



CONFERENCE ON THE
STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

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Held on Monday, 1 October 1956
at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. WINKLER (Vice-President) (Czechoslovakia)

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Mr. du Plessis	(Union of South Africa)
Mr. de Freitas Valle	(Brazil)
Mr. Pasechnik	(Ukrainian SSR)
Mr. Sudjarwo	(Indonesia)
Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat	(Uruguay)
Mr. Vitetti	(Italy)

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TRIBUTE TO THE LATE PRESIDENT SOMOZA OF NICARAGUA

The VICE-PRESIDENT: Before proceeding with our agenda, the Chair wishes, on behalf of the Conference, to extend to the Government of Nicaragua, as well as to the representative of Nicaragua here, its deepest sympathy on the occasion of the death of the President of the Republic of Nicaragua, General Somoza. In doing so, the Chair is convinced that it is acting in conformity with the wishes of the Conference.

DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
(continued)

Mr. AZIZ (Afghanistan): First of all, I should like to congratulate our President on his election. I am sure that he fully deserves the confidence that the members of this Conference have placed in him.

It is perhaps fitting for me, as representative of the country which was the first to ask for a technical assistance mission from the United Nations, to say a few words about the establishment of a new specialized agency of the United Nations, the main objective of which will be, in our opinion, to impart technical knowledge and assistance in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

This new energy, with its multiple uses in health, medicine, agriculture and different industries, is certain to bring about a revolution in the material standards of living of the peoples of the world surpassing anything brought about by other outstanding inventions such as the steam engine, electricity and other sources of power.

It is well at this point to ponder for a moment an expression which today is generally used in the United Nations and in the press. I refer to what people have come to call the "under-developed" countries, as compared with those which are more developed. I should like to think that this reference applies only to material and technical differences. It is well known that there are many nations, among which I count my own, which, although technically and therefore economically under-developed today, have had brilliant past civilizations that have left their marks on the moral and spiritual standards of their peoples.

(Mr. Aziz, Afghanistan)

If we go into the causes which have brought about these under-developments, we find that, unfortunately, in the past technical knowledge was used only to profit those who possessed it, and very little attempt was ever made to share this knowledge with those who did not have it. Perhaps the main reason for that was that there was no United Nations then, although the League of Nations did exist for a while.

Although I readily admit that atomic power has immense potentiality for destruction of humanity, I would like to submit very humbly that the possibility of evil usage rests in any kind of power. For instance, gunpowder, the most common explosive, can be used in killing weapons, but it can be used also for digging canals through which the real essence of life which we call water can flow and transform arid deserts into green gardens of Eden. Therefore, as I have said, every power can be used in both ways, evil and good. But the destructiveness of atomic power is so formidable that even the Titans of today will have to abandon its usage because in an atomic war there would be no victor and no vanquished; in fact, nothing would remain to be called by such names -- only chaos and complete destruction would be the result.

Perhaps this terrible vision will bring those who possess atomic arms to realize that the safeguarding of humanity lies within their understanding of this matter. This is also why my delegation is very happy to see that we are gathered here to establish an International Agency for the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. I would like to mention that we have been unhappy to see that the People's Republic of China, which represents a fourth of the human race, has not been able to participate in this Conference. Its participation would have made the Agency almost universally acceptable, and no doubt the results would have been much more beneficial and realistic. If there is still a possibility, we would like to see this situation rightfully adjusted.

Now, with permission, I should like to make a few remarks on the draft statute of the proposed International Agency for the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy.

First, we would like to see any country, whether a member of the United Nations or a specialized agency or not, have a right to join the Agency.

(Mr. Aziz, Afghanistan)

Second, as to the financial cost of the Agency and the assistance it would give to countries requesting it, we would wish for a very liberal policy to be applied so as not to burden the smaller countries too much and in order to facilitate their receiving technical assistance from the Agency.

Third, we further wish to see the sovereign rights of countries over their national resources remain recognized and not jeopardized unnecessarily in the future by the Agency.

Fourth, with regard to the system of safeguards we would favour a policy reduced to the very minimum requirements and avoiding undue obligations, which might well prove harmful to the sovereign rights of nations. We think this because these safeguards will be applied only and solely to the recipient countries -- generally under-developed.

Fifth, we have some apprehension about the great emphasis put on the powers of the Board and the relatively weaker position of the general Conference.

Sixth, we strongly favour a greater representation of the so-called under-developed countries on the Board because those are the ones that are mostly to be helped by the Agency.

Seventh, in a general way we want to be sure that every effort is made to make this Agency as acceptable to all as possible, and that no unnecessary obligations are imposed on member nations which could later prove to be a source of difficulty and differences between the recipient countries and the Agency itself.

Finally, let me express the fervent hope and wish of my delegation for the success and willing co-operation of this Conference. May a new era of peace, prosperity and peaceful collaboration dawn over all the nations of the world with the accomplishment of our task.

Mr. du PLESSIS (Union of South Africa): I avail myself of the opportunity to extend my delegation's congratulations to the representative of Czechoslovakia on his election as Vice-President of the Conference. Our best wishes go out to him in the fulfilment of his task.

Allow me also to express, on behalf of my delegation, our extreme satisfaction at the election of Mr. Muniz as President of this important international Conference. Endowed with the wisdom and experience which the years in which he has served his Country in a position of high responsibility have given him, and sustained by the confidence which all his fellow representatives have reposed in him, he is indeed eminently qualified to guide and to guard over the deliberations in which we are now engaged. The South African delegation was happy to join in the honour thus accorded to him and, through him, to that great Latin American country, the United States of Brazil.

Many speakers have referred to the debt of gratitude which we owe to the President and to the Government of the United States of America for initiating the steps which have led us to this Conference, and I am happy to join in these tributes. We would not be here today without the lead given by President Eisenhower on that historic occasion in 1953 and the unremitting hard work over a period of more than three years of several organs of the United States Government. Many other Governments have made important contributions to the drafting of the statute but the inspirational source has been that to which so many representatives have made eloquent reference. Acknowledging that the continued support of the United States of America is vital to the success of the Agency, it is nonetheless also true that the Agency will, and indeed must, represent the co-operative effort of the other major Powers, of other countries and groups of countries. The draft statute takes account of these factors and we should never lose sight of them in our deliberations.

My own country has been associated with the development of atomic energy for many years. The history of uranium mining in South Africa is itself an example of what can be achieved by international co-operation between willing partners. This story of the opening and development of our great sources of uranium ores has been told before, and I shall merely recall the bare outline. Some six years ago the production of uranium was quite insufficient for the rapidly growing demands of the great industrial nations. The Western countries were faced with something approaching a famine in this vital mineral. It was known that the

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gold-bearing ores of South Africa contained workable quantities of uranium, and in 1950 the United States, United Kingdom and South African Governments devised and launched an emergency programme for the development of South African ores. After a year and a half of intensive preparations, the first South African uranium plant began its operations on 8 October 1952. The importance of those developments was graphically described by a leading official of the United States Atomic Energy Commission; in his words, South Africa was the largest known source of uranium and the South African programme was one of critical importance.

Since 1952 South African uranium production has steadily and rapidly grown. In 1955 the value of the South African exports of source materials was approximately \$84 million. This year it is estimated that uranium production will surpass \$100 million, and in its actual production as well as in its potential capacity South Africa can claim to rank as one of the world's major producers of uranium. According to present plans, twenty-nine mines will eventually be brought into operation as uranium producers; when they are in full production the rate of out-put will be much increased.

I may add in passing that South Africa also has significant deposits and a fairly large production of thorium ores.

The development of uranium mining and the problems associated with it have, of course, given a great spur to fundamental and industrial research in my country. The national laboratories and the leading South African universities are well equipped to conduct research in most of the important fields of science, and extensive programmes are at present under way. The first problems concerned the separation of uranium from gold-bearing ores; considerable research was undertaken in this direction, and this research is continuing.

In other fields related to atomic energy the South African National Physics Laboratory has built a cyclotron which went into operation last year. Amongst the many projects for which it is now being used there is one which, if successful, should open up a completely new field in the study of short-lived radioactive isotopes. With a generous grant from the gold-mining industry, one of the leading South African universities has established a new school of nuclear physics. Other fields of experiment at the National Physics Laboratory and National Mechanical Research Institute include metal physics, metallurgy and heat transfer, which are subjects of direct importance in the field of atomic energy. These

(Mr. du Plessis, Union of South Africa)

laboratories and the universities are providing the basic training for physicists and engineers for the atomic energy programme of South Africa, as well as the facilities required for research and for post-graduate study.

Much work has also been done in using radio-isotopes for radiographic and industrial purposes, such as thickness gauging, determination of blockages in pipes, leak detection, and so forth. The now widely used scheme of transporting radioactive isotopes in the wing tips of aircraft was developed by the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. A Biophysics Laboratory was completed in 1955 and research already done includes work on medical physics, on the up-take of fertilizers by plants, tracer studies on insecticides and the effects of radiation on living tissue. South Africa has also been co-operating for some nineteen months in the United Nations programme for a systematic observation and recording of radioactive fall-out and a first report has already been forwarded to the United Nations Scientific Committee. Studies are being made in South African mines on the effects of radioactive dust and radon on the health of mine workers.

South Africa is also taking a lead in encouraging regional co-operation in the use and application of radio-isotopes in the area of Africa South of the Sahara. A meeting of regional specialists is to be held in the South African capital next year under the aegis of the Scientific Council for Africa. The meeting will consider the production of radio-isotopes, methods of making them available in the region, control of health and safety measures, application of radio-isotopes within the region, and the training of scientists in the use of radio-isotopes.

In the industrial field the South African Atomic Energy Board is considering the possibility of heavy water production. The South African Government has also appointed a commission to make recommendations regarding nuclear power production in the Cape of Good Hope. According to United Nations statistics, South Africa was in 1954 the eleventh largest producer of electricity in the world and after Japan the largest producer outside Europe and North America. The significance of the production of electricity to our economy is therefore apparent.

From what I have said, it will be clear that the peaceful uses of atomic energy is a matter of vital and continuing national interest to my country and that South Africa has a most important stake in the successful functioning of the Agency. It is for this reason that my Government has collaborated closely in the drafting of the statute of the Agency from the very beginning.

As you know, these negotiations have been going on in Washington for three years. South Africa was one of the eight original countries which formulated the first draft statute. In the early days of 1954 and 1955 the future was indeed uncertain. Atomic science in many of its aspects was still shrouded in secrecy. There were numerous unanswered questions about the size, form and powers of the Agency. Most important, there was doubt and uncertainty about the extent to which international collaboration could be obtained in a world divided by tension and distrust. It was in this atmosphere that the preparatory work had to proceed, and in these circumstances the original draft could be regarded as a considerable achievement. In many ways it has stood the test of time. It provided the framework on which the present draft could be built.

The test of two years' work came with the Washington discussions. The first draft had been open to the comment and criticism of all members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The delegations at Washington had assembled there with the unanimous approval of the General Assembly, and they represented as closely as was possible the divergent political and economic interests of the modern world. History records that for ten years the major political Powers had clashed constantly at international meetings of this kind, and in no field had agreement between them seemed more remote than in that of atomic energy. Political realism gave little ground for optimism, and there was the possibility that the meeting would lead nowhere, or would drag on in the manner which has been our unhappy experience in the closely related field of disarmament.

As the Washington talks progressed, there were indeed occasions when it seemed that the delegations might have to disperse with their task unfulfilled. On almost every major point, however, it was found possible to reach a substantial measure of agreement. This agreement was, of course, bought at the cost of concessions by each country represented, my own no less than any other. In the

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end -- and I will frankly admit it was to our surprise -- it was possible to secure unanimous agreement on the draft statute. In the words of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for example, the draft statute of the Atomic Agency prepared at Washington was "basically acceptable" and his delegation would therefore "vote in favour of the draft statute as a whole".

Many speakers have pointed out that this achievement can have profound importance. It was the first significant step towards agreement on a subject of major importance between the great Powers after many years of dissension. It was the fruit of more than two years of delicate negotiations. Nevertheless the concessions on which it is built were painfully made and affect the vital interests of all countries represented. In certain important clauses almost each sentence and in some cases an individual word represents a compromise and the structure as a whole is fragile. This applies in particular to the division of responsibilities between the Board and the General Conference, the composition of the Board and the Agency's relationship with the United Nations. A number of fellow African States has suggested that in the geographical division of seats on the Board there should be a separate region for Africa. My delegation is of course in sympathy with this concept, but we feel that it would be unwise to disturb the delicate balance which the Board represents.

This Conference of eighty-one nations is now master of the situation and has the full power to reject or to modify, if it so wishes, the work that has been done in the last three years. The coming weeks will be a severe test of the understanding and of the sense of responsibility of every nation represented here. My delegation is convinced that with the past record of achievement the Conference will measure up to these demands and in fulfilling its important task will justify the idealism in which the concept of such an Agency had its origin.

At this point I should like to say something about my Government's concept of the Agency. In the first place it should be clear that South Africa has a special interest in the rapid development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We must not, however, underestimate the magnitude of our task. Atomic technology is complex and difficult and the materials which it uses are dangerous to life and property. Only the most industrialized countries know as yet how to employ it and even they are only just beginning to use it for peaceful ends. Possibly its

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greatest promise is as an alternative source of electric power. For the present it is an expensive and complicated source, and in many situations it will doubtless continue to be less suitable than coal, oil or water power. In most circumstances it would clearly be economically wasteful and unsound to encourage the use of one particular type of fuel or power if another type is more suitable and is available.

It is for this reason, amongst others, that my delegation believes a line should be drawn between the financial and technical aspects of the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. In its initial stage the prime, **although not** the only, function of this Agency must be to disseminate information, to give guidance and to promote the technology of atomic science. It would be to the detriment of the Agency's real interests if it sought to overlap or duplicate the work of other national and international bodies concerned with the financing of economic development.

My delegation believes that the present provisions of the statute concerning its functions and their financing will make it possible for the Agency to fulfill its primary technological role without becoming directly involved in the financial problems of economic development outside its sphere. We therefore attach considerable importance to the separation of Agency expenditure into administrative and operational budgets. We should like to pay tribute to the clear-sightedness of the Canadian delegation, whose representatives at Washington played the major role in framing the financial clauses.

It had often been said that atomic science offers at the same time the starkest threat and the **greatest** opportunity that man has known. From this duality emerges the second function of the Agency. We must ensure that in spreading and disseminating **the** technology of atomic energy we do not, by that very process increase and broadcast the threat of atomic war. We must ensure, in other words, that every activity of the Agency contributes and contributes only to the peaceful uses of atomic science. For this reason my delegation endorses the existing control provisions in article XII. We are pleased to know that a number of fellow African countries find these provisions generally acceptable.

Turning for a moment to the Preparatory Commission, I should like to endorse the remarks of the representative of Australia. Neither this Conference nor the Commission must seek to arrogate to **itself** the proper functions or anticipate the decisions of the General Conference, the Board and the Director-General.

(Mr. du Plessis, Union of South Africa)

My Government warmly appreciates the offer of the Austrian Government to place a suitable site at the disposal of the Agency. It believes that the advantages of Vienna may well commend themselves to the Preparatory Commission, but the final decision belongs, of course, to the Agency.

In conclusion, if at times I have advocated caution, this is far from implying any pessimism on the part of my delegation. My country's pride in its long association with the statute stems from the conviction that the new Agency can be of great importance in the service of mankind in all the countries of the world.

(Mr. du Plessis, Union of South
Africa)

The fossil fuels on which man has depended since he first built a fire threaten to approach exhaustion by the end of this century. Even if new sources of coal and oil are found, as they doubtless will be, they could not be nearly sufficient to meet the needs of coming generations. In advanced industrial countries the production of electric power is doubling every ten years. Were it not for the discoveries of our scientists, the world could face a grim prospect of poverty, cold and hunger.

The new Agency can do much to demolish this spectre. Its role, as we conceive it, will be to assist in bringing the benefits of atomic energy in all its forms to the under-developed and developing areas of the world, and at the same time to promote fruitful exchanges of knowledge and technique. It will provide to all nations a means of acquiring guidance, materials and equipment for their needs. It will be a pool from which we can draw and to which many nations can contribute. In terms of President Eisenhower's vision, it may help to turn men's minds from the concept of atomic energy as an agent of destruction; to see it instead as an instrument which can help to make a world that is free from want. I believe that we have before us at this meeting one of the great opportunities of our times. After three years of preparation we have the framework of an effective and responsible international organ. We have secured a measure of international collaboration unknown in recent years. We have progressed far towards our goal; I am confident that we shall attain it. As the distinguished representative of Sweden has so rightly said: "Our business is to create the Agency and make it a going concern. Let us do that business."

Mr. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): May I say to you, Sir, how happy I feel to see you presiding at this meeting of the Conference. By your merits, and by the technical advance of your country -- which I like very much -- we cannot in this Conference expect from you anything but very good co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

(Mr. de Freitas-Valle, Brazil)

The purpose of my intervention in the general debate in which we are engaged is to present to this Conference the views of the Brazilian delegation on the draft statute that lies before us. I will also endeavour to express my thoughts -- as clearly as possible at this stage -- on the tasks confronting the Agency in the first years of its activities.

The draft statute as it now stands is, as a whole, a good, sound, well-balanced document. It is the result of many months of strenuous and patient efforts. It represents the general consensus of the twelve-nation negotiating group, and it embodies many of the views put forward by other members of this Conference when the draft statute was being discussed in Washington. It is, to a great extent, due to the fact that so many nations have enlightened the negotiating group with their most helpful comments that it is to be hoped this Conference may reach final agreement on the statute without too many difficulties. In principle, we are already in agreement and that, in my opinion, is what really matters. We all want to see the Agency have at its disposal enough fissionable material and other indispensable means to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to the peace, health and prosperity of the world. I am also confident that the Conference has at heart the needs of the under-developed areas which would perhaps be, in this first stage, the ones that could benefit most from the industrial development of atomic energy.

This basic understanding seems to me of such importance that it would be really disappointing if issues of comparatively minor significance could upset the delicate balance that has been reached and could jeopardize the main and high objectives that are common to us all.

It is difficult to foretell how useful and successful the Agency will be. One thing, however, seems to me quite clear: if the Agency finds itself unable to fulfil all of our great expectations, it will not be because the statute is not what it ought to be. I could recall other instances in international life where difficulties and limitations came, and still come, from the members of the organization and not from its constitution. In the case of the Agency, there is no question that success or failure will depend largely on the co-operation it receives from the member States. In order to fully benefit from the Agency, each and every one of us must contribute within the measure of our possibilities.

(Mr. de Freitas-Valle, Brazil)

I was happy to hear my friend, Ambassador Wadsworth -- speaking for a nation that has an all important part to play in the activities of the Agency -- declare that "the draft statute before us would justify generous support by the United States." On the other hand, some reservations made to the draft statute seem to indicate the intention to limit beyond what is reasonable the financial resources at the disposal of the Agency. Should those reservations be pressed and eventually adopted, they might badly cripple the new Agency.

The draft statute, however, sound as it is, can be and most certainly will be improved by the deliberations of this Conference. The Brazilian delegation will consider the amendments that may be introduced with Dispassion, judging each one of them on its own merits. We ourselves think that some passages in the draft statute may need clarification and that more precise wording could be adopted in certain clauses. We especially regret that the draft statute as it now reads makes no explicit provisions for financial assistance to projects approved by the Agency. It is well known that the pressing needs of the under-developed areas can hardly be reduced if financial assistance for the implementation of projects of economic development cannot be secured under favourable conditions. Since article III of the draft statute directs the Agency to "bear in mind the special needs of the under-developed areas" and article IX mentions "the inability of members to secure the necessary finances...", it would be perhaps appropriate for the Conference to look deeper into this matter.

With your permission, I will now make some brief remarks on what my delegation considers the most advisable course of action for the Agency to follow in its first years of activity.

We are dealing with matters that until very recently were enshrouded in the most absolute secrecy. The curtain rose to a great extent at the Geneva Atomic Energy Conference. Yet there is still much that is carefully kept behind the closely guarded walls of laboratories and plants. Moreover, the whole science of nuclear energy is in full and fast process of evolution. The next few years should see considerable changes in much that can be of fundamental significance

(Mr. de Freitas-Valle, Brazil)

as far as the industrial application of nuclear power is concerned. In the light of these two premises, it is difficult to envisage the Agency setting up immediately its own processing plants with the high expenses entailed by them. Even the layout of laboratories for chemical separation processes may be beyond the Agency's possibilities in its first stage. There is much, however, that the Agency can do at the beginning of its activities.

(Mr. de Freitas-Valle, Brazil)

One of the main advantages the new Agency may bring will be the continuous evaluation of the economics of atomic energy for different levels of industry and economy throughout the world, thus providing the Member States with better means to avoid uneconomic commitments. I will not dwell at any length on what the new international organization is to accomplish in the immediate future. I would like to suggest, nevertheless, that in the first period of its life the Agency should concentrate its efforts on the establishment of training centres, especially in those areas where the greatest possible collective benefit can be derived from the utilization of nuclear power.

With your permission, Sir, I venture to suggest that Brazil may be the right location for such a training centre in Latin America. Its geographical position, its expanding industries, its natural resources and the progress already attained in the field of nuclear energy lead me to believe that such an initiative will duly serve the interests of a great number of fast developing countries. The fact that our first research reactor will be in operation by the time the Agency is set up may prove of some assistance to the training centre that we have in mind.

Brazil is ready and willing to co-operate with the Agency to the fullest possible extent. Brazil is also prepared to enter into agreements on atomic energy with those nations with which we have much to exchange and not a little to learn. We shall use our natural resources, within the limits imposed by national security, to speed up the day when nuclear energy will be an important factor in the economic development of the country as well as of the world. Within this perspective my Government is convinced that there is ample opportunity for international co-operation, be it through bilateral agreement or multilateral covenants.

I herewith express the firm resolve of the Brazilian delegation to work for the success of this Conference.

Mr. PASECHNIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, permit me, first of all, to extend my congratulations to Ambassador Muniz for his election to the post of President of this Conference, and to wish him success in the discharge of his task.

(Mr. Pasechnik, Ukrainian SSR)

We warmly congratulate you too, Ambassador Winkler, for your election to the post of Vice President of our Conference.

This Conference has on its agenda a question whose solution has a tremendous significance for the peoples of all countries. With the scientific discoveries of the twentieth century science has placed at the disposal of mankind practically an inexhaustible source of energy. It has opened up vistas unknown in the course of history. It has made a better standard of living for the whole of mankind closer to achievement. It has widened the prospects of increasing the production of energy for industry and agriculture, and it has widened research in fundamental science.

The Agency which we intend to establish will serve all of these causes. The Ukrainian delegation expresses the hope that this Agency will serve the cause of all peoples of mankind, as well as their health and welfare. The general discussion shows that, regardless of the different approaches taken to the establishment of the Agency, a majority of countries have expressed their readiness to co-operate actively to achieve these goals.

The United Nations has made some progress in the field of broadening international co-operation for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. The first step towards this objective was the Conference held last year in Geneva. It was a scientific and technical conference, but it was at the same time a laudable example of international co-operation which we hope will be followed by the present Conference. The Geneva Conference was followed by a series of meetings by scientists and engineers of various countries working in the nuclear field. In May of this year a Soviet conference was held on the physics of high-energy particles in Moscow. It was in fact an international conference, since side by side with Soviet scientists more than seventy outstanding scientists from the United States, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Australia and other countries attended. In the Moscow conference a detailed paper was submitted regarding the largest atomic accelerator in the world, which has just been built by the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union and which has been placed at the disposal of the Institute for Nuclear Research. At the same time and at the same conference, American physicists presented interesting papers on recent achievements in the field

(Mr. Pasechnik, Ukrainian SSR)

of the antiproton. Interesting papers were also read by scientists of the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, France and a group of other countries. In July of this year an international conference was held in Geneva on the physics of high-energy particles, and later in Amsterdam an international conference on nuclear reactions was held.

A group of specialists from all countries in the field of reactor building met, and also mutual visits of institutes and nuclear centres were organized by scientists of the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom.

In all these cases scientific co-operation has shown what fruits can be reaped.

Wherever artificial obstacles are set up for political or ideological reasons and wherever such obstacles impede international relations, serious harm is done to international co-operation. Therefore, it is entirely abnormal that, for reasons having nothing to do with scientific co-operation, representatives of the People's Republic of China were not permitted to attend our Conference, representatives of a country whose scientists are making a worthy contribution to modern science and techniques. The absence of the legitimate representatives of China from the contemplated Agency will no doubt cause great harm to the cause of the Agency, and undermine it and its international prestige.

(Mr. Pasechnik, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian SSR has at its disposal tremendous energy resources in the form of coal, oil and natural gas. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian SSR, as well as other countries, is concerned with the development of atomic science and atomic energy production, and has acquired experience in this field.

The first experiments on the artificial splitting of nuclei by accelerated particles took place in the Ukraine about a quarter of a century ago. Heavy water was produced by Ukrainian scientists as early as 1934. In the course of the pre-war years, nuclear physics was widely developed throughout the universities in the Ukraine. The scientists and engineers of our Republic are making their worthy contribution to the construction of nuclear power plants in the Soviet Union. During the course of the sixth five-year plan, nuclear power plants with a total electric power production of 2 million to 2.5 million kilowatts will be constructed.

The results of the labours of the Ukrainian scientists who have been participating in this work were reported at the conferences in Geneva and Amsterdam. Great effort is being made to widen the application of radioactive isotopes in industry, agriculture and fundamental research. Radioactive isotopes are used, for example, in the control of welding processes, in blast furnaces, in large boilers and in a series of other industrial installations where automation is being brought into the picture.

At the same time, radioactive isotopes are being used in biology. In the field of biochemistry, for example, radioactive isotopes have proved invaluable in studies of metabolism and in the processes of the brain, as well as in the general nervous systems of animals and humans.

Ukrainian scientists have been visited by many foreign scientists, including scientists from the United States, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, India, France, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

In its desire to broaden international co-operation between all countries in the field of atomic energy, the Ukrainian SSR naturally supports the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency. We start from the premise that future developments in the field of atomic energy and its application in the fields of science and technology will require the collective effort of all countries. We also take into account the fact that some countries are not in a position to solve by themselves the difficult and complex problems arising

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from the use of atomic energy. What are these problems? These problems consist of the training of scientific specialists, the establishment of a general industrial basis on which scientific research can proceed, the construction of nuclear power plants which calls for large capital investments, and a high level of technical development in general. That is why we feel that the highly developed countries should offer to the other countries assistance which will permit them to expedite their nuclear development, thus hastening the improvement of the welfare of their peoples.

The establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency will contribute to the general improvement of all only if all the articles of the statute comply with the natural requirements of peace, progress and the raising of the standard of living of mankind. In this connexion, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to deal with some of the provisions of the draft statute. We shall consider these provisions in more detail later when we come to a thorough examination of the text. For the time being, however, we should like to point out, as most of the speakers have indicated, that the doors of the Atomic Agency should be wide open, without exception, to all States that wish to join. It has been emphasized in particular that a broad international basis for the Agency would be in keeping with the interests of the countries that apply for admission and with the interests of the Agency itself, which, after all, is being called upon to widen the application of atomic energy in all countries without any form of discrimination.

Despite all this, article IV of the draft statute limits the initial members of the Agency to the States Members of the United Nations or of any of the specialized agencies. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers this provision to be wrong in principle. We are opposed to any artificial barriers which would prevent States that might make a useful contribution to the Agency from entering it. No amount of political, juridical or economic type of argument can convince us that it is correct to separate States artificially into different categories. Membership in the Agency should not be the privilege of any State or of any group of States. The very character of co-operation in the scientific field, as well as the most elementary principles of equity, make it imperative to keep the doors of the Agency wide open to all countries that may wish to enter.

(Mr. Pasechnik, Ukrainian SSR)

The Agency should not impose on recipient countries conditions of control which would infringe on their sovereignty or which might make their economic development dependent upon the Agency. In this connexion, article III, paragraph D, cannot be viewed as satisfactory, since it makes the sovereign rights of States dependent upon the will of the Agency. Control over the use of atomic fuel should be applied on a basis of equality both to countries supplying assistance and to those receiving it. To accept a system of control of this kind, however, it is obviously necessary to prohibit the production and use of atomic weapons.

We view as valid the misgivings voiced by some delegations regarding the financial provisions of the draft statute which call for including in the budget of the Agency expenditures connected with the construction of plants and the purchase of equipment. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR does not believe it to be advisable for the Agency to purchase plants and equipment. If such were to be the case, the expenses of the Agency might become so great that the financial burdens involved, especially for the smaller member countries, might prove too much of a burden. Furthermore, the Agency might use for those purposes money which could and should be used for the countries needing immediate assistance.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the proposal to establish the headquarters of the Agency in the capital of Austria, Vienna, and expresses its gratitude to the Government of Austria for its kind invitation.

We should not forget for a minute that the establishment of an International Agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy does not in any way solve the fundamental problem which the greatest scientific discovery of our time has placed before mankind, namely the problem of a complete and comprehensive prohibition of the military uses of nuclear power. Marshal Nicholas A. Bulganin, in his telegram to the President of the Conference, declared:

"It is self-evident that the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons would create the most favourable conditions for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Union will, as it has in the past, make every effort to achieve this aim, in the firm belief that the problem will ultimately be solved and that the threat of atomic war will be eliminated forever." (IAEA/CS/OR.1, pages 106 and 107)

(Mr. Pasechnik, Ukrainian SSR)

Only the full prohibition of atomic weapons will permit scientists and engineers to turn all their undivided efforts to the uses of the atom for the welfare of mankind. The Ukrainian delegation expresses the deep hope that the Conference will succeed in solving the task which it has to face and create an agency that will meet the requirements of international co-operation on the basis of the principle of equality of all States and respect for their sovereignty.

Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): On behalf of the Indonesian delegation, I wish, to begin with, to extend our heartiest congratulations to you, Ambassador Winkler, upon your election to the high office of Vice-President of this historic Conference. We have a noble mandate to discharge and I know that we will discharge that mandate successfully under your wise and experienced guidance and that of Ambassador Muniz, the eminent President of this Conference, to whom our congratulations are also extended in equal measure.

The convening of this Conference to discuss and establish the foundation of a world agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy is a source of deep gratification to us. Ever since the discovery of atomic energy in 1945, and especially the shocking revelation of its terrifying power of destruction, the hopes and indeed the prayers of all humanity have been directed towards just one goal: that the day may come when this newly discovered force will be dedicated exclusively to the well-being of mankind. While the conscience of mankind is quite clear on this issue, it has not been easy to attain an international agreement to materialize these hopes. In the meantime, a truly frightening atomic armaments race has cast an ominous shadow over the efforts for real peace among nations.

It is true that the atom itself has no politics, but unfortunately the atom has become intricately involved in politics, in high national policies, and inevitably in international controversies. Atomic power politics is today a matter of plain fact.

Yet, the more knowledge man gains in extracting, in an increasing manner, the destructive power of the atom, the more man himself becomes terrified by his own creation. The breaking of this evil spell has therefore gradually but definitely become a compelling must.

When President Eisenhower -- the President of a great, if not the greatest, atomic Power in the world -- announced two and a half years ago, in this very hall of the United Nations, his dramatic proposal to set up under the aegis of the United Nations an international agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, he interpreted the deeply felt desire of mankind throughout the world to redress the appalling situation in which the world found itself in this atomic era.

Indeed, whether the atom will be destructive or beneficial to man's life remains, I believe, in the hands of man. It is our own minds and our own actions that will make the atom either a boon for humanity or a wanton weapon of destruction.

The answer to that challenge was given during our discussions of President Eisenhower's historic proposal at the ninth and tenth sessions of the General Assembly. It was clearly evident that the peoples of the world, which we here represent, shared and applauded the high ideals contained in that proposal. The draft statute for the projected International Atomic Energy Agency, prepared by an eight-nation sponsoring group, was examined and discussed with great interest. It was, of course, inevitable that certain controversial policies should come into the open with regard to the organization, functions, membership and responsibilities of the Agency. Although appreciating the work done by the initial sponsoring group, my delegation also had at that time several reservations which we felt should be taken into consideration if we were to set up an Agency on the basis of genuine international co-operation and for the real benefit of all peoples and nations.

My delegation stressed, among other things, that the harnessing of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes must be a universal endeavour, with no barriers raised on political or other grounds to impede the projected Agency in fulfilling its noble aim of developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy

(Mr. Sudjarwo, Indonesia)

throughout the entire world, in a spirit of true international co-operation. Moreover, we expressed our deep belief that the principle of equitable geographic representation should be the primary consideration in establishing the governing body of the Agency, with adequate representation given to the under-industrialized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. My delegation also joined with others in urging that the relationship between the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations should be as close as possible.

In particular, the Indonesian delegation emphasized that this Agency must not perpetuate or encourage the sharp division between the "haves" and the "have-nots". All countries must be given at least an equal opportunity to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy, through or with the assistance of the Agency. The atomic revolution which we envisage, and in which the Agency should play an important role, must be truly beneficial to all nations and not only to the greater advantage of a few and to the detriment of the many, as was evident in the case of the earlier industrial revolution. I understand this also to be the kind of weaknesses to which the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, referred in his welcoming statement to this Conference. The tensions -- economic, social and political -- which were created by that earlier industrial revolution, and which to some extent in fact still underlie present-day tensions between the industrialized and less-industrialized countries of the world, should not be aggravated further. The new atomic revolution should indeed be directed towards correcting the inequities brought about by the former industrial revolution.

Therefore, if this world Agency is to exercise controls -- and it is not only the technical controls which matter -- the Agency should always be guided by the high principles and motivating ideals which I have just mentioned. The term "peaceful uses of atomic energy" connotes, in my view, primarily the technical side of the problem. The real meaning of our high endeavour lies in the words: "atoms for peace". That is, the atom should be harnessed so as to bring about conditions in the world upon which peace and peaceful relations among nations can be securely built, and that means a world of plenty, shared by all as equally as possible. In simple language, it should mean for the majority of mankind more food, more clothes, better housing and health and in general improved economic and social conditions.

(Mr. Sudjarwo, Indonesia)

This may seem at the moment nothing more than a dream; but, as a goal, as the ultimate goal of our present endeavour to guide the future of this atomic age, it seems to me not at all unattainable. The results of the successful Geneva Conference on atomic energy, held last year under the auspices of the United Nations, were indeed encouraging and opened wider horizons in this very direction. Everything depends upon the spirit in which we embark upon this great endeavour; in fact, to strive to attain this ultimate goal seems to me to be the only justifiable moral basis of this international enterprise for peace.

At the same time, I am aware that the Agency which we are about to set up can, and will in the beginning, have only a limited function in the attainment of that goal. In modest terms, its objectives are laid down in Article II of the draft statute: "The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to the peace, health, and prosperity of the world ..." But even in these modest terms it embodies, I believe, that great spirit, that idealistic spirit which I have attempted to describe. Indeed, "the peace, health, and prosperity of the world" can only mean the entire world -- "everywhere, reaching the utmost parts of the earth", as Mr. Strauss, Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, so lucidly declared in his welcoming address to this Conference.

If we compare the original draft statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency with the revised draft statute now before us -- the collective work of the twelve-nation Negotiating Group appointed by the General Assembly last year -- I think that you will agree with me, Mr. President, that the revisions which have been made in the light of the discussions and debates at the last session of the General Assembly represent a really great improvement indeed. They bring us a substantial step forward in the right direction. The technical and organizational changes in the draft statute could indeed only have been made and guided by a spirit, by an ideal which I should like to applaud here in all earnestness, at the same time paying my sincere tribute to all the members of the twelve-nation Negotiating Group who, in the past few months, by their goodwill and their understanding of the great task which they have to fulfil, have done an admirable job.

(Mr. Sudjarwo, Indonesia)

If the present draft statute should impose real sacrifices on the part of some advanced countries, as was pointed out by the representative of the United Kingdom, my Government will wholly appreciate those sacrifices. Sir Pierson Dixon may rest assured that sacrifices for an ideal will be highly honoured.

I agree with many speakers before me that the revised draft statute is the outcome of compromises between different points of view and different interests -- a product of give and take on all sides. Since it is a compromise, it is, naturally, not entirely satisfactory to everyone. Many have also said that the draft statute in its present form is a balanced one between the various interests involved.

My Government has carefully studied the draft statute of the Agency. In general, we believe, as I have already stated, that there is much to applaud in the revisions incorporated in the present draft, due to the patience and foresight -- and, I would not hesitate to add, the common wisdom -- of the twelve-nation Negotiating Group. In fact, I am happy to say that it reflects to a considerable extent the observations made by my delegation, as well as by others, during the debate on the original draft statute. The question, as I see it, now is whether this conference will be able further to improve the draft statute for the better realization of its purposes.

As previous speakers have pointed out, the draft statute is not perfect. Indeed, it cannot be. But I am happy to note that, while many representatives have cautioned against embarking upon any wholesale amendment of the document in order not to jeopardize the delicate balance which has been so painstakingly achieved, there is nevertheless common agreement that neither is it the intention of the Conference to turn itself into a mere rubber stamp. It is also the opinion of my delegation that the draft statute is open to improvement. It is only proper, therefore, that several delegations should already have submitted or suggested amendments to the draft statute, thus indicating the deep interest in guaranteeing that this international enterprise, which is of such far-reaching importance, may fulfil the high expectations for its success. My delegation will be happy to render its humble contribution and to support any amendments which may further improve the draft statute in securing the best interests of all peoples, equally and fairly, in this great endeavour in international co-operation for peace.

(Mr. Sudjarwo, Indonesia)

My Government, naturally, attaches great importance to the proposed functions of the Agency as specified in Article III of the draft statute. Many of the functions are of a technical nature and deserve the closest attention. It is our view that the Agency, as far as possible, should also be a centre for the training of scientists from countries throughout the world in the peaceful application of atomic energy; this is a matter of tremendous importance, particularly to the under-developed countries. It is gratifying to us to note that in Article III, section B, paragraph 3, the special needs of the under-developed areas of the world, with regard to the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, are specifically recognized.

My Government, however, shares the views of preceding speakers who have stressed the point that the Agency's activities and policies should not impair the sovereign rights of States. In this connexion reference has been made to Article III, section D, which states:

"Subject to the provisions of this Statute and to the terms of agreements concluded between a State or group of States and the Agency, the activities of the Agency shall be carried out with due observance of the sovereign rights of States."

My delegation appreciates the assurances given on this issue by several members of the twelve-nation Negotiating Group. Nevertheless, it remains the view of my Government that no trace of doubt should be left with regard to this question, particularly in connexion with Article XII of the draft statute, dealing with the intricate problem of safeguards. We have listened with a great deal of interest to the observations made on this problem of safeguards, especially the pertinent remarks made by the representative of India, Mr. Bhabha. They deserve, I think, the most serious consideration.

My Government further attaches great significance to the composition and the functions of the Board of Governors. The adequate distribution of seats, especially as regards the representation of the under-industrialized areas of the world, is a question which must be considered carefully and thoughtfully. Not only the present importance, but also the possible future importance, of countries in the field of atomic energy should be taken into full consideration. The distinction between producers and non-producers of source materials, for example, cannot be a permanent one. In this respect I fully share the observations made by the representative of Thailand.

The relationship between the Board of Governors and the General Conference is yet another matter deserving our closest attention. I realize that the functions of the General Conference as prescribed in the revised draft statute represent quite an improvement over what was first proposed in the original draft statute. At the same time, however, it seems to my delegation that a further strengthening of its authority may not be unwarranted, especially with respect to the general policies of the Agency to be carried out by the Board of Governors.

As to the relationship between the Agency and the United Nations, I believe that the revised draft statute now before us represents a fair compromise, which should be acceptable to all concerned. It is the understanding of my Government that, under article III, paragraph B, sub-paragraph 4, the Agency will submit annual reports on its activities to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

We will, of course, be given ample opportunity in the main committee or committees to discuss in detail the draft statute, including those provisions on which additional clarification may be desirable. Among these are the ones dealing with the financial implications of the Agency's operations as they affect its members. My delegation has already given serious consideration to the suggestions made and to the draft amendments tabled by several delegations. There are also the memoranda submitted by the ILO and the WHO on several questions pertaining to the draft statute. All of these will, I am sure, be given due consideration in the committee or committees.

Under the able leadership of the President, I am indeed certain that we will depart from this Conference with the secure feeling that all of us have done our utmost, in the highest spirit of mutual co-operation, to establish the International Atomic Energy Agency on a solid and true international foundation, capable of serving the interests of the whole of mankind in an equitable and fair way. As I have already pointed out, while the technical side of the Agency is important, of no less importance is the moral basis and purpose of our common endeavour, of which we, the founders, should at no time -- today and in the future -- lose sight of.

(Mr. Sudjarwo, Indonesia)

That is the reason why my Government on the very first day of this Conference deplored the fact that some countries, including a vast and important country in my own part of the world, have been deliberately excluded from taking part and from contributing their share in cementing the foundation of this world-wide Agency. The aims and purposes of this Agency are, after all, to secure through the workings of real international co-operation a more peaceful and fruitful social and economic life for all peoples. Indeed, along with its other functions, the Agency must ensure that fissionable and other materials, services, equipment, facilities and information made available by it or under its supervision or control are not used to further military purposes. Therefore, it seems to me that the greater the number of countries brought into the orbit of the Agency the greater will be our chances of realizing the goal of harnessing atomic energy throughout the world for peaceful purposes, of serving the common cause of co-operation for peace. That is why -- in the very interest of peace -- we cannot but feel that it is a grave error to exclude any country from this enlightened and far-reaching common endeavour. My Government hopes that this unfortunate shortcoming will in due time be corrected.

If we start now with an imperfect statute for the Agency, my Government hopes that the coming years will bring -- as a result of our co-operation and better understanding -- an improved atmosphere in international relations, conducive for the further growth and prosperity of the Agency.

This Agency, I know, is not directly designed to put an end to the use of atomic energy for military purposes. It would indeed be ideal if the birth of this Agency could be complemented by an agreement between the big Powers concerned to stop the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermcnuclear weapons. This should remain our constant objective. Only a few days ago -- during these very deliberations on the peaceful application of atomic energy -- we were reminded of the hard reality that experimental explosions of nuclear weapons are still being conducted. Yet, disturbing as this may be, if every member of the Agency by virtue of joining this Agency recognizes and is motivated by the spirit or ideal on which this enterprise is based, then we can move ahead in the full confidence of the dawn of a new era -- an era in which the atom shall be exclusively used as man's benefactor and not as his destroyer.

(Mr. Sudjarwo. Indonesia)

Let the establishment of this Agency, then, be the symbol of the dawn of that new era; and let us make this dawn the dawn of real peace and prosperity throughout the world.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): My first words from this rostrum will be to express my personal gratification and the gratification of my delegation at the election of Ambassador Muniz to preside over the work of this Conference, a conference which for all time will open up a new horizon for the destinies of all mankind. I would take the liberty of saying that his election by this Conference is a tribute to the great and wise country of Brazil. It is a true expression of feelings of the whole of America for Brazil and for Ambassador Muniz, and we are thus assured that the work of the Conference will be directed by a most able man, one for whom we have the highest esteem. I should like to extend my congratulations also to Dr. Pavel Winkler, of Czechoslovakia, who has been elected Vice-President.

It is an honour to participate in this general debate, which has been distinguished by many illustrious spokesmen. It is appropriate that this international meeting on the peaceful uses of atomic energy should be held in this United Nations Headquarters, which is the home of all human hopes. Barely three years ago, President Eisenhower, from this same rostrum, spoke to the General Assembly of the United Nations and in plain American terms depicted the tremendous possibilities that were opened up to us. All of us knew at that time that something definitive and great was being born in America. It was as if an ancient prophesy were being fulfilled after so many sombre and anguished unfoldings of mankind's destiny; for the last great struggle by the nations for the liberation of the world ended in the clamours and havoc of war. The announcement of the President of the United States was a happy augury for the future and gave hope for a permanent peace to men and women everywhere, to the multitude of workers throughout the world, to the mothers of the world whose sacrifices of their sons have so often fed the fires of hatred throughout the centuries. In this work, oriented towards peace and progress, we are called upon not to add one more drama to the unending drama of the ages but to embark upon a tremendous human venture which will astound the world of the future just as the ancient world was astounded

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

when in the fifteenth century the Spanish carabelas sailed the sea to discover America, this same tremendous America where today in this chamber, through the joint decisions and efforts of all of us, the possibilities of a new era are becoming a reality.

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

As was desired by the General Assembly of the United Nations, this Conference is imbued in its structure, in its spirit, with the idea of universality. Times have changed, and the democratic thought, as well as the credo of human solidarity, has developed at vertiginous speed. Before the admirable possibilities of nuclear power, no one today would keep for himself, or for a small group, or even exclusively for one country, the new technological conquests, the new elements of progress or the new achievements which may have been made within national boundaries. To the former criterion of limited convenience and use has been added the social and universal principle of the common interest.

Today the thinking on these matters is different. And when, in this Conference, men are met together who come from every latitude, who represent all races, who speak all languages, who have different faiths, and when we note that here we have come from so many parts of the world to speak, in all possible languages, the same words of social solidarity and human progress, we realize how exceptional is the role to be played by this last scientific conquest -- a role which is being played in the physical realities of the world and in the imagination of all mankind, and a new scientific conquest which is oriented toward the future and with which man will at last realize his destiny fully.

Man has been unstinting in his work. The work of generations was arduous and lengthy before this last conquest, the splitting of the atom, was attained. The messengers of new ideas were often persecuted and even condemned by men who were hidebound by antiquated ideas. The path of truth had at times to conquer many fears. Every new invention has to open up new trails for itself. In many places, for instance, it was contended that the fire in locomotives would set fire to the fields and that the coming of the railroad would create unemployment among those who had driven the carts along the dirt roads of the past.

But a legion of men, a legion of scientists in their laboratories, of professors at their desks, of searchers after truth and biological laws -- all these men continued zealously and unstintingly in their work, and no one worked in vain. The ancient alchemists, who felt that all metals could be converted into gold, the ancient alchemists who already divined in the atomic secrets the

source of all new prodigies -- all those have led to the discovery in our time of the fact that the explosion of one atom of uranium can produce 200 million electron volts of energy. All those find that their days have thus been crowned with glory in this adventure in the field of human progress, and at the present time we pay heartfelt tribute to these past generations.

In this initial stage of our work, we are here called upon to discuss and approve the statute which is to govern the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The structure of this Conference means that no people will fail to enjoy the benefits of atomic energy for peaceful purposes because of the fact that its economy is underdeveloped or its industrial activity poorly developed. This point was already made by my delegation at the tenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which adopted the resolution under which this Conference was convoked. I made this point when I said that what was involved was not only to enjoy or to receive benefits but to provide every country with an opportunity to contribute, with the results of its own work, in this realm of activity. Thus today all delegations which come from Latin America have drafted a proposal, initially suggested by the Brazilian delegation, according to which the Agency to be set up will be able to provide financial solutions to meet the needs in certain countries for the carrying out of certain national projects. And here we must approve this statute, which will ensure the attainment of all these objectives. My delegation has always subscribed to these objectives, and that is why we would like to bring the small contribution of our countries to this tremendous task.

This is not the time to speak of the various articles of the statutes, one by one. But we might say that the work undertaken by the delegations of twelve countries, the twelve countries which were asked to draft this statute, is very meritorious. Only a few days ago, in this same room, we were pleased, as we are always pleased, to listen to our colleague from the United States, Mr. Wadsworth, who set forth many admirable concepts with which he initiated this general debate. Mr. Wadsworth told us that his own country was one of those which joined in the unanimous and unreserved approval of the draft statute. He pointed out that there are parts of the statute which he would have preferred

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

to see drafted differently, and that he felt sure that none of the signatories would consider this statute to be perfect. I particularly appreciated these words, for no doubt many of us will have to sacrifice, for the time being, some views which we would have liked to see incorporated into this text. My own delegation, as will be seen later, stands by certain principles which we cannot relinquish or abandon.

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

We note, naturally, not only the difficulties which had to be overcome before this statute could be drafted, but also that, possibly, some better solution might not be found. The Uruguayan delegation feels it necessary that, as was said a few days ago by the representatives of Thailand and Mexico, the statute should embody a concrete clause making it possible to revise its text, and we feel that this revision should take place within an experimental period not exceeding five years. This is in keeping with the vertiginous tempo of developments in this realm. We consider that this provision, safeguard or guarantee should be established as it is in the San Francisco Charter.

It is my honour to preside over my delegation at this Conference. In so doing I work together with very distinguished compatriots of mine who have been leaders in the work in this field in my country, and who belong to the admirable legion of scientific workers in Uruguay who are today dedicated to the exploration of all the possibilities of these new undertakings. On a precise scale with our work in this field we of the Uruguayan delegation have contributed to the work which here is to become universal in nature. But even before the present time Uruguay welcomed all the elements with which this new era could be launched, and thus our statesmen, as well as our scientists and technicians, within the limits of their possibilities, started off on this great endeavour and strove to develop national activity in this field with great dedication.

My country has already had an opportunity to mention these points on two major occasions and to stress the work which we have been doing in this field. We spoke on this subject at the Geneva Conference last year and at the tenth session of the General Assembly which adopted resolution 912 (X). On past occasions when this matter was being dealt with we stated that, thanks to its resources, Uruguay was very modestly beginning to experiment in the various fields which have been the object of activity since the beginning of this century. We have a small territory with no steel and no fuel, and since our resources are limited we are accordingly very seriously restricted in our work. We have already said this in the past when we pointed to the work which our country could undertake in its industrial development. However, we feel that our political institutions, which characterize us as a true democracy, did contribute to the development of our culture.

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

When, at the beginning of this century, the great reform was initiated which enabled Uruguay to proceed with the nationalization of all services considered in the social interest -- services which, theretofore, had been monopolized by foreign companies which had been granted concessions in Uruguay; when, at the same time, we adopted a system providing for free education at every level, primary, secondary and higher, without any distinction which might divide men; and when, on the institutional level, we attained the most highly evolved form of our system of government along the democratic way by replacing a single president with a collegiate governmental system, Uruguay, within the limits set by its resources, was capable of taking part in these tremendous undertakings which mark our times and our era.

All this was our contribution, in the brotherhood of America, to world progress, but the conditions in which my country has had to work have prevented it from developing along industrial lines sufficiently to attain the proper levels necessary for this type of production. In the meantime, however, Uruguay had already, in 1913, acquired a half-gramme of radium for use in the free supply of services of the Radio-Therapy Institute and the Cancer Institute -- these being free social services provided in my country. Despite our economic conditions and our incipient industrial development, Uruguay had already nationalized or brought under Government control the electric power services, and in 1937 it initiated work in the hydro-electric utilization of the Rio Negro. We are broadening our achievements in this field in my country year by year. It will, therefore, be a surprise to no one that we recently set up a National Atomic Energy Commission which is designed to co-ordinate all activity in our country in the field of nuclear power.

In line with these new achievements, my country had, in 1907, attended the Peace Conference at The Hague, and there, through our representative Jose Batlle y Ordoñez, had spoken prophetically in the following words:

"Now that so many alliances have been forged to impose decisions taken arbitrarily, let us conclude an alliance to impose justice."

We may say that, if justice arises as the most meaningful expression of human solidarity, then this Conference in which we are here met is going to be the most holy alliance of all peoples of the world in our time.

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

The Atomic Energy Commission of my country is at present **studying** plans for the creation of a centre for nuclear research. This involves the purchase of an **experimental** reactor under the terms of the bilateral agreement concluded between Uruguay and the United States. Nor is this our only undertaking at the present time. The governmental body which is charged with the production and distribution of electric power has established a commission of experts which will give serious consideration to the possibility of introducing atomic plants to serve the projects for the extension of the provision of electricity throughout the Republic. The study of radioactive minerals in the territory is a task which has been under way for several years, and this has been an uninterrupted effort on our part. It is being carried out with the collaboration of the physics institutes, the schools of engineering and the governmental body I have mentioned, which is vested with all that is related to the processing and distribution of fuel. The results are not yet definite, but they do permit the hope that it will be possible for us to discover on our territory atomic raw materials which will make it possible for us to exploit these resources.

But let me turn to the question of health and medical science. In this field we have used radioactive isotopes, beginning in 1950 with the clinical and therapeutic use of radio-iodine. Later this type of medical use of radioactive isotopes attained considerable scope, so that at present, as members of this Conference who have visited my country may have noted, we have five laboratories in Uruguay, all of them fully equipped and with adequate technical staff, utilizing radioactive isotopes for medical and scientific purposes. Four of these laboratories are part, respectively, of the Physics Institute of the Engineering School, the Biophysics Institute of the Medical School, **the Radio-Therapy** Institute and the **Endocrinology** Department of the Ministry of Public Health. The fifth laboratory is a valuable example of private initiative in the field of atomic energy. I can add that the bibliographical contribution of my country in this field is noteworthy.

(Mr. Rodriguez-Fabregat, Uruguay)

Books, texts, essays, laboratory research, scientific experiments: all of these form part of my country's very serious contribution to the great universal plan designed for the use of atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purposes.

I should like to add that the projects and studies to which I have already referred will involve not only the installation of an experimental reactor in our country, but also the establishment of a complete atomic energy laboratory capable of meeting all our requirements for scientific research in the fields of physics, chemistry, biology, engineering, medicine, agriculture, industry, and so forth. The plans for the State's electrical plants to provide electrical power throughout the country are projected through the year 2000. They call for the construction of large hydroelectric plants and the extension of thermal plants. In view, however, of the fact that, today, new trails are being blazed and new conquests are being made in the production of electric power by means of atomic energy, we shall have to revise our plans and, correspondingly, to construct new nuclear electric plants.

Those, in general, are the ways in which we shall bring our contribution to bear upon this great revolutionary transformation that is being effected in our era.

As the New Zealand representative pointed out only a few days ago, the leadership demonstrated in this field by the United States marks one more contribution made by that great country to the chronicle of modern times.

I shall leave it to a later time to speak in detail about the provisions of the draft statute before us. Apart from the points I have already mentioned, I would say that my delegation feels that, unquestionably, the fact should be reiterated and stressed that atomic energy must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for civilian rather than military purposes. It is essential, therefore, that we carefully study and adopt concrete decisions concerning the safeguards which must be taken to supervise the compliance with our objectives. We feel that this principle should be laid down in clear-cut terms. The entire structure of the statute and the action of the Agency must be dedicated to the building of reactors rather than cannons, to the production of isotopes rather than explosives, to the improvement of health and the lengthening of life in this new, great battle which is being waged against destruction and death.

My delegation feels that we should also study and draft with care the articles of the statute relating to geographical areas. We should also give close attention to the powers which, democratically, should be vested in the General Conference, powers which the draft statute proposes to vest in the Board of Governors, a body with a limited membership. The city of Vienna has been mentioned as the site of the Agency.

This new era now opening up before us is imbued with magic. When man at last succeeded in mastering the secret of the atom, he demonstrated that he was possessed of the most prodigious powers and skills. From the beginning, man's task has been to master the forces of nature, one by one, so that they may be harnessed to the goal of ensuring progress. That is why he built fires in the cold and dark caverns in which he lived; that is why he built tools; that is why he perfected his speech and developed his writing; that is why his lips spoke the word "justice", the word which inspired the prophets of the past. Generations after generations have, thus, been endowed with the values of equality, have been redeemed forever from tyranny and misery, have been blessed with human dignity. We are met here to continue that effort. That is the message which my delegation would bring to this Conference.

Mr. VITETTI (Italy): So many representatives of so many countries have congratulated Mr. Muniz on his election to the office of President of this Conference, and Mr. Winkler on his election to the office of Vice-President, that my congratulations may appear to be quite belated. I very much wish to assure the Conference that this belatedness is due only to the fact that the task of concerning myself with so intricate and abstruse a question as that of nuclear energy, and studying so complicated a draft as the one before us, fell suddenly upon me, and I therefore attempted to gain time before speaking.

For all their belatedness, however, the Italian delegation's congratulations are no less sincere and deep. If I may add a personal note, I would say that I have had the opportunity of co-operating with Mr. Muniz in the past on a very delicate question, and I hail his appointment with the deepest satisfaction and,

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the greatest confidence in his outstanding qualifications.

It is very comforting to see, at a moment when grave and somewhat explosive problems are confronting us, that so many countries have assembled together in this Conference, the ultimate goal of which is to contribute to peaceful co-operation, to the welfare of the world, and to the raising of the standard of living of all our peoples. Even though we should scarcely expect miracles from the use of atomic energy -- which is certainly not a panacea for all our difficulties and troubles -- we can nonetheless anticipate that co-operation among our countries will produce great results, inasmuch as it will provide mankind with better instruments of work and greater sources of well-being.

For these reasons, as far back as three years ago, my country hailed with gratitude the generous initiative of the President of the United States, aimed at facilitating the development of the production of nuclear energy in all countries. Again today, it wishes to offer its felicitations for the good work performed by the representatives of twelve nations in preparing the draft statute now before us. The task entrusted to them was certainly not an easy one, and the result could hardly be expected to attain perfection. This is not only because a common denominator had to be found for often divergent interests and viewpoints, as is always the case in international negotiations, but also because these representatives were faced with the task of attempting to codify on an institutional basis a technical subject, marked -- as even a brief past experience has already demonstrated with ample evidence -- by an extremely fast pace of evolution, so much so that speculation has been raised as to whether, even in the near future, some of the assumptions which are taken for granted today would still be valid in the face of scientific progress, and whether the technical and economic reality in this connexion might not appear quite different then from what it is now.

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With your permission, Mr. President, I shall come back later to this point. I should like to tell you now that I have learned many things from the speakers who came before me, and I must confess to you that I was unaware that so much scientific and technical progress had already been accomplished in so many countries. I may assure you that we in Italy have also done our part of the work.

My country, which is now getting under way the industrial applications of nuclear energy, has had a long standing and important experience in the field of nuclear studies. The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Admiral Strauss -- whom I wish to thank here -- has chosen to mention the name of Enrico Fermi. Fermi and his associates initiated in Rome, a short time after 1930, the history-making experiments on slow neutrons, and the studies which were then undertaken conferred upon research in fundamental physics conducted in Italy a primacy which our scientists have endeavoured to maintain. Indeed, only a few months ago, I am happy to say, almost simultaneously in the United States and Italy, following a plan of co-ordinated research which had been arranged between Rome and Berkeley, the existence of the antiproton was discovered; and in fact it may be only a short time until this discovery will perhaps offer new ideas in the field of practical applications.

At the same time, Italian scientists have effectively contributed to the development of knowledge concerning cosmic rays, and are currently actively engaged in the development of the large-type accelerators both at the European Centre of Nuclear Research at Geneva and with the construction in Rome of a large 1,000 million electron volt synchrotron.

For several years now, the attention of the Italian Government and of the scientists and technicians of my country has been focussed on the industrial uses of nuclear energy. To this purpose, my Government had already established in 1952 an agency -- the National Committee for Nuclear Research -- entrusted with the task of co-ordinating all governmental as well as private activities within its jurisdiction. Training of staff, research on the production of heavy water and the separation of isotopes, construction of mills for the production of metallic uranium from ammonium uranate, geological surveys and prospecting for uranium ores and thorium over the entire national territory -- these are some of the

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achievements of the Nuclear Committee. Of special significance is the prospecting for uranium and thorium. In this regard, I am now in a position to add to and to modify what was officially disclosed by our delegation at the Geneva Conference -- that prospecting in the area of the Maritime Alps has ascertained the existence of ore deposits having a content ratio of 3-4 per thousand over a one hundred mile belt from the Tyrranian Sea to the Monviso. Furthermore, volcanic formations located north of Rome have been found to contain a considerable amount of uranium and thorium, while in Calabria, at the southernmost tip of the Italian peninsula, the existence of primary uranium formations has been definitely established. In disclosing these facts, I intend only to stress that by pursuing further these prospecting activities Italy in a not too distant future will be able to become self-sufficient in the production of nuclear source materials, which will lead, we hope, to the possibility of Italy being also in a position to contribute to the pool of materials envisaged by the Agency.

So much for uranium and thorium. Yet could anyone maintain beyond doubt that other raw materials, which today are not contemplated by the articles of the draft statute of the Agency and which are perhaps available to countries that are not included among the producers of source materials, might not be employed possibly in the near future in new productive processes? That is an assumption which it may be necessary to revise at a certain time.

Moreover, it is not too unrealistic -- and I may say that we have very well-founded reasons -- to expect that theoretical studies on nuclear fusion now being conducted in countries which are the most advanced in scientific research, might lead ultimately to conclusions, which may in turn substantially change our present knowledge of industrial processes in the atomic field.

This leads me back to the point I was making at the outset of my remarks on the draft statute, which was so commendably prepared by the representatives of twelve nations. In fact, due to the progress of science and technology, to which the Brazilian representative so appropriately called the attention of the Conference, this draft might not appear up to date in the future. I beg you not to interpret this statement as implying any criticism of the draft. I wish only to assert that the "assumptions" on which it is based

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might be less valid in the future. We are just at the beginning of the atomic age, and the technical developments are based on scientific notions which are permanently subject to constant revision. There is no doubt that in the draft statute which we are now discussing we have to take into consideration the present stage of knowledge and the actual results of geological exploration. I must say, however, that the Agency should keep a constant watch on scientific developments. I wonder, therefore, whether it might not appear expedient to contemplate as of now -- at the time, that is, when our Conference will consider each article of the draft statute -- the assignment of at least one of the rotating seats on the Board of Governors to countries which are particularly advanced in scientific studies and experimentation. Next to considerations of a political and geographic nature, whose importance I fully acknowledge, it might perhaps be fitting to take into account, in the common interest, other considerations which would assign to science the place it deserves. Science is the open eye on the future, and we should, I think, have in the Board of Governors the assistance and co-operation of people who can foresee the future and throw light on future developments.

I know that the question of the composition of the Board of Governors is one of the most delicate questions, and I do not wish to upset the work which has been so painfully accomplished. Geographical and political reasons are very important. But of no less importance is to bear in mind that the International Atomic Energy Agency is fundamentally a technical agency animated by the spirit of mutual assistance, whose aims are eventually directed to help countries which need to develop sources of power for economic expansion. Therefore, I believe it is quite important to establish a Board of Governors which may work efficiently, and I share the feelings of the Canadian representative when he said that

"without sound direction and satisfactory Agency policies, countries proposing to undertake worthwhile projects may be unable to obtain needed assistance; countries capable of providing assistance may lose confidence and fail to make the fullest use of the Agency as a channel for helping atomic development". (IAEA/CS/OR.7, page 16)

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I took note with great satisfaction of the specific reference in article III of the draft statute to the special needs of the under-developed areas of the world, and I congratulate the group of twelve nations for having introduced it. Even if it is of a general character, this mention confers on the draft statute a particular significance.

My country is particularly interested in the problem of under-developed areas. This is so not only from a general point of view, not only because we firmly believe that the economic expansion of under-developed countries will be the greatest benefit the world can receive, but also because Italy, though certainly not an under-developed country according to the current use of this definition, has in its South a vast economically backward region. My Government is presently engaged in a far-reaching effort aimed at attaining an adequate economic development of the South and raising the standard of living of the population. This will be the main economic and political-economic problem of Italy for the next ten years. This problem is made even more difficult by the serious lack of the traditional sources of energy, from which my country is suffering. Indeed, it is forecasted that, with water reserves being fully exploited, in 1975 over half of our production of electric power will have to be supplied by heat processes. As early as 1965, therefore, 13 billion kilowatt hours a year will have to be produced with electro-nuclear energy. This figure, according to the most conservative estimates, will have to be raised to 27 billion kilowatt hours in 1975.

This is why we attach such a tremendous importance to this Conference and to the draft statute before us. We are fully aware of the importance which sources of nuclear energy will hold for under-developed areas. It seems fitting to me to stress even now, in order to ensure that due consideration will be given to this point in the future when the allocation of aid will be decided upon, the needs of those countries which, like mine, having entirely exhausted their resources of traditional energy, are power starved and urgently need the help of atomic energy in order to assure the necessary economic development and the betterment of the standard of living of their population.

And now I should like to touch upon the financial obligations which are referred to in Article XIV of the draft statute. While it seems obvious to me that administrative expenditures should be contained within moderate limits, not least in order to avoid creating a new oversized international bureaucracy, it would seem quite expedient, or even necessary, that when we come to discuss this Article, we should orient ourselves, in discussing the matter of financial obligations of countries participating in the Agency, towards orders of magnitude with regard to administrative costs which would not represent an excessive burden. I make this point also for practical reasons which, I imagine, also confront the majority of countries represented here. If it is the concern of all of us here that the agreement which will result from our Conference should be ratified as quickly as possible by our respective constitutional organs, it will be necessary for us to be in a position to indicate to these organs at least the order of magnitude of financial obligations which will fall on the individual countries as a result of that ratification.

I confess that I would like to present other remarks on the draft statute, but please do not think that I am now going to present a long list of amendments. My Government approves the draft as a whole, and on its behalf I renew my congratulations for the good work which has been achieved by the negotiating group, while reserving the right to present our observations during the discussion of the articles of the draft statute.

I should like now to express the appreciation of my delegation for the invitation extended by the Federal Government of Austria to the Agency to establish its permanent headquarters in Vienna. I sincerely hope that all representatives will support that invitation when the question of the Agency's headquarters is discussed.

I have had the honour to illustrate the work done and being done in my country in the atomic field, the amplitude of our needs in relationship to the demands of an indispensable economic development, and our intention to lend the future Agency the full contribution of our resources, today in terms of science and tomorrow, perhaps, also in terms of raw material. I cannot but reiterate the assurance of our good will and our wishes for success in our current activities and in our future co-operation within the Agency.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

