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OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Tokyo Prince Hotel, Tokyo,
on Tuesday, 28 September 1965, at 11.30 a.m.

President: Mr. ASAKAI (Japan)

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* GC(IX)/313.

The composition of delegations attending the session is given in document GC(IX)/INF/82/Rev.2.

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GENERAL FUND FOR 1966 (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT invited the Director General to give a brief summary of the position with regard to pledges of voluntary contributions to the General Fund for 1966.
2. The DIRECTOR GENERAL said that 42 Member States had so far pledged \$1 075 000 in voluntary contributions to the General Fund for 1966. That was about \$80 000 less than the amount pledged for 1965 by 40 Members at the same time the year before. He was sorry to state that resources available to the General Fund had steadily declined since 1963, when 40 Members had pledged a total of a little more than \$1.4 million. In 1964, 42 pledges totalled a little less than \$1.4 million; in 1965, 48 pledges totalled about \$1.2 million.
3. He urged all Members that had not already done so to consider making at least a token pledge for 1966, in order to avoid undue curtailment of planned programmes.

SCALE OF MEMBERS' CONTRIBUTIONS FOR 1966 (GC(IX)/324)

4. Mr. TORKI (Tunisia), Rapporteur of the Programme, Technical and Budget Committee, presented the Committee's report under item 15 of the agenda - Scale of Members' contributions for 1966 (GC(IX)/324). At the end of the report there was a draft resolution which the Committee was recommending the Conference to adopt.
5. The draft resolution in document GC(IX)/324 was adopted.

THE AGENCY'S BUDGET FOR 1966 (GC(IX)/323) (continued)^{1/}

6. Mr. TORKI (Tunisia), Rapporteur of the Programme, Technical and Budget Committee, presented the Committee's second report under item 14 of the agenda - The Agency's budget for 1966 (GC(IX)/323). Annexed to the report were two draft resolutions which the Committee recommended for adoption.
7. The draft resolution in Annex I to document GC(IX)/323 (Study of biennial budgeting) was adopted.
8. The draft resolution in Annex II (The application of nuclear energy to the desalting of water) was adopted.

^{1/} GC(IX)/OR.99, paras. 29 to 32.

GENERAL DEBATE AND REPORT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS FOR 1964-65
(GC(IX)/315, 316, 317) (continued)^{2/}

9. The PRESIDENT recalled that the Conference still had some unfinished business under item 10 of the agenda, namely three draft resolutions: the first, submitted by the United States of America, related to action pursuant to Resolution 1087 (XXXIX) of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (GC(IX)/315); the second was submitted jointly by 11 Powers (GC(IX)/316); the third was a 12-Power resolution relating to a decision on competence pursuant to Rule 64 of the Rules of Procedure (GC(IX)/317).

10. Mr. TYABJI (India), speaking on behalf of certain Afro-Asian countries, namely, Tunisia, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Ghana, Lebanon, Ceylon and India, said that all those present were obviously in favour of disarmament and would like to do everything possible to bring it about. The sponsors of the 11-Power draft resolution appealed to all Member States to render assistance in every possible way to the success of the negotiations for general and complete disarmament, and for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, which clearly should take place under effective international control. However, there were differences in approach to that problem and, while it was difficult to over-estimate the importance of the question, the Indian delegation and the other delegations for which he spoke appealed for consideration of the 11-Power draft resolution and the other related draft resolutions to be postponed.

11. Mr. PETROSYANTS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that many speakers in the general debate had referred repeatedly to the desirability of so directing the Agency's work as to enable it to contribute to the cause of lasting peace, disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons. Current international developments, including the intensification of the arms race and, in the United States, the stepping-up of plans for again using atom bombs, urgently called for decisive action to arrest that dangerous trend. Better than anyone else, the specialists, scientists, engineers and administrators assembled in the General Conference understood the harmful repercussions which the increased military use of atomic energy would have on the development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes; the more time, resources and energy went into the military uses, the less remained available for the peaceful uses. The peoples

^{2/} GC(IX)/OR.97.

of the world were not likely to approve the Agency's General Conference endeavouring to evade questions relating to the continuing nuclear weapons race and the threat of renewed recourse to nuclear weapons.

12. Certain Western delegations - the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Canada and the Netherlands - had put forward a draft resolution to the effect that the General Conference was not competent to deal with questions relating to the prohibition of nuclear weapons. That attitude could only be considered an attempt to avoid discussing the outlawing of nuclear weapons, a question of vital concern to all mankind. How could the General Conference be considered incompetent? On the contrary, the Agency had a special interest in a swift solution to the problem of disarmament, because that would mean that unlimited new prospects would be opened up for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In his view, the essence of the problem was not the Agency's supposed lack of competence; it was the fact that the sponsors of the draft resolution in question did not wish to state flatly that they were opposed to the outlawing of atomic weapons and the conclusion of a treaty regarding the prohibition and destruction of such weapons. It must be said that the sponsors were inconsistent and illogical: on the one hand, they denied the Agency's right to consider political questions, on the other they proposed passing judgement on the United Nations disarmament negotiations at Geneva - which amounted to taking a political decision. Moreover, as the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament itself recognized, those negotiations appeared to be deadlocked, so that there was hardly any cause for expressing satisfaction over them.

13. The Soviet delegation continued to believe that the General Conference should, at its current session, take specific decisions with regard to those matters, but in view of the appeal of the Afro-Asian delegations and of the situation that had developed, it was prepared to agree that consideration of the questions raised in the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union and ten other delegations should be deferred. It was convinced that the Agency could not and should not stand aside from questions of deep concern to all mankind.

14. Mr. MICHAELS (United Kingdom) said he had hoped that the eloquent appeal of the delegate of India would be accepted without further discussion. However, the remarks of the Soviet delegate could not be left unanswered. The Conference would surely agree that each of the nations concerned with nuclear disarmament was doing its best to achieve a successful outcome at Geneva. The question was a

very intricate one and had many repercussions. Viewed realistically, the opinions of the General Conference on the subject were no more valuable than those of any individual. While the Agency might in the future become an instrument of disarmament policy, that was something far different from trying to decide what that policy should be. Involvement of the Agency in the disarmament negotiations would only complicate them. For all those reasons the United Kingdom had joined in sponsoring the draft resolution on the competence of the Agency. It was clear from the Statute that such problems were outside its purview. If the Agency became involved in political discussions it would be unable to devote itself to its scientific and technical tasks. He therefore welcomed the Afro-Asian proposal not to deal with the subject.

15. Mr. SMYTH (United States of America) said he had deliberately refrained in the general debate from commenting on the statements made by the Soviet Union and certain other delegations, because he deplored the introduction of controversial political issues into the Agency's work. The United States delegation had consistently taken the position that political issues outside the purview of the Agency should not be discussed there. However, he felt obliged to make some reply to the statement just made by the Soviet delegate. The issues concerned should be discussed in the United Nations and other appropriate political forums; discussion of them in the Agency was clearly out of order. In conformity with that approach, he would refrain even now from replying in substance to the allegations made but must categorically reject the unfounded charges and suggested implications put forward.

16. It had been his good fortune to be the United States representative to the Agency during the past four years, at meetings held during which time political matters had been held to an absolute minimum. About the start of that period there had seemed to be a general feeling growing among Member States that political discussion and decisions about disarmament and other similar matters should be left to the appropriate political organs of the United Nations and that the Agency should address itself to its important substantive technical functions. That attitude had helped all the Agency's programmes to make substantial progress during the period and it was his own and his Government's hope that the pattern would continue.

17. He would reaffirm once again his conviction that every Member State represented in the Conference favoured general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Certainly his own Government favoured such action, as had been demonstrated over the past 20 years, starting with its proposal in 1946 on international control of atomic weapons (the Baruch Plan), right up to the proposals made by the United States representative in the United Nations only one week previously.

18. The United States had made a very concrete and specific offer under those latest proposals: to provide 60 000 kg of weapons-grade ²³⁵U from its stockpile to be used for peaceful purposes, provided the Soviet Union would transfer the lesser amount of 40 000 kg. That specific offer was more than ample support for the idea of general disarmament.

19. Lastly, he could not better illustrate the United States attitude than to quote a statement made by the United States Secretary of State to the effect that his Government hoped that, as the process of disarmament progressed, the threat of the use of all weapons, including nuclear weapons, would disappear as the weapons themselves were destroyed. To that end the United States was earnestly seeking to attain its goal of a world in which the use of force was subjected to the rule of law; a world in which general and complete disarmament under effective international control had been achieved; a world in which adjustments to change would occur peacefully in accordance with the principles guiding the United Nations.

20. In conclusion, he would thank the delegations that had proposed postponing discussion of the draft resolutions before the Conference. That was a satisfactory way of avoiding further political speeches and discussions in a forum where they were totally inappropriate.

21. The PRESIDENT thought he would be correctly interpreting the general feeling if, in the light of the statements just made, he suggested that the Conference now pass to the remaining item of business.

CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES TO THE NINTH REGULAR SESSION

(b) REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (GC(IX)/325)

22. The PRESIDENT said that the Credentials Committee had met the previous afternoon and examined the credentials of delegates in accordance with Rule 28 of the Rules of Procedure. Its report (GC(IX)/325) was, he understood, self-explanatory and therefore required no introduction.
23. Mr. EMBELIANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said his delegation felt bound to point out that the Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, had not recognized and did not recognize the validity of the Chiang Kai-shek group's signature to the Agency's Statute, and consequently could not concede that group's right to represent China at the General Conference. His delegation therefore objected to draft resolution I submitted by the Credentials Committee recognizing the validity of the Chiang Kai-shek group's credentials and would ask for a roll-call vote on it.
24. Mr. NUGROHO (Indonesia) said his delegation wished to associate itself with the statement made by the Soviet delegate and to support his request for a roll-call vote.
25. Mr. TIBULEAC (Romania) said his delegation endorsed the Credentials Committee's report, except in so far as validation of the credentials of the so-called delegation of China was concerned. The Government of the People's Republic of China was the only legal representative of the Chinese people and it was essential in the interest of the Agency that its legitimate rights be restored.
26. It was becoming more and more evident that no important problem of the world to-day could be settled without the participation of the People's Republic of China, a country containing almost one quarter of the world's population. The Agency, being concerned with a most important scientific field, could not ignore that reality.
27. His delegation was opposed to validation of the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives.
28. Mr. LESZCZYNSKI (Poland) said that Poland had consistently maintained that it was not only illegal but unwise to ostracize and preclude the People's Republic of China from participation in the Agency. The current international

situation, particularly in Asia, proved the rightness of that attitude. To keep up the pretence that Taiwan represented China was fraught with increasing danger for the international community. The Polish stand in rejecting persons from Taiwan as representative of the Chinese people was, he was sure, in accordance with international law.

29. Mr. LEWIS (United States of America) said his delegation endorsed the report of the Credentials Committee and would vote in favour of the two draft resolutions recommended therein for adoption by the Conference.

30. Earlier speakers had expressed opposition to the action of the Credentials Committee in regard to the question of the representation of China. His delegation would not reply to the statements made nor would it engage in discussion on the substance of the controversial political issue involved. His Government's views on that issue had been made clear many times in the political organs of the United Nations and in other appropriate forums, and were known to the Conference; it would have a further opportunity at the current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to re-state its policy on the matter.

31. In draft resolution I, the Credentials Committee was recommending that the General Conference should decide to take no action on any proposal designed to change the representation of China. The draft resolution conformed with the attitude adopted by the Conference at previous sessions, as well as with the decisions consistently taken on the same matter by the other organizations within the United Nations system.

32. As the Conference was aware, the issue of the representation of China had been debated extensively at the 1961, 1962 and 1963 sessions of the General Assembly, at the conclusion of which debates the Assembly had rejected the proposals calling for a change in the representation of China. In addition, the Assembly had approved the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China as being in conformity with the technical requirements of its rules of procedure. In his Government's view, subordinate organizations within the United Nations system should, as in the past, act in harmony with the General Assembly's decisions on the matter.

33. The Agency and the specialized agencies had consistently recognized that political issues, including those involving the representation of Member States within the United Nations system, were the primary concern of the United Nations,

and had repeatedly followed the policy adopted by the General Assembly in such matters, as recommended by the General Assembly resolution referred to in the preamble to the draft resolution under consideration.^{3/} Indeed, chaos would result if each and every organization took separate and conflicting decisions on the same question.

34. Mr. BENCHEIKH (Algeria) said that, in line with its stand in the general debate in plenary that certain African countries still languishing under the colonial yoke were regrettably not yet represented in the Agency and that the People's Republic of China was being excluded for ideological reasons, his delegation also had reservations on the draft resolution.

35. Mr. LEE (China) thought it regrettable that the question of the representation of China had been brought up once again. The Republic of China was one of the founding Members of the Agency, had supported its activities consistently and had served on the Board of Governors. Unquestionably, it had the right to be represented at the Conference.

36. Reference had been made to the seven hundred million of his countrymen on the mainland of China. It should not be forgotten that as a whole the people there were in sympathy with his Government. His Government had learnt the lesson of appeasement and those now tending to appease the Mao Tse-tung regime were indulging in a pipe-dream in imagining that one day the mainland Communists would be their friends; sooner or later the countries concerned would be their victims.

37. Mr. GOLDSCHMIDT (France) said the French delegation believed that the Government of the People's Republic of China was alone qualified to represent China.

38. Mr. PETRZELKA (Czechoslovakia) said that the General Conference was obliged to discuss each year a question which in reality was perfectly clear. That the People's Republic of China should so long have been denied its rights was one of the greatest absurdities in the history of the Agency; it was a state of affairs which was bound to work to the detriment of the Agency and which could only have an adverse effect on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The usurpers ensconced in Taiwan had no title to represent China;

^{3/} General Assembly Resolution 396(V).

the fact that they were able to continue the pretence of doing so was merely a consequence of the short-sighted power politics practised by some States. It was high time those States faced the facts and stopped putting obstacles in the way of co-operation with the People's Republic of China.

39. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic could not accept the existing situation; so far as China was concerned it would recognize no signature on the Statute except that of the People's Republic of China, and no credentials to the General Conference not issued by the People's Republic of China. It was also regrettable that a number of other States were being kept out of the Agency for similar reasons. The German Democratic Republic was a notable example of a country making good progress in atomic energy work which was nevertheless denied its rightful place in the Agency.

40. The PRESIDENT said that, in accordance with the request of the delegate of the Soviet Union, the vote on draft resolution I in document GC(IX)/325 would be taken by roll-call.

41. Viet-Nam, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

42. The result of the vote was as follows:

In favour: Viet-Nam, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Holy See, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela

Against: Yugoslavia, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Finland, France, Ghana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, Denmark, India, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia

43. There were 36 votes in favour and 19 against, with 13 abstentions. Draft resolution I was adopted.

44. The PRESIDENT assumed that the Conference also wished to adopt draft resolution II in document GC(IX)/325.

45. It was so agreed.

CLOSING OF THE SESSION

46. Mr. HIRSCH (France) wished to say, on behalf of the countries of Western Europe, a few words of gratitude for the splendid manner in which the President had conducted the business of the Conference. The courteous authority with which he had guided its debates had been a guarantee of efficiency while at the same time making the work of the delegates easy and pleasant. His expeditious handling of the Conference's affairs was all the more appreciated because it had given delegates an opportunity to become acquainted with Japan and its splendid capital, and even to try, tentatively to be sure, a few words of Japanese. It had been an unforgettable experience, and one which prompted him to say "Nihon wa subarashii desu"; and to the Japanese Government, "Domo arigatō gozaimashita".

47. Mr. BAFFOUR (Ghana), speaking on behalf of the States of Africa, expressed the keenest appreciation at the manner in which the President had conducted the affairs of the Conference. The ninth session, the first held outside Vienna, had been for many delegates the first opportunity to visit the splendid city of Tokyo, and their experience had been heart-warming in the extreme. He hoped that Mr. Asakai would convey to the Japanese Government the gratitude of the African countries for the invitation and for the excellent arrangements that had been made.

48. Mr. QUIHILLALT (Argentina) said that he took great pleasure in speaking on behalf of the States of North and South America. Before coming to Tokyo many delegations had had some knowledge of Mr. Asakai's distinguished career, but they now had to concede that in reality his qualities far surpassed his reputation. His diplomatic tact and his unremitting vigour had smoothed

the way through all stages of the session, and for that the delegations of the American nations offered him their profoundest thanks.

49. Warm thanks were also due to the Japanese Government, and in particular to the Japanese Atomic Energy Commission, for their kind invitation to the Conference to meet in Tokyo and for the care they had taken to ensure its success. He was confident that all delegations were deeply impressed and would leave Tokyo with feelings of profound friendship for the Japanese nation.

50. Finally, thanks were due to the Director General and to all the staff whose quiet work, in the background of the debates, had brought the session to a successful issue.

51. Sir Philip BAXTER (Australia) said that he took particular pleasure in speaking for what were generally known as the countries "down under", and in particular for Australia and New Zealand. Their delegations wished to thank the President for his excellent handling of the Conference's debates, and the Japanese Government for the many comforts and courtesies it had offered. The fact that it was the typhoon season in Japan suggested an apt metaphor: it could well be said that the typhoons which had threatened the Conference had been most skilfully circumvented, and that the experiment of holding the General Conference away from Vienna had been a great success.

52. Mr. TYABJI (India) said that he was pleased to express the gratitude of the countries of Asia to the Japanese Government and to Mr. Asakai in person. It was especially gratifying that an Asian country had succeeded so well in so unusual a task.

53. He felt a particular bond of friendship with Mr. Asakai because they had both served as delegates to the first Bandung Conference. After having spent six months as Ambassador of India to Japan, he could experience no surprise at the fact that the organization of the Conference had been so perfect. Profound thanks were due to the Japanese Government for its excellent arrangements and for the courtesy it had shown, and to Mr. Asakai personally for his skilful handling of the Conference's business.

54. Mr. PETROSYANTS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked Mr. Asakai, on behalf of the socialist countries, for the brilliant manner in which he had conducted the Conference's debates. The ability and tact he had

demonstrated testified to his vast experience in international affairs; the many problems of the General Conference had never been handled more expeditiously or in a more pleasant atmosphere. In a light-hearted vein, one could almost regret that the Conference had marched so efficiently to its close, for had it not done so the delegates might have had a few more days to savour the delights of Japanese hospitality. The Conference could truly be pleased with the warm welcome it had received.

55. The PRESIDENT said that he was extremely grateful for the many kind things that had been said about his work as President of the Conference. It was the first occasion on which he had been called upon to preside over the deliberations of an international scientific organization, and it was an experience he would always remember. Not being a scientist he had been enormously impressed, even if at times a little mystified, by the great range of scientific and technical subjects that had come up for discussion.

56. Delegates must have observed how eager Japan was to make rapid progress in all the scientific and technical disciplines associated with the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. And with that in mind they would readily understand how pleased the Japanese Government had been to act as host to the Agency's General Conference.

57. It was gratifying that the session had been brought to a successful conclusion on the appointed day. He wished to emphasize, however, that that would not have been possible without the unfailing co-operation of all who had taken part, as delegates of their respective Governments and as colleagues working towards a common goal. Lastly, he felt sure that everyone would wish to join in thanking the Director General, since the timely and successful conclusion of the Conference's work had been due in very large measure to the unremitting efforts of him and his staff.

58. In accordance with Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure, he invited the delegates to observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

All present rose and stood in silence for one minute.

59. The PRESIDENT then declared the ninth regular session of the General Conference closed.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

