the Soviet ice-breaker "Lenin", is in service, and the first nuclear merchant ship, the U.S. "Savannah", has been launched. To sum up, the present position is that the cost of nuclear power is falling quite fast, faster than that of conventional power, but

from a greater height; however, even in technically advanced areas, the two cost curves are not likely to intersect earlier than in the latter part of this decade.

7. The disappointment of earlier expectations has, of course, influenced the development of the Agency's own work. Instead of supplying nuclear fuel and facilities on a large scale, the Agency's main effort is centred on training and research programmes, scientific meetings, preliminary surveys, technical assistance, the elaboration of codes and regulations, and other work of a preparatory and regulatory nature. The progress in these fields may best be illustrated by a few examples.

8. During the past year, the Agency has granted some 420 fellowships to thirty-eight countries, thus reaching a total of 1,000 fellowships since the programme started. It has arranged for experts and equipment to be available for the atomic programmes of twenty-seven countries. It has published thirty-one scientific reports, bulletins, symposia and conference proceedings. The first issue of a quarterly scientific journal devoted to plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear research has just been published. The Agency has prepared a draft convention on minimum international standards regarding civil liability for nuclear damage which relates to land-based reactors.

9. At the diplomatic conference on maritime law which will be held in Brussels in April next year, the Agency will act as co-sponsor with respect to the item on liability of operators of nuclear ships which, it is hoped, will result in the adoption of a convention on this subject. It is anticipated that, during the coming year, an international conference will be convened to act upon the Agency's draft convention dealing with third-party liability.

10. We have drawn up regulations for the transport by air, sea and land of radioactive materials which, after their unanimous approval by the General Conference of the Agency, we hope will soon find their way into law—both domestic and international.

11. After concentrated preparation and study by highly qualified specialists, technical recommendations for waste disposal into the sea have been made, and a panel of legal experts is soon to be convened to determine how these recommendations could best be implemented.

12. The Agency is now well launched on its programme of scientific meetings covering in detail the various peaceful uses of atomic energy. With the help, in some instances, of UNESCO, WHO, FAO and of the International Maritime Consultative Organization, we held, in the past year, a series of nine scientific meetings. These were attended by more than 2000 scientists from forty different countries from all over the world. They covered such diverse fields as the use of isotopes in the physical sciences and industry, the use of radiation in seed and crop improvement and, as I have already mentioned, the technology and economics of small and medium power reactors. Symposia on such subjects as neutron physics, fuel elements and nuclear ship safety have also been held. The conferences have been very well attended, and the secretariat of the Agency has been most gratified by the expressions of appreciation of their value that have been voiced by the leading scientists and the representatives of many Governments.

13. Our conference programme will continue next year at much the same rate, as it is important not to make too great a demand on the time of scientists, to the detriment of their own regular work and their national or institutional laboratories. Moreover, should the General Assembly decide that there is a need for a third large conference of the Geneva type, it is the recommendation of our Board of Governors—made some time ago—that the Agency should play an important role, particularly in the scientific preparation and organization of the meeting. I am pleased to assure the Assembly that we stand ready in every possible way to assist such a conference, relating as it will to the essence of the Agency's own activities. Such help could particularly take the form of making available our scientific staff, who have now gained considerable experience in the organization and evaluation of a number of specialized scientific meetings held under the Agency's auspices.

14. For reasons already mentioned, only very modest progress has been made in the Agency's reactor, nuclear power and fuel supply programmes. Some significant developments do, however, deserve mention, such as a request from Finland for the Agency's assistance in the transfer of a small research reactor from the United States and the supply of the necessary fuel for that reactor; that country has also submitted a request for a critical assembly, which will be provided by the Soviet Union. The arrangements, in both cases, will be made by the Agency. The former request from Finland will be the first Agency project involving highly enriched fuel. Yugoslavia has recently requested the Agency to supply 6.5 tons of heavy water, which will also mark our first step into a new field of assistance in the area of supply of materials. While the number of requests and the quantities involved are still small, these projects are valuable in enabling the Agency to establish the legal steps and procedures necessary to carry out the requests submitted to us by Member States.

15. A large part of the Agency's research programme is concerned with problems of radiation, and the Agency and its laboratories are working closely with the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. Our laboratory in Vienna has already performed analyses at the request of this Committee, as well as at the request of Member States. The results of these analyses are being communicated to the Committee, and the Agency hopes to be in a position, in this way, to act more and more effectively as its operational arm. In addition, we shall provide an increasing amount of information to the Committee on such matters as radiation damage in bone due to bone-seeking isotopes, problems of waste disposal and occupational exposure to radiation.

16. In the last year, we have also drawn encouragement from the growing willingness of Governments to place specialized facilities at the Agency's disposal. The Government of Yugoslavia, for example, enabled us, with the help of an international team of scientists, to use its facilities at Vinča for an experiment to assess the radiation dose received by persons exposed during an uncontrolled reactor run in that installation in the autumn of 1958. We are grateful to the atomic energy authorities of France, the United States, the United Kingdom and, most particularly, Yugoslavia, for the help we received in that very interesting and useful project.

17. A second instance of co-operation was the offer by the Government of the United Arab Republic to place its national training centre in Cairo at the disposal of the Agency for conversion into a Middle Eastern regional radioisotope training centre for the Arab countries.

18. A third was the offer by Monaco to place laboratory facilities of the well known Oceanographic Institute and its research vessels at the Agency's service for an initial period of three years for the purpose of research on the effects of radioactive substances in the seas. Most recently, Norway has offered to place a reactor facility at the Agency's disposal in a joint reactor physics research programme. The United States will make available for this project in Norway the prototype core of the nuclear ship "Savannah".

19. In another sphere, the Agency's work is designed to be complementary to that of the United Nations in the field of atomic energy. I refer to the difficult but important part of our functions, namely, of endeavouring to ensure that the help which the Agency provides is not used to further any military purpose. This function is probably the main reason for the direct link which exists between the Agency and the General Assembly. The means by which the Agency must carry out this task is through the application of safeguards as outlined in the Agency's Statute. While all signatories of the Statute accepted in principle the need for safeguards, the debate in the recent General Conference again revealed that profound and sincere differences of governmental views still persist regarding their practical application. As is known, the Board of Governors of the Agency has been discussing this matter for the past three years. The fourth General Conference, held in September 1960, adopted, by a vote of 43 to 19, with 2 abstentions, a resolution taking note of the principles and procedures provisionally approved by the Board of Governors and inviting it, before giving effect to them, to take appropriate account of the views expressed in the General Conference. The Agency will soon be in a position to exercise its safeguard functions in activities where this is required or in cases where the party to a bilateral agreement or a national Government invites the Agency to do so.

20. During the General Conference, a considerable number of Governments indicated their intention to enter into consultations with the other party to their bilateral agreements, with a view to transferring to the Agency responsibility for administration of the safeguard provisions contained in those agreements. Several other Governments expressed interest in this procedure. Of particular note was the offer of one Member State, a major atomic Power, to place under Agency safeguard procedures four of its domestic reactors.

21. It is of considerable symbolic and historic significance that, for the first time, teams of international inspectors are to be permitted to supervise and safeguard the peaceful operation of national atomic energy facilities. The success of the Agency's work in this field will, however, be largely conditioned by the progress made by Governments and the United Nations in the more vital and difficult field of controlled nuclear disarmament.

22. The question of co-ordination of the Agency's work with that of other organizations of the United

Nations family is considered in detail by the Economic and Social Council, and I shall, therefore, make only some very general comments on this subject. With regard to the programmes in which the United Nations and the Agency have a direct common interest—namely nuclear power and radiation effects—there has been much improvement in the last two years and the working-level arrangements have been perfected to the point where, from our standpoint, they are fully satisfactory. In regard to questions of policy, the General Assembly itself has the important responsibility of ensuring that, when it assigns tasks in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy, it does so in such a way as to avoid duplication and make the fullest use of existing services and facilities.

23. Arrangements for co-ordination between the Agency and the specialized agencies have now also reached a generally satisfactory stage, as may be seen from the jointly organized and co-sponsored projects in which the special competences of two or more organizations have been effectively used. A third and very important aspect of the problem of co-ordination relates, however, to the relationship of the Agency with the various regional organizations which have been established in the atomic energy field. Some of these organizations have statutory responsibilities which are almost identical with those of the Agency. It is therefore of the greatest importance that the Agency retain its priority for dealing with those problems that are world-wide in scope, such as health and safety regulations, third-party liability, waste disposal problems and related issues, whereas regional bodies would concentrate on the organization of joint activities among countries of a particular area and with common economic and technological objectives.

24. The three years of operation of the Agency have already demonstrated that there are points in which its Statute, drafted in 1955 and 1956, are out of touch with present realities. A major problem which faces us, like other bodies of the United Nations family, is the shortage of operational funds, and for us, this is particularly acute because vital sections of the Agency's programme are dependent upon voluntary contributions by Governments, which consistently have been insufficient to meet the totals set for these purposes by those same Governments. A more stable basis for financing the Agency's technical assistance programme is therefore necessary. In this connexion, I have been pleased to note the initiative taken by Brazil, Ghana, India and Yugoslavia in their draft resolution which they submitted to the Second Committee and which was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1531 (XV). In it the Agency is urged to develop its programme of technical assistance to the less developed countries and the developed countries are asked to increase substantially their voluntary contributions to our operating funds.

25. I should also like to refer to a matter which, I feel, is of particular interest to the General Assembly at its present session. I am pleased to report that, in the last few months, there has been a further growth in the Agency's membership, which now stands at seventy-four. The four new members are Chile and Colombia, which were original signatories to the Statute, and Ghana and Senegal, whose applications for membership were approved by the General Conference. It also approved the application of the Republic of Mali,

which will accordingly become a member upon completion of the necessary formalities. We are, of course, particularly pleased that these new independent States in Africa should have sought membership in the Agency and we hope that their example may be followed by others.

26. In recognition of the growing importance of the African continent in the Agency's affairs, the General Conference unanimously adopted a resolution asking the Board of Governors to submit proposals for a draft amendment of the Agency's Statute which would provide for increased representation on the Board of Governors of the area described in the Statute as "Africa and the Middle East". Although the application of nuclear power may not seem an urgent need in many of these new States, it is unquestioned that, in several cases, isotopes and radiation can play a vital part in raising the standards of health and agriculture, can help tap and enlarge resources of water and improve irrigation uses. Africa is already linked to the nuclear age as an important source of nuclear raw materials. We look forward to the wider role which the continent is destined to play in the various organs of the Agency no less than to the contribution which we may be privileged to make to its inevitable progress and development.

27. In conclusion, I am satisfied that positive and considerable progress has been made by the Agency during its first fully operational year, and I am equally confident that its programme will continue to grow as the needs of its member States become evident and funds are made available by Governments to meet those needs. In approving a 20 per cent increase in the target for voluntary contributions to finance our technical assistance and laboratory programmes, the General Conference showed, I think, that it shares this satisfaction and this confidence.

28. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that the Assembly would wish me to express on its behalf its sincere thanks to the Director-General of the Agency for the report he has just presented.

29. Mr. HOOD (Australia): At this moment, the current chairmanship of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency lies with Australia and, in the capacity of representing my Government, I should like, therefore, to express particular appreciation of the observations we have just heard from the Director-General of the Agency. I have no intention of doing any more than supplementing the remarks of Mr. Cole with one or two general observations which would, I hope, express the position of my Government in relation to the work and activities of the Agency.

30. This year, the Agency's report comprises, as we have just heard, the annual report of the Board of Governors to the General Conference for the period July 1959 to June 1960 [A/4531 and Corr.1], together with a supplement covering the three months from July to the end of September 1960 [A/4531/Add.1], the latter includes the report of the General Conference on its fourth regular session. During these fifteen months, the Agency has indeed accomplished a great deal on a wide variety of subjects in the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. I shall not in any way attempt to make a detailed analysis of this work, but I wish to convey the commendations of the Government of Australia to the Agency for the work which it has done and for the able manner in

which its activities have been presented to us in the report before us. I wish further to commend this report, on our behalf, to the Members of the Assembly.

31. We are all aware of the great strides which the scientists of the world have made in the field of atomic energy and of the potential which the harnessing of this energy offers to the world for raising the standard of living and increasing economic productivity. It is sometimes necessary, however, to be reminded that we are still only on the threshold of this new atomic age and that we must not expect results immediately or on too great a scale. In fact, the harnessing of the immense power of the atom for the peaceful development of our society is yet dependent on many long years of research and development by scientists and technologists.

32. In the meantime, however, there are many tasks to be undertaken which lie more directly in the practical and immediate fields. The political, social and economic structure of all our societies and their interrelationships will be affected by the increasing use of atomic energy. We must therefore ensure an orderly transition of the structure of our societies into the coming atomic age.

33. Some of these tasks are already being tackled by the Agency. A concrete example is to be found in the regulations for the transport of radioactive materials now issued by the Agency. This forms part of a wide field of what might be called "regulatory activities" covering such things as adequate health and safety measures for the protection of those engaged in atomic energy activities, the prevention of accidents and the safety and health of communities as a whole.

34. Australia would stress in particular the importance of establishing uniform rules and regulations in these respects. There is, indeed, much yet to be done in drawing up internationally agreed codes based on the same fundamental standards. The Agency is already doing an essential work in this field. I would cite as a further example the investigations which it has been conducting on the problem of the disposal of radioactive wastes. We believe that these practical steps in this and allied fields—although not the most spectacular aspects of the international problems of atomic energy—are among the most important.

35. Apart from these matters, the Agency, as has been pointed out, is very largely concerned in its day-to-day work with two main technologies—that of nuclear power and that of radioactive isotopes. It is perhaps clearer now than it was a few years ago that there remain many questions to be resolved before economically operated nuclear reactors can take the place of more conventional sources of power. However, the Agency is doing useful work in this field, both in research and development and in the exchange of information.

36. The liaison of the Agency with other governmental and non-governmental organizations is broadening, and we would draw attention to the number of such bodies that are granted consultative status with the Agency.

37. Of more immediate concern in terms of direct benefit is the work being conducted in the radioisotope field, for which we would commend the Agency most highly, and we would express the hope that its work on this subject will continue to develop still further

through the exchange of information on the results of the research in this field.

38. In conclusion, I would particularly draw attention to the various training and scholarship activities undertaken by the Agency in co-operation with Member States, and I hope it will not be taken amiss if I stress at this point the need for Member States to extend the maximum pledges of financial support to the Agency and its general fund, and to meet those pledges at as early a date as possible, in order that the Agency's technical assistance, fellowship and research assistance programmes can be extended to the maximum.

39. In this threshold or preliminary period, to which I referred earlier, the great need of many countries is to prepare now the technicians and scientists who are ready to take advantage of scientific breakthroughs and developments and new processes as and when they come. Particularly in Australia, if I may be permitted to say so, we are concentrating on training students in the nuclear fields and we have in fact been able to welcome various students from other countries under the scholarship scheme of the Agency, particularly those from our own geographical area, namely, South East Asia, and we have every hope that Australia will be able to expand these training facilities still further in the future.

40. I would repeat the commendations of my delegation of the report of the Director-General of the Agency to this Assembly, and I would express the hope that the report will be received with the deep appreciation and practical interest which it well merits.

41. Mr. P. D. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In appraising the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency on its work during the past year, the Soviet delegation bases itself on the profound interest in the development of wide co-operation with all countries in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and in the successful and fruitful work of that important international organization, which the Soviet Union has displayed throughout the Agency's existence.

42. It is clear from the annual report submitted to us for our consideration that, in the period under review, the International Atomic Energy Agency did a certain amount of work. A number of scientific conferences and symposia were organized and several conferences of experts were held on various questions relating to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Agency awarded a number of scholarships and fellowships. Several member countries were given technical assistance in the form both of equipment and of experts' services. The first manuals on scientific and technical questions were published. Useful work was also carried out in the field of radioisotope application, in the collection and exchange of scientific and technical information, and in the training of specialists from various countries by means of fellowships, and a number of other interesting measures were taken.

43. The Soviet Union takes an active part in the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Thus, within the framework of the Agency, the Soviet Union gave its approval to a request by Finland for uranium. Eighteen specialists from countries members of the Agency have already completed training courses in the Soviet Union under fellowships offered to the Agency free of charge. Seven students are attending USSR

universities under long-term fellowships. The Soviet Union's expenditure for the training of students and the additional training of specialists and for the dispatch of Soviet experts on mission to the Agency amounted on 1 September 1960 to more than one million roubles.

44. The Soviet Union intends to continue in the future to pursue a policy of developing co-operation and affording assistance in the wide use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, especially to the economically under-developed countries, both within the framework of the Agency and on a bilateral basis.

45. At the same time, having noted these developments, we feel obliged, in appraising the Agency's work, to draw attention to the fact that it still has short-comings. These short-comings must be removed if we wish to see the Agency work usefully and actively for all States and, first and foremost, for the States which are still economically under-developed, that is to say, the countries which, for obvious reasons, have the greatest need of the Agency's assistance.

46. Unfortunately, we have to note that the Agency's activities are still extremely limited. The Agency's contribution to the practical utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, particularly in the economically under-developed countries, continues to be insignificant. Yet, since the Agency was first established, great developments have taken place in the world in the peaceful use of atomic energy. At present, seventy to eighty countries are concerned in one degree or another with atomic energy matters. In many countries, atomic reactors have been or are about to be brought into operation, scientific research centres have been set up and radioactive isotopes are beginning to be used more and more widely in medicine, biology, agriculture and industry.

47. It must, however, be observed that this process is virtually taking place outside the Agency, although the latter was created precisely in order, in the words of article II of its Statute, to "accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world." It is this Statute which lays down the Agency's main lines of activity, and, according to the Statute, the Agency's principal specific task is first and foremost to act as an intermediary for the purpose of securing for its members the supplying of nuclear materials, equipment and facilities for the carrying out of programmes in the field of the peaceful application of atomic energy.

48. What are the reasons why the Agency is still carrying out these basic, statutory tasks unsatisfactorily? One important reason, in the Soviet delegation's opinion, is the fact that, under the influence of the United States of America, the Agency has taken the course of refusing to perform its basic, statutory function, which is that of acting as an intermediary in the supplying of its members with fissionable materials for peaceful applications.

49. Can it, in fact, be considered that the Agency is carrying out its obligations satisfactorily when, in the three years of its existence, not a single member country has actually received one gramme of fissionable material? Yet, the Agency has 5,140 kilogrammes of uranium 235 at its disposal.

50. This situation has arisen primarily because the United States and some other Western Powers are

trying to use the provisions in the Agency's Statute concerning safeguards in order to institute a system of Agency controls and safeguards that would place the development of atomic energy in the economically under-developed countries under the control and influence of the Western, and primarily the United States, atomic monopolies.

51. A careful study of this system makes it perfectly obvious that its adoption would open the door for the United States to intervene directly in the internal affairs of other States, to violate the sovereignty of recipient countries under the flag of international control and to legalize the collection of intelligence data under cover of this so-called control, this system of safeguards.

52. It is a well-known fact that the recipient countries are chiefly young countries that have achieved freedom and independence comparatively recently and are still economically weak. They need the Agency's assistance, of course, but, at the same time, they do not want to place their necks under the yoke of control, which would cause them to lose the sovereignty they laboured so hard and made such sacrifices to win. That is why many of these countries are justifiably afraid to call on the Agency's services at all. That precisely is the reason why the representatives of many Asian and African countries, when these matters were discussed, expressed opposition to the so-called system of Agency safeguards.

53. The authors of this system of controls and safeguards try to conceal their true aims by referring to their alleged desire to prevent the emergence of new countries possessing atomic weapons. But careful study of these statements leads to the conclusion that they should deceive no one. It is clear to all that the potential recipients of assistance, i.e., the economically under-developed countries, have neither the economic nor the technical means to use such Agency assistance for military purposes. At the same time, the proposed system of controls can do nothing to prevent the emergence of new countries possessing atomic weapons among the industrially developed countries which, moreover, have no practical need of the Agency's assistance.

54. The institution of the proposed system of Agency controls and safeguards would have meaning only on two conditions. The first of these is the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the cessation of their manufacture and the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons. This the United States and a number of other Western Powers, unfortunately, do not yet accept. The second condition for instituting the proposed system of controls and safeguards is that the system must be applied both to the countries receiving assistance and to the countries providing it.

55. From what I have just said it is quite clear that, essentially, it is the policy which the United States is pursuing in the Agency in its own selfish interests that is the chief obstacle to the development of the Agency's activities.

56. Furthermore, I cannot pass over the United States policy, in the Agency, of discriminating against a number of States which have expressed their desire to co-operate with other countries in the noble field of the peaceful use of atomic energy. I am referring to the fact that the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic and a number of other

States are, unfortunately, still not permitted to participate in the work of the Agency. It can hardly be denied that these countries have achieved remarkable success in developing their industry, science and technology and that they could make a worthy contribution to the Agency's work. The United States, however, persistently opposes the admission of these countries to membership in the Agency. This policy of discrimination is undoubtedly undermining the Agency's authority and lowering the level of its work; it is aimed at maintaining and continuing the so-called "cold war" policy.

57. The refusal to grant consultative status with the Agency to the World Federation of Trade Unions, which represents hundreds of millions of workers, cannot help to enhance the Agency's prestige. It is clear from these and other similar actions that those who really want fruitful and all-round co-operation in the peaceful use of atomic energy must recognize that the time has come to put an end to the policy of discrimination and to make the Agency a truly universal, world-wide international organization.

58. There are many obstacles to the wide utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, to co-operation by States in this sphere. The principal, fundamental obstacle, however, is the continuing armaments race begun by the United States and other Western Powers. So long as the world is threatened with devastating war, so long as the atom forms part of the armament of States, so long as the main material resources and the efforts of scientists are directed towards the perfection of existing and the creation of new means of annihilation and destruction, there can be no question of any full and comprehensive use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes or of wide international co-operation in this sphere.

59. We are profoundly convinced that only the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the destruction of the stockpiles of such weapons can create truly favourable conditions for science and culture to flourish and economies to prosper, for wide co-operation by States in the utilization of atomic energy for the good of mankind.

60. It is well known that the Soviet Union, in proposing a programme of general and complete disarmament, is seeking to realize man's centuries-old dream of a world without arms, a world without wars, and to cast aside for ever the shackles of armaments that enmesh States and prevent mankind from striding freely and rapidly ahead. The implementation of general and complete disarmament would, of course, open wide the road to unprecedented progress in all fields, including that of the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

61. As for the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has been submitted to us for consideration, the Soviet delegation considers that we should take note of it, as we have done in the past.

62. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa): Although the Agency has now entered its fourth year of activities, the report before the Assembly represents, in most domains, the first full year of normal operations. It is therefore rather too early to attempt a final assessment of the Agency's achievements and its potentialities for the future.

63. Nevertheless, the report does indicate the manner in which certain broad trends are already emerging.

It is clear, for example, that the general atomic energy picture today is in many respects different from what the authors of the Agency's Statute had expected. In the Statute, the main emphasis was placed on international sponsorship, encouragement and development of nuclear power projects and on the establishment of an international control system which would ensure that the assistance thus rendered would be applied solely for peaceful purposes. It was expected at that time that the demand for power would rise so rapidly that, to an ever increasing extent, it would have to be provided from nuclear sources.

64. In the five years since the drafts of the Agency's Statute were elaborated, a more realistic approach has been developed, both to the economics and to the technology of atomic energy. Consequently, the Agency's functions in encouraging and developing atomic power projects are conceived on the basis of a much longer term than was envisaged in the Statute. At the present time, the emphasis is placed on assisting the development of an infra-structure of technological knowledge and experience, designed to facilitate the establishment of atomic projects at a later date, when nuclear power can be expected to become more competitive with conventional power. It is with this in mind that the Agency has placed so much emphasis on its training programme, the granting of fellowships, the institution of courses on isotope uses, the convening of scientific conferences and symposia on specific subjects of long-term interest, and the development and co-ordination of an international exchange of scientific information.

65. Special attention is also being devoted to the co-ordination and development of regulatory standards, particularly in the field of health and safety. Here too the work is essentially preparatory, since the atomic age—so far as the peaceful uses of atomic energy are concerned—is likely to become of major significance in national economies only in the 1970's.

66. In line with this thinking, the Agency is wisely restricting the expansion of its administrative functions. A staff which remains small, but which should be highly qualified, is the present objective, and serious attempts have been made at consolidation in the 1960 and 1961 budgets. In atomic energy—perhaps to a greater degree than in the case of the other sciences—it is highly important to resist the building of bureaucratic empires. The report shows that the Board of Governors of the Agency has this very much in mind.

67. However, with respect to the Agency's operational activities, there is room for steady expansion, particularly in the field of radioisotopes and their various uses. Radioactive sources are achieving important progress in medicine, agriculture, industry and research, and can be used effectively in most countries irrespective of their standard of development. Unfortunately, the Agency's operational activities are largely dependent on voluntary contributions, and these have been—with some exceptions—disappointing. The United Nations has, however, assisted by making grants from the funds of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and there is a strong case for increasing the size of these allocations, primarily for assisting the work in the field of radioisotopes. As the youngest organization in the United Nations family, the Agency has not been able to secure a share of the funds of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance commensurate with what it would probably have

received had it been founded earlier; and it is to be hoped that, when future allocations to specialized agencies are made, this will be borne in mind.

68. It is pleasing to note that the Agency's relations with the United Nations have developed most satisfactorily in the year under review. Within the framework of co-operation, it is desirable that the Agency should increasingly take over from the United Nations responsibilities which fall within its ambit of jurisdiction. For example, while the next Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy must necessarily be sponsored by the United Nations, the Agency should play a more active and prominent role in the organization of this major get-together of the world's atomic scientists than was feasible on the occasion of the last conference. The Agency has expressed its willingness to make available its technical staff for this purpose and—if I remember correctly, the Director-General of the Agency expressed it here again this afternoon—is anxious that the technical skills and experience at its disposal should be fully utilized in the organization of the next Conference. Similarly, with respect to various problems of monitoring and measuring radioactivity, it seems appropriate that the Agency should take over some of the United Nations responsibilities, as its resources of skill and experience develop.

69. We have also noted with appreciation that the Agency has made some progress towards a workable system which will implement the provisions of the Agency's Statute on the very difficult question of safeguards.

70. The Union of South Africa has also been happy to note the dispatch by the Agency of preliminary assistance missions, in the past six months, to Senegal, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the Ivory Coast. The question of the increased representation of Africa on the Board of Governors is one which my country views with sympathy. The South African delegation, at the last General Conference, joined with other members of the region in co-sponsoring a draft resolution recommending that the Board of Governors prepare and submit to the next Conference a draft amendment of the Statute designed to increase the representation of the Africa and Middle East region on the Board. Following the conclusion of the General Conference, the South African representative on the Board took the initiative in arranging for this question to be considered at the next meeting, in January, when he will submit proposals designed to implement the resolutions adopted by the General Conference.

71. In the report now before the Assembly, attention is drawn to the announcement by the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States of a decision to arrange for co-operation in the exchange of information relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to explore the desirability of joint projects. The announcement in question stated that the Agency would be utilized as the repository of the reports and the result of these exchanges and that it would be asked to assist in the consideration of possible joint projects. It would, in our opinion, be a gesture of far-reaching significance and of great importance to the success of the Agency if this arrangement could be put into effect in the very near future.

72. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to commend the Director-General for the very useful

work done during the year under review. We shall be very happy to vote for the draft resolution submitted by Australia, Bulgaria and Mexico [A/L.327].

73. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): The report of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the third year of its activities leaves no doubt that this organization is now well established within the family of the United Nations. This is demonstrated not only by the wide scope of the activities which the Agency has undertaken over the past year and by the inter-agency arrangements, but also by the active participation of the Agency in the work of the regional economic commissions and the various international conferences.

74. Whereas, in the previous two years, the Agency's report consisted primarily of plans for future tasks, we are, this year, presented with a detailed record of activities undertaken in a steady process of organic growth. The report issued at this decisive juncture of the organization's development provides us with a most interesting and elucidating picture of achievements, but also of problems and difficulties facing the Agency.

75. The peoples all over the world greeted with great hope the day when the era of the peaceful uses of atomic energy was inaugurated; problems of the widest scope, hitherto impossible to solve, were suddenly within the reach of solution. Many countries to whom the supply of power is one of their major problems hoped that atomic energy would provide the key to hitherto unobtainable solutions. We have now lived through the first three or four years of this new phase and the time has come, we feel, when the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency provides us with an opportunity to draw the first conclusions.

76. These conclusions should be neither optimistic nor pessimistic; they should be realistic. In the first place, we must realize that some expectations have turned out to be premature. As to nuclear power, it seems that two factors have changed the economic outlook for it in the last two years: the discovery of large new sources of coal, oil and gas in many parts of the world and the fact that progress in the technology of power reactors has been slower than expected at the first United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held at Geneva in 1955, whereas costs for building atomic power plants turned out to be higher than expected. Therefore, the prospect for economically competitive nuclear power has been dimmed. It is only natural that this fact has had its bearing upon the activities of the Agency which, as an important aspect of its work, has been designated as a major supplier of uranium for peaceful purposes to the various countries. Since it is still a rather difficult task to produce economically competitive power from nuclear plants, a number of countries have revised or retarded their construction of such plants and, consequently, the demand for uranium has increased only rather slowly in the face of a considerable increase of supply. Nevertheless, a positive aspect of this trend, as far as the role of the Agency is concerned, should not go unmentioned, namely, that the high costs of research and development of reactors, for instance, have led many nations to pool their resources in joint undertakings, and we hope that the Agency will be able to play a valuable part in promoting and co-ordinating these activities.

77. While my delegation has deemed it necessary to draw your attention to the problems facing the Agency,

we believe that these problems call for even greater endeavours and a still greater intensification of the work in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It is only then that we might finally see our expectations becoming realities. Our highest hopes lie with the International Atomic Energy Agency and we are indeed encouraged by the achievements which are reflected in its report.

78. Permit me to call your attention to a few additional points. The fellowship and exchange programme has reached a new record this year. Research activities promoted by the Agency have further increased. Two large scientific conferences were held by the Agency during the past year. We note this fact with particular satisfaction because of the many enlightening results which will obviously emerge from the discussions and contacts of so many scientists and experts. May I, in this context, express the hope that, should the General Assembly decide to hold a third international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the Agency will be able to make a major scientific contribution to the preparation and the holding of such a conference. We trust the Secretary-General will give this consideration his special attention.

79. Although time permits us to make specific mention of only a few of these achievements of the Agency, we should like to pay tribute to this organization on the manifold activities which it has undertaken during the past year and which are listed in its report.

80. The Austrian delegation would like also to pay a special tribute to the Agency's Director-General, Mr. Sterling Cole, for his competence and continuous efforts to develop the activity and efficiency of the Agency and its secretariat.

81. May I express, in conclusion, the hope that the International Atomic Energy Agency will proceed in its efforts and, assisted by the co-operation of all member countries, bring even closer to reality an age where the great menace and great hope of our times will become man's tool in creating a world of peace and prosperity for all.

82. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): First of all, I should like to compliment the Director-General of the Agency, Mr. Sterling Cole, on his interesting statement.

83. Until the end of September of this year, my country had the honour of serving on the Board of Governors of the Agency for a two-year period. We are grateful for that experience which has enabled us, on the one hand, to take part in the policy-making of that important organization and, on the other, by way of our membership, to stimulate and activate the interest of the Netherlands in the work of the Agency. Whereas in former years a certain disillusionment about the achievement of the main purposes laid down in the Statute of the Agency could sometimes be sensed, we now have the impression that the interest is gradually being focused more on the positive side of the activities. It looks as if member States have become resigned to the fact that the world as a whole is not yet ripe for entrusting the Agency with the task of handling all fissionable material, but are prepared, in the meantime, to give their full support to all those activities which would eventually make the benefits of the peaceful uses of atomic energy available to all nations. If that assumption is correct, then we

can look forward with some confidence to the future of the Agency.

84. One undeniable positive achievement is that the Director-General has succeeded in establishing a secretariat manned by able and hard-working men and women who do not seek publicity; but insiders are impressed by the amount of work which they perform.

85. The developments in the peaceful uses of atomic energy are closely followed. Numerous panels, seminars and conferences are organized, information is exchanged, rules, regulations and conventions are prepared and, especially, technical assistance programmes are set up. These activities are growing in importance day by day. What a pity that the financial means of the Agency remain so limited. Results of the last pledging conference which was held during the fourth regular session of the General Conference were most disappointing. Let us hope that this situation will improve in coming years. In any case, now that the Second Committee has unanimously adopted a draft resolution—which was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1531 (XV)—calling for more voluntary contributions to the general fund, we hope that this appeal will help to ease the burden weighing on the Agency.

86. My delegation is particularly pleased with the steps taken by the fourth General Conference regarding the question of the safeguard system. That Conference took note of the principles and procedures for the application of Agency safeguards which, after long deliberations, had been provisionally approved by the Board of Governors. The Board is now in a position to work out these principles and procedures in the light of the actual experience gained.

87. Inter-agency relations are growing. The fourth General Conference approved relationship agreements between the Agency and the European Nuclear Energy Agency of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission of the Organization of American States. These agreements are proof of the Agency's consciousness of and active interest in the activities of all organizations dealing with the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

88. Finally, my delegation wishes to extend to Mr. Sterling Cole its very best wishes for a fruitful future development of the Agency.

89. Mr. DUDLEY (United Kingdom): My delegation listened with great respect and interest to the introductory statement made by Mr. Sterling Cole and we should like to begin by complimenting him on it. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing the support of Her Majesty's Government for the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency as it is reflected in the annual report which is now before us.

90. My delegation would, at the same time, like to say that it will support the draft resolution [A/L.327] which would only add that we would have been prepared to go a step further in commending the report.

91. In its third year, as we have been reminded by Mr. Cole, the Agency has completed the task of establishing itself on a sound footing and has embarked on a period of consolidation. This point was also drawn to our attention just now by the representative of the Netherlands. The secretariat of the Agency is indeed to be congratulated on the effectiveness of the organization which has been set up in Vienna. We believe

that it can play a very useful part in the exchange of ideas and in the establishment of standards at this stage of its existence.

92. One of the activities of the Agency which the United Kingdom particularly welcomes is the progress made in the work for the benefit of those areas where there is as yet no experience of the application of atomic energy. This has taken the form of fellowship and exchange programmes and the provision of technical assistance. The Agency has provided expert advice on planning atomic energy programmes and on the operation of research facilities and has given the services of experts and consultants as well as some essential laboratory equipment. All this, we believe, is useful work.

93. My country is proud indeed to have taken a substantial part in financing and supporting the technical assistance side of the Agency's work. We are, I believe, second with regard to the amount of the financial contributions made. I might add in passing that it is our view that, on the whole, this work should in the future be financed out of the regular budget of the Agency rather than out of voluntary contributions.

94. Apart from this assistance, the Agency is engaged in other major activities in the interests of all its member States. For example, it is concerned with the formulation of model recommendations and codes of practice for health and safety in atomic energy matters. These questions are dealt with in the excellent manual on the safe handling of radioisotopes prepared by the Agency.

95. In addition, expert panels have been at work dealing with such other aspects as third-party liability in the normal day-to-day use of atomic energy. In particular, this problem arises in the operation of both land-based nuclear installations and nuclear-propelled ships, and in the transport of radioactive materials.

96. Another subject which continues to engage the attention of the Agency is the disposal of radioactive waste. A scientific conference on this was held at Monaco during the year under review, and the report of an expert panel on the disposal of radioactive waste into the sea was completed.

97. These are examples of the practical value of the Agency's work to all peoples who hope to benefit from the use of atomic energy.

98. The United Kingdom regards the establishment and adoption of uniform standards throughout the world as being of primary importance for the safe and orderly development of atomic energy. Only through the general acceptance of such standards can there be the necessary public confidence that the potential hazards of this new and valuable source of power can be properly controlled. I emphasize this because it seems to be the most important positive aspect of the work that can be done by the Agency at present. But there is another aspect of public confidence to which I should like to refer briefly.

99. Mention has been made during this debate of the question of safeguards. The principles and procedures for the safeguards were approved by the Board of Governors of the Agency in October. The United Kingdom welcomes them. Until such time as wider agreements reassure the world as to the uses to which atomic energy is being put, such safeguards—and I would emphasize that such safeguards in no sense

derogate from national sovereignty—are necessary to preserve international confidence. I am afraid that, whatever the representative of the Soviet Union may say, we have not yet reached that happy stage. There is no question of discrimination, as he has suggested; and to drag in the cold war or the question of nuclear disarmament, as he did, is quite irrelevant and beside the point.

100. I return now to my main theme, which is that of the Agency developing its role as an international clearing-house for nuclear sciences. It has already organized a number of small conferences, symposia and colloquia on specific aspects of nuclear energy. Much has been done to increase the circulation of the Agency's technical publications, and preparations have been made to publish periodical international journals on certain subjects of particular interest. This work, too, seems to us to be of great value.

101. Finally, I should like to draw attention to an example of the technical assistance which the Agency offers to all its members without discrimination. It has already established a small laboratory at its headquarters in Vienna and has started to build a larger one. Useful work has begun here in elaborating standards for certain radionuclides. The laboratory will also be able to undertake various services, such as analytical measurements, at the request of members of the Agency. This centralized service should prove particularly useful to those member countries which do not themselves possess such facilities.

102. I think that it is clear to the Assembly from what I have said that the United Kingdom Government considers the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency to be progressing very well. It will continue to give the Agency its full support in the belief that it has an important contribution to make in developing the use of atomic sciences for the benefit of us all.

103. Mr. MIYAZAKI (Japan): Since the inauguration of the International Atomic Energy Agency three years ago, Japan has extended its full support and co-operation to the Agency in its execution of the programmes and activities formulated under the Statute of the Agency. My country holds the highest esteem for the achievements that the Agency has made during these three years both in the interests of the Agency's membership as a whole and for the benefit of individual States, in particular, technically less developed countries.

104. My delegation has carefully studied the report now before us and is particularly happy to note that the work of the Agency in the past year has been characterized by a feature of fully normal operation. On this point, the report indicates in its introduction that various preparatory activities have begun to bear fruit and in most domains the past year has been the first full year of normal operation.

105. The Agency's work for the period covered by the report ranges very widely. It ranges from various specific projects assisting individual States by the provision of technical assistance and nuclear materials to the work of interest to the generality of the whole membership, such as serving as a centre of information and international contact on the nuclear sciences and related matters, developing a comprehensive series of safety regulations against radiation hazards and devising principles and procedures for ensuring against diversion of atomic energy to military use.

106. Of all these activities of the Agency, my Government attaches particular importance to the establishment of a system effectively safeguarding the use of atomic energy against diversion to military use. My delegation is convinced that the safeguards system under the auspices of the Agency provides a solid basis for a universal safeguards system and will mark an important step towards a world without fear of total atomic destruction.

107. As was mentioned in a plenary meeting of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, Japan had the honour of setting a precedent for the provision of nuclear materials by the Agency when the Japanese Government entered into an agreement with the Agency last March for the supply of three tons of natural uranium for a Japanese research reactor project. The request of my Government for this transaction was motivated, among other things, by its desire to prompt the establishment by the Agency of relevant measures required for carrying out the transaction. They include, in particular, procedures and facilities for implementing safeguards against diversion to military use. Given such momentum, the Agency did not fail to act promptly, and my delegation is very pleased with the Agency's report, which states that the principles and procedures for the application of Agency safeguards were drawn up and provisionally approved by the Board of Governors. The supplementary report also states that a resolution taking note of such principles and procedures was adopted by the General Conference at its fourth regular session.

108. My Government is now most gratified to observe that these Agency safeguards have thus reached a stage of practical implementation, and it is entirely ready to apply such safeguards as they relate to the purchase from the Agency of three tons of natural uranium.

109. Moreover, my Government has announced, as is shown in the supplementary report, that it has agreed with the Governments of Canada and the United States of America to enter into consultation for the transfer to the Agency of the responsibility for the application of safeguards contained in the bilateral agreements with these Governments. Japan will thus have the further honour of setting a precedent in the practical application of Agency safeguards. The report of the Agency expects the principles and procedures for these safeguards to be reviewed and improved in the light of the actual experience gained by the Agency as well as of technological developments. Through practical application of Agency safeguards, Japan will be given another opportunity to make a contribution to the work of the Agency in this field.

110. I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Director-General and his staff for the important task they have discharged and to thank Mr. Cole for the comprehensive statement and report which he has presented to us. In closing, my delegation wishes to express its confidence in the ability of the Agency to carry out its tasks continuously and ever more vigorously. It also wishes to reiterate the assurances of Japan's support for the attainment of the objectives of the Agency, as stated in Article II of the Statute: "... to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world."

111. Mr. WILCOX (United States of America): It is refreshing, in the midst of the political turmoil that plagues this troubled world of ours, to pause for a

few moments to talk about the solid progress that is being made in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Sometimes—like all my colleagues here at the United Nations—I get a little discouraged because we are not able to move ahead faster in the solution of our major political problems. But I am greatly encouraged when I look at the work of the specialized agencies. Slowly but surely these agencies are moving ahead in their great task of bringing a better life and higher standards of living to many people in many lands. Without very many headlines and without much fanfare, they are gradually building a solid reputation for the United Nations throughout the world.

112. My delegation is pleased, once again, to welcome the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to the Assembly. I want to thank him for his interesting and informative statement on the accomplishments of the Agency during the last year. At the same time, I want to wish him and his staff every success in the future.

113. The United States welcomes the close working relations which have been developed between the Agency and the United Nations. In particular, we are pleased to note the considerable degree of co-operation between the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation and the Agency, and we believe it should be continued and developed. In addition, we should like to stress our hope that the Agency will play a major role in the proposed third United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

114. The report of the Agency for 1959-1960 is an impressive record of its accomplishments. The Agency is now making a substantial contribution to the technically less developed world in preparing many States for a fuller use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It has provided technical assistance in nuclear matters to forty-five of its members. This has been done through surveys, expert advice and consultation, and the provision of equipment and supplies. Finally, the Agency has offered training to 1,000 scientists and technicians, which, I think, is the most important accomplishment in the three short years of its existence. In this way, it is building solidly for future generations.

115. My Government is also particularly happy with the Agency's activities in the field of health and safety. It is in the regulatory field where the Agency can make an invaluable contribution to all areas of the world. The Agency should be supported to the utmost in its work in setting standards for the transportation of radioisotopes and other radioactive materials and in preparing draft conventions to give adequate liability coverage, both for land-based reactors and nuclear ship operations.

116. The Agency has already given much attention to the subject of safe design and operation of critical assemblies, research reactors and power reactors. In the important field of radioactive waste, the Agency, it is hoped, will press forward in its research and study.

117. It is not my intention to discuss here all these activities at length or to go into the details of other programmes of the Agency, such as its conferences and symposia, its promotion of research and its information and publication activities. We should like, however, to express our satisfaction with all these opera-

tions. It should also be mentioned that the Agency is making some progress as a supplier of nuclear materials. Most notably, the Government of Finland is acquiring special nuclear material as well as a Triga Mark II reactor through the Agency. A part of this fuel is being drawn from the United States offer to the Agency of over 5,000 kilogrammes of enriched uranium. Finland also benefited directly from the United States annual, free of charge offer to the Agency of uranium in the value of \$50,000 for research purposes.

118. We have always given the Agency our energetic support, both financially and in the supply of technical knowledge. Since the Agency came into being, we have contributed one half of the voluntary fund for technical assistance, including fellowships, and we have never placed restrictions on the use of these funds. We have followed a general policy of offering financial assistance, in freely convertible currency, to be spent how and wherever the Agency and its members should decide.

119. In addition to these voluntary contributions, we have tried to help the Agency, during its early years, with special grants which have totalled almost \$1 million. Furthermore, we have placed \$150,000 worth of research contracts through the Agency, and have granted more than 200 cost free fellowships.

120. I think it is appropriate here to refer to the difficult financial problems facing the Agency. As the Members of this Assembly know, the Agency's technical assistance programme depends essentially upon the voluntary contributions of its members. Contributions to the general fund, however, have fallen below expectations, even though, at the last Conference, many members pledged substantially greater amounts. The United States, while continuing its contributions amounting to as much as 50 per cent of the budget each year, sincerely hopes that the trend started at the fourth General Conference will continue, and that the programme of the Agency will not be crippled for lack of funds. This is something that we cannot afford to allow to happen. The programmes which will be most directly affected—and I should like to draw the attention of representatives to this point—by a failure to achieve the targets set for voluntary contributions will be those aimed at helping the under-developed countries, namely, the provision of technicians, supplies and equipment, training and fellowships.

121. In this connexion, my delegation would like to express its full support for the sentiment behind the draft resolution put forward by Brazil, Ghana, India and Yugoslavia in the Second Committee which later became General Assembly resolution 1531 (XV). In urging the Agency to continue the development of its technical assistance programme, the more developed countries are asked to increase their financial contribution to the operational fund. We associate ourselves with this resolution. We hope that the one economically developed country which has managed in one way or another not to contribute a single usable kopeck to the operational fund will heed this resolution.

122. In his statement earlier this afternoon, the representative of the Soviet Union deprecated the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. He went on to say that the United States had stood in the way of the Agency's doing its job, and he accused the United States of seeking to interfere in the affairs of other

countries. As I have already pointed out, the Soviet Union has contributed nothing—nothing at all—to the operational budget of the Agency. As to interference in the affairs of others, the Members of the Assembly will be able to judge for themselves what great Power it is that has interfered—often by force—in the internal affairs of many, many nations. Indeed, what United Nations Member represented here in the General Assembly has not felt the cold reach of Soviet-Communist interference?

123. If the Soviet Union would only devote half as much time and constructive energy to supporting the United Nations as it does to criticizing the United States, we would make much more progress in our quest for world peace.

124. One of the fundamental requirements of the Agency's Statute is to ensure that assistance provided by the organization is not used to further any military purpose. My delegation is pleased to note that the fourth General Conference examined the principles and procedures of safeguards prepared by the Board of Governors. This plan of safeguards was the result of exhaustive studies by men of technical competence and by the Board itself. It was accepted by a substantial majority of the members. The United States Government, to demonstrate that, in its view, the type of inspection contemplated does not compromise the sovereignty of the member States, offered to place several of its own facilities under the safeguards system. We agreed to consult with a number of our bilateral partners in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy to transfer the safeguards responsibilities to the Agency when it is in a position to assume those responsibilities; and I hope that that time will not be far away.

125. It is not my intention to draw any elaborate comparisons with the general subject of controlled disarmament. However, we believe that the Agency's safeguards system offers an opportunity where, with a bit of goodwill, the member States can demonstrate that developments in atomic energy fostered by the Agency are aimed at furthering the welfare and health of the world community, and not at its destruction.

126. In conclusion I should like to quote from a message sent by President Eisenhower to the recent Atomic Energy Conference in Vienna which illustrates the satisfaction of my Government with the activities of the Agency. The President stated:

"In three short years, the Agency has become the prime international organization in the nuclear field. Its activities are stimulating much of the global effort to bring more people more benefits in this still new atomic age ... This Agency is an organization that has no secrets; an organization devoted to the sharing of effort, research and information; one in which the major Powers can lay aside political differences to work for the common good ... My country will continue to support this organization. I wish for it continued progress and success."

With this quotation, I come to the end of my brief statement.

127. M. TCHOBANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The report submitted last year [A/4244] in this same Assembly showed that the International Atomic Energy Agency had succeeded in carrying out the administrative and organizational phases of its

task. This year, therefore, it will be appropriate to consider its work from the standpoint of the practical results achieved in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

128. The report placed before us this year shows that the Agency has some successes to record—though, in my delegation's opinion, successes that are still limited in extent—as regards the training of qualified personnel in the scientific field and an increase in the number of fellowships for the training of specialists in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. A certain number of special courses were also organized in Argentina, Japan, India and the Congo.

129. Among the useful steps taken, mention should also be made of the two conferences held, one in Warsaw and the other in Monaco, which dealt with the application of major sources of radiation and the utilization of radioactive waste. Equally commendable are the efforts made to link up the work of these two conferences and the studies based on the proceedings of the first and second Conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The publication of 10,000 pages of information material and the distribution of 350,000 copies of technical documentation also constitute a good beginning of the Agency's work in this direction.

130. It must, however, be pointed out straightaway that this work is being carried out within a framework which, we feel, is still inadequate and rather narrow. For instance, as the report itself points out, no study has yet been made with a view to organizing regional centres in Africa and the Middle East. Information about the assistance that should be given in the form of experts and equipment also does not seem to be too encouraging. The Agency's activities in the technical assistance sphere still appear to be in the organizational stage and, as regards the Special Fund, no provision has yet been made for a programme for using atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

131. In the light of the foregoing remarks, my delegation trusts that the Agency's activities will in future be speeded up, more particularly as regards the assistance to be given by the Agency to its member States, and above all, to the under-developed countries, by supplying equipment, the services of specialist experts, as well as the fissionable material which the Agency now has available in sufficient quantity.

132. A number of delegations have been pointing, with every justification, to certain basic defects in the Agency's activities; some of them, for instance, have cited cases of overt interference by certain States in the domestic affairs of sovereign States made under the pretext of the clauses in the Statute dealing with control and inspection. The report itself contains some admissions on this score. Obviously, there can be no serious grounds for claiming that the under-developed countries which are supplied with fissionable materials by the Agency would be able to use such material for military purposes. I cannot see any serious need for control or inspection measures based on such an assumption.

133. Another source of misgiving derives from the fact that the distribution of executive posts in the secretariat, and in the Agency set-up generally, is still not in accordance with what was agreed between the founding members regarding the equitable geographical distribution of posts. Paragraph 21 of the

report says that "the structure of the secretariat has remained virtually unchanged".

134. My delegation desires to draw special attention to one very marked defect of the Agency, which consists in trying to prevent certain countries from taking part in the Agency's work. I need hardly emphasize that the specially generous aims which the Agency has to pursue make it essential that it should develop into a really representative international body, open to all countries, irrespective of their political or social system. This is the only way in which it can become a centre of true international collaboration to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The report would seem, in principle, to endorse this idea.

135. One of the preceding speakers—I believe it was the United Kingdom representative—thought fit to say that the fact of objection being taken to the discrimination shown towards certain States meant that the Socialist countries were dragging the Agency into the cold war. It seems to me that it is precisely the contrary that is the case. My own view is that, if there is any talk about the cold war, a rebuke about it should be levelled precisely at those who practise discrimination against certain States simply and solely because their political and social systems do not happen to please them. The fact is that countries like the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic, the latter a highly industrialized country and the former a country which has in recent years achieved remarkable successes in the field of industrialization, are still kept out of the Agency, solely because of the discriminatory policy practised by the United States of America.

136. If this gap between words and deeds persists in the future, the international prestige of the Agency cannot fail to be affected, and serious difficulties will arise to obstruct its progress. Even at international conferences convened by the Agency, scientists from the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic are refused permission to attend because of the ban imposed by the United States of America. This is an intolerable situation and must be put an end to by the responsible authorities of the Agency at the earliest possible moment.

137. I should like to add that our efforts to place the colossal resources of atomic power at the disposal of mankind will always be blocked as long as the armaments race continues and as long as the nuclear Powers go on accumulating enormous reserves of nuclear weapons in their arsenals.

138. In my delegation's opinion, no large-scale deployment of efforts for the peaceful use of atomic energy for the well-being of humanity will be possible as long as the main resources of nuclear power and major scientific discoveries in this field are directed chiefly to swelling stocks of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of an ever more up-to-date and ever more destructive character.

139. That is why my delegation feels that there is a close and direct relation between the prospects of complete and general disarmament and a suspension of test explosions, on the one hand, and an enormous expansion of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, on the other. That is why we think that, in the future, the work of the Agency should not be detached or dissociated from the crucial problem of our age: the general and complete disarmament.

140. My country has always taken an active part in the work of the Agency and, this year, we had the honour, in the person of Professor Nadjakov, of presiding over its annual conference. As a member of the Board of Governors, Bulgaria will continue to persist in the efforts to ensure that the Agency's activities are expanded more and more widely so as to secure more extensive application of nuclear power for peaceful purposes and that the Agency becomes increasingly an international centre for exchanging experiences and for disseminating knowledge acquired about nuclear science without any kind of restrictions or discrimination.

141. It is with these considerations in mind that we join with the delegations of Australia and Mexico in proposing that you adopt the draft resolution which we have submitted [A/L.327].

142. Mr. RAJAN (India): We are glad once again to have the opportunity of commenting briefly on the Agency's work. The Agency, as we all know, occupies a unique position in the United Nations family because of the supreme ambivalence of the materials in which it deals, both in terms of the tasks and responsibilities of peace and in terms of the possible catastrophes of war. This position is reflected in the direct relationship of the Agency to the General Assembly, on the basis of which we are considering the present report.

143. The report is not a dramatic one, but it reflects progress that is significant, though modest. The growth in the Agency's technical assistance programmes, the increasing number and widening scope of its seminars, conferences and symposia, the mounting interest in the use of isotopes in agriculture, industry and medicine, are all evidence of a more adequate and more fruitful recognition of the Agency's position and importance in the United Nations structure. Nevertheless, when we have said this, we also have to add that the role of the Agency remains small in comparison with that of several of the specialized agencies, and smaller still when one considers the complexity and the cost of even the simplest applications of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

144. Moreover, in developing those nuclear power programmes on the promise of which our early and high expectations of the Agency were founded, we have to confess that we have scarcely made a beginning. Some of this disappointingly slow progress can be attributed to technical difficulties, but some of it has also to be attributed to the conditions under which nuclear fuel is provided by the Agency.

145. In his statement, the Director-General of the Agency, Mr. Sterling Cole, quoted the following words of our delegate to the fourth General Conference, Mr. Bhabha: "If the Agency had not been created in 1957, the need for it would have been greater in the present year." The Director-General then went on to comment:

"The validity of Mr. Bhabha's statement is fortified by the fact that production of nuclear weapons material would seem to be within the reach of more and more Governments as present technology improves."

146. We do not think that this is an entirely correct interpretation of the statement made by Mr. Bhabha. Our views on the Agency's safeguard system are well known. We consider it to be relatively ineffective in

preventing the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons for the following reasons: first, the Agency safeguard system is in no way universal and is limited to those countries seeking assistance from the Agency. Secondly, the maximum objective of the Agency's safeguard system is segregation rather than prevention; it does not attempt to ensure that atomic weapons are not manufactured, it only seeks to ensure that uranium supplied by the Agency is not used in the manufacture of those weapons. Thirdly, the Agency's safeguard system bears with maximum severity on those underdeveloped countries which are least capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons. In other words, it ostentatiously locks the wrong doors, or, if I may use an analogy which we have often used in the past, it seeks carefully to prevent leakage from the sides of a vessel while ignoring the fact that the vessel has no bottom.

147. In any case, the "raison d'être" of the Agency, or the urge for its existence, as our representative has put it, ought to be based upon the positive achievements of its programme which are significant and valuable rather than on the negative achievement of safeguards. The insistence on applying restrictions to underdeveloped countries seeking assistance from the Agency, when industrially advanced countries are able to gain direct access to sources of nuclear fuel on conditions which are considerably more liberal than those offered by the Agency, is perhaps one reason why requests for nuclear fuel from the Agency have been forthcoming only to a minute fraction of the extent that was originally expected.

148. Having made this reservation, I should like to express our sense of satisfaction with the Agency's work and to indicate our full support of its programmes. We have tried to express this support in concrete terms by offers of fellowships to the Agency's fellowship programme and by contributions to its general fund. We look forward to the growth of these programmes and to the increasing and far-reaching benefits which we confidently expect them to confer upon the membership of the Agency.

149. I should like to conclude by stating our readiness to support the draft resolution which is before us.

*Mr. Wilcox (United States of America), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

150. The PRESIDENT: If there are no further speakers, I should like to ask the General Assembly whether it approves of the draft resolution submitted by Australia, Bulgaria and Mexico [A/L.327] taking note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency for 1959-1960 [A/4531 and Corr.1 and Add.1].

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

#### Decision concerning the procedure of the meeting

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Sixth Committee and of the Third Committee.*

### AGENDA ITEMS 65 AND 66

#### Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its twelfth session

#### Question of the publication of a United Nations juridical yearbook: report of the Secretary-General

#### REPORTS OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/4605, A/4619)

*In the absence of the Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, the President presented the reports of that Committee (A/4605 and A/4619).*

151. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bolivia to take the floor.

152. Mr. ITURRALDE CHINEL (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): As the Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee is absent and as my country together with Mexico, submitted a draft resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Committee [A/4605, draft resolution I], I take the liberty of addressing the Assembly in order to explain some details concerning this draft resolution which is now before you.

153. The International Law Commission submitted a report on the work of its twelfth session [A/4425]. This report reviewed various matters which are included in the Sixth Committee's report [A/4605]. The basic feature of the International Law Commission's report is that it sets out the text of draft articles on consular intercourse and immunities which will require to be studied by the various Governments so that, on the basis of their comments, a final draft can be submitted which will serve as a basis for a convention.

154. Furthermore, the Commission's report contains three draft articles on special missions and a decision regarding the problem of State responsibility which will be the subject of discussion at the thirteenth session of the International Law Commission.

*[The speaker read the text of the draft resolution.]*

155. Under the terms of this draft resolution, the draft articles on special missions would be referred to the United Nations Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities to be held at Vienna in the spring of 1961 for consideration by it together with the draft articles on diplomatic intercourse and immunities.

156. In addition to this basic problem, the Sixth Committee discussed the question of the publication of a United Nations juridical yearbook. It was felt that the publication of such a yearbook was essential, but there were many differences of opinion regarding the contents of such a document, and after lengthy discussion, it again fell to my country, together with the delegations of Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Iraq and the United Arab Republic, to submit a draft resolution.

*[The speaker read the text of the draft resolution.]*

157. The Committee adopted this draft resolution [A/4619] and an amendment submitted by the Philippines unanimously.

158. The Sixth Committee also adopted unanimously a draft resolution on the future work in the field of the codification and progressive development of international law [A/4605, draft resolution II].

159. We therefore submit to the General Assembly these three draft resolutions.

160. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution, contained in the first report of the Sixth Committee and dealing with the report of the International Law Commission

on the work of its twelfth session [A/4605, draft resolution I], was unanimously adopted by the Sixth Committee.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

161. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution, dealing with the future work in the field of the codification and progressive development of international law [A/4605, draft resolution II], was likewise unanimously adopted by the Sixth Committee.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

162. The PRESIDENT: The second report of the Sixth Committee [A/4619] deals with the question of the publication of a United Nations juridical yearbook. The draft resolution contained in this report was adopted unanimously in the Committee.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

## AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters V, VI and VII (section II, paragraph 645 only; sections IV and V))

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/4615)

*Miss Hampton (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Third Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/4615) and then spoke as follows:*

163. Miss HAMPTON (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: The general debate on chapters V, VI and VII (sections IV, V and paragraph 645) of the report of the Economic and Social Council was this year given special focus by the Consolidated Appraisals Report (Five-Year Perspective 1960-1964), which gives for the first time a comprehensive picture of the programmes and activities of the United Nations and the six major specialized agencies, and analyses them in broad perspective in relation to needs and opportunities for international action. Wide support was given to the conclusions in the report, particularly to the need for concerted action to help countries in solving problems associated with urbanization, housing and community development. The need for the United Nations action in newly independent and developing countries was emphasized and a call was made for more interest in, and emphasis on, programmes for Africa.

164. As is mentioned in paragraph 7 of the Committee's report [A/4615], a draft resolution was submitted concerning training and education in countries in process of development, especially in Africa. At the request of the sponsors, consideration of this text has been postponed until the First Committee has concluded its consideration of agenda item 88 entitled "Africa: a United Nations programme for independence and development".

165. Reference to the needs of Africa is also made in the draft resolution adopted unanimously by the Committee concerning UNICEF. This text commends the Fund on its achievements and encourages UNICEF "to increase aid to countries passing through difficult transitional stages, particularly in Africa, without prejudicing the level of aid to other countries requiring assistance". To meet such a challenge, the Fund clearly needs generous financial support.

166. Two draft resolutions adopted by the Committee and now submitted to the General Assembly relate

directly to programmes of assistance in the social and human rights spheres. I refer to draft resolutions II and III, concerning low-cost housing and related community facilities, and United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries.

167. Draft resolution IV, relating to manifestations of racial and national hatred, was discussed in the light of contemporary manifestations viewed against the background of history, and the text submitted by the Committee reflects this perspective.

168. Draft resolution V, concerning the teaching of the purposes and principles, the structure and activities of the United Nations and its related agencies, was considered to be particularly timely, since it served to bring this programme to the attention of the considerable number of new Members welcomed into the Organization this year.

169. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions contained in document A/4615.

*Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously.*

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 65 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.*

*Draft resolution III was adopted unanimously.*

170. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV deals with manifestations of racial and national hatred. In Committee, this draft resolution was voted by parts and adopted as a whole, as amended, by a roll-call vote of 78 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted unanimously.*

*Draft resolution V was adopted unanimously.*

171. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the Union of South Africa for an explanation of vote.

172. Mr. DE VILLIERS (Union of South Africa): When draft resolution IV was voted upon in the Third Committee, my delegation abstained for the reason that there had been some tendencies during the preceding discussions to identify racial and national hatred exclusively with the policies of certain Governments. My delegation then stated, however, that it supported the broader purposes of the draft resolution and that it would therefore again consider its position when it came to the vote in plenary meeting. It is the specific purpose and fundamental aspect of the policies of separate development of the South African Government to eliminate racial friction and to remove the cause of racial hatred. For this reason, and also because the Union Government is firmly opposed to religious intolerance and to national hatred in all its forms, my delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution IV.

## AGENDA ITEMS 34, 35 AND 83

Draft International Covenants on Human Rights

Draft Convention on Freedom of Information

Main trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, dissemination of scientific knowledge and application of such knowledge for peaceful ends

REPORTS OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE  
(A/4625, A/4635, A/4636)

*Miss Hampton (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Third Committee, presented the reports of that Com-*

*mittee (A/4625, A/4636 and A/4635) and then spoke as follows:*

173. Miss HAMPTON (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 34 entitled "Draft International Covenants on Human Rights" [A/4625]. The Committee devoted twenty-one meetings to the consideration of this item.

174. May I recall that these drafts have been before the General Assembly since its ninth session in 1954. So far, the Third Committee has been able to adopt the preamble and article 1 of both Covenants, all the substantive articles of the draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and thirteen substantive articles of the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. As shown in the report of the Committee, articles 15 to 18 of the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were adopted at this session.

175. In the past, the General Assembly has adopted a number of decisions urging completion of the Covenants. Over the years, steady progress has been made in this task, but much still remains to be done. The difficulties likely to be encountered in drafting instruments of such importance as the Covenants are, of course, apparent.

176. The remaining substantive articles of the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the general provisions, articles on implementation and final clauses of both Covenants are yet to be considered. May I suggest, therefore, that this Assembly should decide to include the draft international Covenants in the provisional agenda of its sixteenth session.

177. May I now introduce the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 35 entitled "Draft Convention on Freedom of Information" [A/4636].

178. This matter has occupied various bodies of the United Nations, including the General Assembly, for over twelve years. It is therefore of some moment to be able to report that, at this session, the Third Committee succeeded in formulating and adopting that article of the Convention which has always been considered the main stumbling block to the drafting of a convention. I refer to article 2, which deals with permissible restrictions on freedom of information. The General Assembly may wish to place this item on the agenda of its sixteenth session, so that the drafting of the Convention may be continued next year.

179. I now have the honour to present the report of the Third Committee on item 83 entitled "Main trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, dissemination of scientific knowledge and application of such knowledge for peaceful ends" [A/4635].

180. In accordance with the draft resolution adopted by the Third Committee, the Assembly would, *inter alia*, recommend "Governments of Member States, related agencies and appropriate non-governmental organizations to publicize ... as widely as possible" the Survey prepared under the direction of Professor Pierre Auger of the Sorbonne. It would further request the Economic and Social Council to give detailed consideration to the report at its thirty-second session, and to report on this matter to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.

181. May I commend this draft resolution, which was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee, to the General Assembly for adoption.

*Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.*

182. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Rapporteur of the Third Committee for her reports.

183. Not having been able to conclude the consideration of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights and the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information, the Third Committee has, as the Assembly has heard, made no recommendations on these two items. However, as the Assembly also heard, the Rapporteur suggested that the General Assembly might wish to put these two items on the provisional agenda of the sixteenth session, for consideration at that session.

184. If I hear no objection to this suggestion, I shall take it as being adopted.

*It was so decided.*

185. The PRESIDENT: The Rapporteur of the Third Committee also introduced the report of this Committee dealing with the main trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, dissemination of scientific knowledge and application of such knowledge for peaceful ends [A/4635]. The draft resolution under this item was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

## AGENDA ITEM 11

### Report of the Security Council

186. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has now before it, in relation to the report of the Security Council, the draft resolution submitted by Argentina and Ceylon [A/L.326], which proposes that the Assembly should take note of the Security Council's report.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*