



International Atomic Energy Agency

GENERAL CONFERENCE

GC (XXV) /OR. 236
May 1982*

GENERAL Distr.
ENGLISH

TWENTY-FIFTH REGULAR SESSION: 21-27 SEPTEMBER 1981

RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Neue Hofburg, Vienna,
on Friday, 25 September 1981 at 11.35 a.m.

President: Mr. XUTO (Thailand)

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*/ A provisional version of this document was issued on 23 October 1981.

**/ GC (XXV) /652.

The composition of delegations attending the session is given in document
GC (XXV) /INF/201/Rev.2.

EXAMINATION OF DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS (GC(XXV)/656)

1. The PRESIDENT recalled that the General Committee had met the previous day to examine the credentials of all delegates in accordance with Article 28 of the Rules of Procedure. Paragraph 11 of the Committee's report (GC(XXV)/656) contained a draft resolution.
2. If there were no objections, he would take it that the General Conference wished to adopt the draft resolution contained in document GC(XXV)/656.
3. It was so decided.

GENERAL DEBATE AND ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1980 (GC(XXV)/642, 642/Corr.1, 642/Corr.2) (resumed)

4. Mr. GIBILS (Uruguay) said that the first steps towards the installation of a nuclear centre in Uruguay had been taken by the National Nuclear Energy Commission. Those arrangements, which coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Commission, had received valuable assistance from the Argentine National Nuclear Energy Commission. Uruguay was convinced of the importance of nuclear co-operation at the regional level and had therefore offered itself, and been accepted, as host to the next meeting of the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission (CIEN) in 1983.
5. In accordance with Article III of the Statute, technical assistance was the primary function of the Agency. However, such assistance continued to be financed from voluntary contributions while safeguards were funded from the Regular Budget. For the future of nuclear energy, and particularly in the interests of the technical progress of the developing countries, who represented the majority of the Agency's Members, the two principal activities, technical assistance and safeguards, should be given, at the very least, something closer to equal treatment. In view of the Agency's financial difficulties, a policy of zero real growth should be pursued in the budget.

Technical assistance should not be adversely affected, however, as it had to satisfy growing needs which derived from advances in technology. His delegation could nonetheless support the proposed target for voluntary contributions to the Technical Assistance Fund for 1982.

6. With regard to the immediate problems confronting the General Conference, his delegation was concerned at the delay in appointing a new Director General. That delay did nothing to further the cause of nuclear development in the world and, in the final analysis, it was the developing countries who were the main victims. The various regions, including Latin America, should be properly and equitably represented on the Board of Governors. His delegation was also in favour of a sizable increase in technical assistance for the developing countries and for improved representation of those countries within the Secretariat. In conclusion he recalled that, while Uruguay had already strongly condemned the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear research centre, it nevertheless considered that question to be the responsibility of the United Nations.

7. Mr. CABALLERO (Cuba), after welcoming the approval of fraternal Zimbabwe for membership of the Agency, said the world community had many reasons for disquiet in view of certain recent developments in the nuclear field. The odious military attack by Israel on the Iraqi nuclear research centre both discredited and compromised the Agency's international safeguards functions. That act, carried out in defiance of the most basic norms of international law in the extremely sensitive nuclear field, must not go unpunished. In that connection, Cuba supported the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the Agency's Board of Governors as well as the resolution condemning nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa. His country also supported the resolution of the Board of Governors aimed at excluding the racist régime in Pretoria from the Committee on Assurances of Supply.

8. Another deplorable affair had not gone unnoticed by the Cuban delegation; a safeguards inspector, a United States citizen who had resigned from the Agency, had transmitted confidential Agency documents to the United

States mission in Vienna and had made certain statements to the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate the day after his resignation. His serious misconduct had helped to undermine the Agency's authority and confidence in it, and all measures should be taken to ensure that such an incident was not repeated. Unfortunately, there were a number of other worrying matters facing the international community. On 6 August, the anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, the United States Government had announced that it would go ahead with manufacturing the neutron bomb. That decision was not strictly an internal one as the weapon in question was intended for use in Western Europe. Combined with the deployment in Western Europe of medium-range nuclear weapons, it could only serve to accelerate the hazardous and costly arms race and increase the danger of a nuclear war. All progress which could be accomplished towards nuclear disarmament was therefore vitally important, and that applied particularly to the ratification of SALT II and the continuation of the strategic arms limitation talks. Unfortunately, the United States was pursuing an aggressive policy in Central America and the Caribbean, a policy which must be stopped.

9. For its part, Cuba saw in the atom only a source of energy to promote the economic and social development of its people. Among recent accomplishments in that sphere in his country were the construction of the Juragua nuclear power plant, the establishment near that plant of a polytechnical college to train medium-grade scientists and workers qualified in the nuclear power field, and the measures taken in connection with the setting up of the Faculty of Nuclear Science and Technology at the University of Havana. In the past year, national radiological protection standards had been approved and had come into force. Thanks to co-operation with the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries a nuclear research centre was to be built in the near future. The Agency had contributed to the construction of a food irradiation facility and, a few months previously, Cuba had joined the International Nuclear Information System (INIS). Furthermore, subsidiary arrangements in connection with safeguards agreements relating to the Juragua nuclear power plant and the research reactor of the Nuclear Research Institute had been negotiated.

10. He fully agreed with those delegates who advocated a better balance between the financing of technical assistance and that of safeguards. Cuba would contribute to the technical assistance programme in proportion to its base rate of assessment.

11. With regard to the amendment of Article VI.A.2 of the Statute, he drew attention to United Nations General Assembly resolution 32/49 and said that a solution must be reached which accorded with the principle of equitable geographical representation and the interests of the developing countries.

12. Mr. BENNINI (Algeria) observed that the blow dealt to the Agency's credibility by the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear research centre had been worsened by the contempt shown by the Israeli leaders in stating that the exclusion of Israel from the Agency would do them no harm. It was quite evident that attacks of that type were not the affair of one country alone. The scorn shown for the Agency and the Charter of the United Nations as well as the serious consequences of the attack for international security and for the credibility of the Agency and its safeguards system should dispel all traces of complacency and called for the expulsion of Israel from the Agency in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Board and by the Security Council of the United Nations. If appropriate sanctions were not applied, the precedent thus set would open the door to all types of aggression: the South African régime might conceivably decide that the peaceful nuclear activities of some particular African country constituted an imminent threat to itself and therefore follow Israel's example.

13. With regard to the inequitable representation of the developing countries in general and the region of Africa in particular on the Board, none of the arguments put forward during the various discussions of Article VI.A.2 of the Statute could cast any doubt on the need to uphold the principle of equitable representation on the Board. Furthermore, although the countries supplying nuclear equipment were appreciative of the progress made by the developing countries in their nuclear programmes and although they employed a large number of scientists and administrative staff from Third World countries, they still maintained that the developing countries as a whole could not muster

sufficiently qualified candidates for the technical and administrative posts in the Agency. There, too, the imbalance should be corrected, and action was urgently needed to broaden the participation of the developing countries at all levels and particularly in the senior and decision-making positions.

14. Under Article II of the Statute, technical assistance was the main task of the Agency and had as its corollary the other, no less important, task of safeguards. Contrary to the Statute and to common sense, the order of those tasks had been reversed. If that situation were allowed to endure, it would bring harm to the Agency. It was high time that the necessary steps were taken to finance technical assistance from the Regular Budget, to provide the necessary resources on a predictable and assured basis and to ensure that those resources kept pace with the increasing number of countries entering the nuclear age and with the advancing nuclear programmes of the developing countries.

15. His delegation attached particular importance to the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy for Economic and Social Development, to be held in 1983, and hoped that it would provide the opportunity for a genuine confirmation of the inalienable right of all States to develop research into and the production and application of, nuclear energy for peaceful purposes on a non-discriminatory basis. The Agency had an essential role to play in that regard, and its efficiency could only be increased by democratization of the rules governing its operation.

16. Mr. ESKANGI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) observed with regret that the Board had not yet been able to take a decision ensuring equitable geographical representation in the Board and among the Agency's staff; his delegation would wish that principle to be taken duly into account. He also supported the action to amend Rule 86 of the Rules of Procedure to include Arabic among the working languages of the General Conference, and his delegation was ready to lend its assistance in that regard.

17. The barbarous air raid by the "Zionist entity" against civilian facilities in Iraq was a typical act of State terrorism which had been vigorously condemned by the majority of the Member State of the United Nations. In the name of "security", the "Zionist entity" was trampling on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, massacring the population of southern Lebanon, attacking the Arab nation and bombarding nuclear research facilities. Zionism and Naziism were comparable in their arrogance, their messianic aggressiveness and their brutal contempt for the law of nations and the international community. The arguments put forward by the Israeli aggressors were without foundation as Iraq's programme for developing peaceful applications of nuclear energy was being conducted under safeguards. His country had appreciated the position adopted by the Board in unreservedly condemning the act of Zionist aggression against Iraq and reiterating the right of all States to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The "Zionist entity" could not pursue such practices without the unconditional political, economic, technical and military support of the United States. It was not surprising, therefore, to note that the representative of the United States had sought to justify the raid of 7 June 1981, which had been a flagrant violation of all the principles of international law. No justification could alter that irrefutable fact, and the "Zionist entity" could be diverted from its aggressive course only if the necessary countermeasures, including its expulsion from the Agency, were adopted. The United States, which had attacked the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, should be the last to talk about co-operation in matters of safety and safeguards.

18. His delegation shared the view expressed by most delegations that the financing of the Agency's technical assistance programme should reflect the fundamental needs of the developing countries. He congratulated the Agency on its untiring efforts to increase the effectiveness of the technical assistance programme and was grateful for the two missions to his country which had been arranged in 1981. Nevertheless, his delegation had reservations regarding the provision of technical assistance to the "Zionist entity".

19. The General Conference should take vigorous steps to defend NPT, the Agency, the safeguards system and the inalienable right of all States to develop research into, and the production and peaceful applications of, nuclear energy. The General Conference should not fail to expel the "Zionist entity" from the Agency, for only that action would prevent a recurrence of similar aggressive acts in the future.

20. Mr. AL MAZROUI (United Arab Emirates) said that his delegation supported the draft resolution submitted by the Syrian Arab Republic concerning the amendment of Rule 86 of the Rules of Procedure to include Arabic as a working language of the General Conference.

21. The military attack by Israel against Iraq, a Member State party to NPT which had accepted safeguards on all its nuclear activities, was a dangerous act of terrorism which the world had strongly condemned. The act had far-reaching consequences for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and should not go unpunished by the international community, particularly the Agency, lest other countries follow that dangerous precedent. Apart from encouraging Israel to embark on other, similar adventures in the Middle East, where a number of countries were planning to build nuclear power plants, failure to take action against Israel might also be an incentive to other countries to attack nuclear facilities in neighbouring States which they suspected of developing nuclear weapons. The purpose of Israel was obviously to check the technical and economic development of its neighbours by preventing them from acquiring nuclear facilities for peaceful purposes. All peace-loving nations should counter that aggression. Since Israel had proved beyond doubt that it was not willing to respect the Charter of the United Nations, his country strongly urged its expulsion from the Agency. That action was essential if faith in the Agency was to be preserved. The Arab countries, including the oil producers, were determined to continue building nuclear facilities in spite of the attitude of their enemy.

22. His delegation regretted that no decision had yet been taken on the amendment of Article VI.A.2 of the Statute. Such an amendment was essential since the regions of Africa and of the Middle East and South Asia were under-represented on the Board.

23. Lastly, he announced that his Government would make a voluntary contribution for the technical assistance programme in 1982 corresponding fully to its base rate of assessment. At the same time, however, it strongly recommended that the programme be funded in future from the Regular Budget, because technical assistance was no less important to the developing countries than safeguards.

24. Mr. AMPUERO ANGULO (Bolivia) stated that his country was in need of all possible assistance in developing nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. He therefore wished to associate himself with those Member States which had stated that the Agency should increase the funds earmarked for technical assistance so that countries like his own could count on more substantial and more effective support for their nuclear development.

25. Bolivia was a profoundly peace-loving country, and the activities which his country planned to pursue in the field of atomic energy were based on respect to NPT and Agency safeguards. His delegation defended the inalienable right of all countries to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes and objected to all forms of outside interference in the internal affairs of a country.

26. Bolivia was grateful for the assistance it received from the Agency and other friendly countries. His country had recently hosted the 12th session of the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission and had the honour to preside over that Commission for the next two years. As Chairman of that body and on behalf of its members, he wished to extend his cordial greetings to the President of the General Conference. The Commission had recently decided to implement nuclear projects at the sub-regional level and hoped that they would receive the Agency's support.

27. Mr. PECCI (Paraguay) observed that his country was attending a session of the General Conference in Vienna for the first time as a full Member of the Agency. He wished to review the progress of the Paraguayan nuclear programme since the regular session of the General Conference held in Rio de Janeiro. That had been the first attended by a Paraguayan delegation, which had given a brief summary of his country's ambitious nuclear programme.

28. Uranium prospecting was continuing, and contracts had been concluded with two North American firms, one operating in the east and one in the west of Paraguay. However, in view of the amount of hydroelectric power available from the plants on the River Paraná, his country would not be short of energy until the middle of the next century. The large hydroelectric power plants being constructed jointly with Brazil and Argentina would have an aggregate installed power of approximately 23 000 MW, of which one half would be made available to Paraguay. The prospects opened up by that source of electricity ranged from the possible export of methanol-based synthetic fuels to the development of food production. The hydroelectric facilities were being commissioned just at the right time since Paraguay had doubled its consumption of electricity in the space of 4-5 years, whereas average world consumption was doubling only every 10 years. Without the large hydroelectric stations, which would provide low-cost, home-produced energy, the prospects for the social and economic development of Paraguay would have been nil since most of the energy required would have had to be imported in the form of oil.

29. Paraguay was nevertheless interested in developing renewable sources of energy such as biomass and wind power. The National Atomic Energy Commission was continuing research into the medical and agricultural applications of nuclear energy. Design studies for a nuclear research centre were nearly finished, and Paraguay would shortly be seeking the assistance of the Agency in selecting a site. Two nuclear medicine centres, one of which would benefit from the co-operation of the Agency, were nearing completion.

30. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq), exercising his right of reply, observed that the statement by the Israeli delegation the previous day had been completely out of order and had served as a further demonstration of Israel's insolence,

defiance and intransigence. In attacking the policy of Iraq, which refused to accept Israel's diktat, the Israeli delegation had sought to justify the premeditated, criminal attack on Iraq's safeguarded nuclear reactor. That attack had been universally condemned as unjustifiable, inexcusable and absolutely impermissible. Israel's statement was an insult to the Agency and to what it stood for, as well as to all the delegations attending the General Conference session.

31. The representative of Israel had had the audacity to refer to Security Council resolution 242, when in fact Israel was doing its utmost to sabotage that resolution by its policy of expansion and annexation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. The Israeli delegation had also had the audacity to attack the Iraqi programme while Israel was the only party in the region which had secretly acquired a nuclear capability. The statements by the Israeli delegation were entirely without foundation; even responsible Israeli citizens had no faith in them.

32. As proof, it sufficed to refer to an article published in the Christian Science Monitor on 24 June 1981 by Richard Wilson, Professor of Physics and former director of the Energy and Environmental Policy Center at the University of Harvard. He (Mr. Al-Zahawi) quoted an extract from that article from which it emerged that there was no tangible evidence that Iraq was preparing to make a nuclear bomb with French and Italian help. The most likely purpose of the reactor was to make Iraq the foremost research centre in the Arab world and Baghdad the scientific and cultural centre that it once had been. He also quoted a report by the Brookings Institution ("Nuclear Arms in the Third World") which stated that the Central Intelligence Agency had known since 1974 that Israel had produced atomic weapons through the acquisition, partly by clandestine means, of large quantities of uranium and that, according to the New York Times, Israel might have obtained that uranium in the mid-1960s from a national nuclear facility at Apollo, Pennsylvania. Israel, and not India, would thus have become the sixth nuclear-weapon State and the only State in the Third World to possess a militarily significant force (10 or more bombs). He also quoted extracts from the report by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in

accordance with resolution 34/89 of the General Assembly, which also concluded that during the 1950s and 1960s Israel had co-operated closely in the nuclear field with several countries which had helped it to acquire the necessary equipment, materials and technology. In the Middle East all known nuclear facilities were under safeguards, with the exception of the Dimona research reactor in Israel, which could yield enough plutonium each year to manufacture a nuclear explosive device. The group of experts had concluded that there was every reason to think that Israel, in view of the facilities, nuclear materials, scientific and technical knowledge and experienced staff at its disposal, had in any event the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons within a very short time.

33. Having attacked the Agency's safeguards system, the Israeli delegation had had the audacity to raise the question of universality as "the best guarantee for the effectiveness of the Agency": that was the ultimate in hypocrisy and cynicism. Israel believed that, by remaining a Member State of the Agency, it could gain implicit acceptance for its intolerable and unprecedented attack on the Iraqi facilities.

34. No delegation could take seriously the Israeli call for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. Israel held the record for the greatest number of condemnations issued by the United Nations for its aggressive acts and violations of the Charter. He listed the many resolutions that had called for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the region and pointed out that Israel had been the only Member State of the United Nations to abstain from voting on all those resolutions. As the group of experts had showed, the only way that Israel could acquire credibility was to renounce its possession of nuclear weapons and submit all its nuclear activities to international safeguards, either by signing NPT or by unilateral acceptance of such safeguards. Israel had itself destroyed long ago any credibility it might have had in the eyes of the international community.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

