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MANHATTAN DISTRICT HISTORY

SECURITY INFORMATION

BOOK I, GENERAL - VOLUME 4, AUXILIARY ACTIVITIES
CHAPTER 7, CONTRIBUTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE MANHATTAN DISTRICT TO THE DISCUSSIONS
AND PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

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MANHATTAN DISTRICT HISTORY

BOOK I, GENERAL - VOLUME 4, AUXILIARY ACTIVITIES CHAPTER 7, CONTRIBUTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MANHATTAN DISTRICT TO THE DISCUSSIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

1-1. The President's Message to Congress. - President Truman, in his message to Congress on 3 October 1945, advocated prompt action for the control of atomic energy, not only domestically but internationally. While requesting immediate domestic legislation he emphasized also the urgency of obtaining international agreement. "Discussion of the international problem cannot be safely delayed until the United Nations Organization is functioning", he stated, and, therefore, discussions, first with Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations, would be initiated in "an effort to work out arrangements covering the terms under which international collaboration and exchange of scientific information might safely proceed." "In international relations", he said, "as in domestic affairs, the release of atomic energy constitutes a new force too revolutionary to consider in the framework of old ideas. We can no longer rely on the slow progress of time to develop a program of control among nations... The hope of civilization lies in international arrangements looking, if possible, to the renunciation of the use and development of the atomic bomb, and directing and encouraging the use of atomic energy and all future scientific information toward peaceful and humanitarian ends. The difficulties in working out such arrangements are great. The alternative to overcoming

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these difficulties, however, may be a desperate armament race which might well end in disaster..." (References: 1, pp. 15, 16; and 2.)

1-2. The Three-Nation Agreed Declaration. - At meetings in Washington with Prime Minister King of Canada and Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, 10 to 15 November 1945, it was agreed that the initiative for instituting moves toward international agreement rested on "the three countries which possess the essential knowledge of atomic energy". It was also made clear, however, that the responsibility for devising means to control the new discovery rested on all nations alike - "upon the whole civilized world". It was decided, therefore, to recommend that a commission should be set up under the United Nations to prepare recommendations on atomic energy for submission to that organization. This recommendation was embodied in the Three-Nation Agreed Declaration, of 15 November 1945. (References: 1, p. 24; and 3.)

1-3. Meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Moscow. - The Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States held their next meeting in Moscow from 16 to 26 December 1945, and the proposals contained in the Three-Nation Agreed Declaration of 15 November 1945 were introduced at that meeting. The drafting of a proposal for a United Nations Commission on Atomic Energy was one of the activities on which agreement was reached. As proposed, the membership of the Commission would consist of one representative from each of those states represented on the Security Council, and Canada when that state was not a member of the Security Council. The three Governments represented at Moscow invited France, China and Canada to join

with them in submitting the proposed resolution to the Assembly of the United Nations. (References: 1, pp. 27, 28; and 4.)

1-4. The General Assembly's Authorization of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. - At the first meeting of the General Assembly, in London from 10 January to 14 February 1946, the British Government proposed that the resolution which had been drafted at Moscow be added to the agenda of the Assembly (on 4 January 1946), and on 24 January 1946 the resolution authorizing the Commission on Atomic Energy was approved in the General Assembly with no dissenting votes. After some changes in scheduling, it was arranged that the Commission should hold its first meeting in New York City on 14 June 1946. (References: 1, pp. 29-31; and 5.)

1-5. Membership of the Commission. - The membership of the Commission was composed of: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Egypt, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, and United States of America. (Reference: 1, p. 31.)

1-6. The United States Delegation. - As announced on 1 August 1946, the following served for the United States:

Representative:	Mr. Bernard M. Baruch
Associates :	Mr. John M. Hancock
	Mr. Ferdinand Eberstadt
	Mr. Fred Searls, Jr.
	Mr. Herbert B. Swope
	Mr. Richard C. Tolman

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Mr. Thomas F. Farrell

Mr. John Parks Davis, Executive Officer

Legal Advisers: Mr. Charles Fahy (Department of State)

Mr. John B. Howard (Department of State)

Mr. Henry G. Ingraham (Department of State)

President Truman had nominated Mr. Bernard M. Baruch as U. S. Representative to the Commission on 18 March 1946. (Reference: 1, pp. 31-33, 48.)

In the "First Report of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council", dated 31 December 1946, the following are listed as the "Representatives and Advisers" for the United States:

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch	Mr. Denna F. Fleming
Mr. Ferdinand Eberstadt	Dr. Lincoln Gordon
Maj. Gen. Thomas F. Farrell	Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves
Mr. John M. Hancock	Mr. John B. Howard
Mr. Fred Searis, Jr.	Mr. Henry G. Ingraham
Mr. Herbert B. Swope	Mr. Albin E. Johnson
Dr. Richard C. Tolman	Mr. Clarence L. Karl
Mr. R. Gordon Arneson	Mr. Wilbur E. Kelley
Dr. Robert F. Bacher	Mr. Franklin A. Lindsay
Mr. John R. Burton, Jr.	Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Mr. Joseph Chase	Dr. Isador I. Rabi
Dr. Arthur H. Compton	Lt. Col. John R. Ruhoff
Mr. John Parks Davis	Dr. Charles A. Thomas
Mr. Charles Fahy	Dr. Harold C. Urey
Dr. Paul C. Fine	Mr. Joseph Volpe, Jr.

(Reference: 6, Annex 2)

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1-7. The Secretary of State's Committee. - Meanwhile, in January 1946, before the proposal drafted in Moscow had been acted upon by the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary of State Byrnes, anticipating that favorable action would be taken, appointed a Committee of five members: "to study the subject of controls and safeguards necessary to protect this Government so that the persons hereafter selected to represent the United States on the Commission can have the benefit of the study. The Committee will be requested, while engaged in their study, that they keep in touch with the appropriate Congressional Committees". Mr. Byrnes appointed the following to this Committee:

Mr. Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State, "who will act as Chairman";

Mr. John J. McCloy, former Assistant Secretary of War;

and "the three men who supervised and directed the development of atomic energy":

Dr. Vannevar Bush;

Dr. James B. Conant; and

Major General L. R. Groves. (References: 1, p.34; and 6.)

1-8. The Board of Consultants. - At its first meeting on 14 January 1946, this Committee concluded that "the consideration of controls and safeguards would be inseparable from a plan of which they were a part and that the Commission would look to the American representative to put forward a plan". The Committee also agreed that it was first essential "to have a report prepared analyzing and appraising all the relevant facts and formulating proposals", and it appointed, on

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23 January 1946, a Board of Consultants composed of:

Mr. David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, who acted as chairman of the Board;

Mr. Chester I. Barnard, President of the New Jersey Telephone Company;

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Director of the atomic bomb laboratory at Los Alamos during the war;

Dr. Charles Allen Thomas, Vice-President and Technical Director, Monsanto Chemical Company;

Mr. Harry A. Winne, Vice-President in Charge of Engineering Policy, General Electric Company. (References: 1, p. 34; and 7.)

1-9. The Acheson-Lilienthal Report. - The result of the combined efforts of these two groups was the "Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy", the so-called Acheson-Lilienthal report, which was dated 16-17 March 1946 and made public on 28 March 1946. This report was intended as a working paper for policy-making officials, and, as the Consultants pointed out, it should be considered "not as a final plan, but a place to begin, a foundation on which to build". Another function of the report was to serve "as a suitable starting point for the informed public discussion which is one of the essential factors in developing sound policy", as stated by Secretary Byrnes in a foreword of the report. (References: 1, pp. 34, 35; and 7.)

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SECTION 2. CONTRIBUTIONS OF MANHATTAN DISTRICT PERSONNEL.

2-1. Mr. Baruch's Organization. - The foregoing presents a bare outline of the events leading up to the discussions and deliberations of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, in which the United States Representative, Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, took a leading part, as he was compelled, by the leading position of the United States in the field of atomic energy, to do. A number of Manhattan District and former Manhattan District personnel made invaluable contributions, of information and advice, to the work of Mr. Baruch and his delegation. Some of these representatives and some of the help they contributed have already been mentioned in the preceding introductory paragraphs: Major General Groves, Dr. Oppenheimer, Dr. Tolman, Dr. Thomas, Major General Farrell, Dr. Bacher, Dr. Compton, Mr. Karl, Mr. Kelley, Lt. Col. Ruhoff, Dr. Urey, and Mr. Volpe. It was natural and inevitable that Mr. Baruch should lean heavily, for assistance, upon those who had taken on active part in the work of the Manhattan District. As he said at the time of his nomination, he looked to the nation's foremost scientists for "the necessary scientific guidance", and for the industrial details of manufacture he looked "to General Groves and those in American industry who have made a success of the use of atomic energy". In addition to the members of his staff listed above as of 1 August 1946, Mr. Baruch named General Groves as his consultant and appointed a Scientific Panel, to assist his Scientific Adviser, Dr. Tolman. This panel included: Drs. R. F. Bacher, A. H. Compton, J. R. Oppenheimer, C. A. Thomas, and H. C. Urey, all men who had taken leading parts in

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the work of the Manhattan District. (Reference: 1, pp. 48, 49.)

2-2. Individuals. - In the sub-paragraphs which follow the contributions of individual Manhattan District "representatives" are recapitulated and amplified.

a. Major General L. R. Groves served as a member of the Secretary of State's Committee (of which Mr. Acheson was chairman) which appointed the Board of Consultants (of which Mr. Lilienthal was chairman) and was jointly responsible for the so-called Acheson-Lilienthal Report. General Groves served as consultant to Mr. Baruch and his staff. He also made available to Mr. Baruch's office personnel, information and facilities through various parts of the Manhattan District.

b. Mr. (former Major General) Thomas F. Farrell, who had served as deputy to General Groves in the Manhattan District during the war, served as a member of Mr. Baruch's group of Associates, appointed in May 1946. General Farrell participated in numerous staff conferences and appeared before Committee 2 of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in November 1946, during the discussion of technical safeguards required for the international control of atomic energy.

c. Brig. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, District Engineer of the Manhattan District, assisted General Groves in his service to Mr. Baruch and his staff, described above. He also contributed written information in the publications hereinafter described.

d. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who had been Director of the Los Alamos Laboratory, served as a member of the Board of Consultants

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(of which Mr. Lillenthal was chairman) which was jointly responsible, with the Secretary of State's Committee, for the so-called Acheson-Lillenthal Report. He also served as a member of the Scientific Panel appointed by Mr. Baruch to assist Dr. Tolman, Scientific Adviser, and assisted in representing the United States on the Scientific and Technical Committee of the UNAEC. He also contributed written information in the publications hereinafter described, and wrote a preface to one of them.

e. Dr. Richard C. Tolman, who had been Scientific Adviser to General Groves in the Manhattan District during the war, served as a member of Mr. Baruch's group of advisers, appointed in May 1946. Dr. Tolman served full-time as the scientific adviser to the United States Delegation through most of the deliberations and negotiations during 1946. With the assistance of Dr. Oppenheimer and Dr. Bacher (members of the Scientific Panel appointed by Mr. Baruch), Dr. Tolman represented the United States on the Scientific and Technical Committee of the UNAEC, which produced a unanimous report on 26 September 1946. Dr. Tolman also supervised the preparation of the publications hereinafter described and wrote prefaces or forewords therefor.

f. Dr. R. F. Bacher, who had been closely associated with the Manhattan Project throughout and had been a Division Leader in Physics at Los Alamos, served as a member of the Scientific Panel appointed by Mr. Baruch, and assisted in representing the United States on the Scientific and Technical Committee of the UNAEC, as described above. Dr. Bacher also contributed written information in the

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publications hereinafter described.

g. Dr. C. A. Thomas, Vice-President and Technical Director, Monsanto Chemical Company, who had served as Coordinator of Research at Los Alamos, served as a member of the Board of Consultants (of which Mr. Lilienthal was chairman) which was jointly responsible for the so-called Acheson-Lilienthal Report. Dr. Thomas also served as a member of the Scientific Panel appointed by Mr. Baruch; he also supervised a study, on "Nuclear Power", which was reported in the publications hereinafter described, and testified before Committee No. 2 of the UNATC.

h. Dr. A. H. Compton, who had served on the Manhattan Project as Director of the Metallurgical Laboratory, served as a member of the Scientific Panel appointed by Mr. Baruch. Dr. Compton also contributed written information in the publications hereinafter described.

i. Dr. Harold C. Urey, who had been closely associated with the Manhattan Project throughout and had served as Director of the SAM Laboratories, served as a member of the Scientific Panel appointed by Mr. Baruch. Dr. Urey also contributed written information in the publications hereinafter described.

j. Colonel George W. Beeler, Area Engineer for the Madison Square Area of the Manhattan District, provided useful assistance to Mr. Baruch's office, supplying secretarial personnel and facilities of various kinds.

k. Lt. Col. John R. Rabeff, of the Manhattan District, was detailed to aid Dr. Tolman from the end of May to the end of June,

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1946. He collected and organized scientific information and prepared a literature survey in the field of atomic energy. He helped in the preparation of publications hereinafter described. He was assisted by Mr. George W. Russell, formerly a Major in the Manhattan District, by Mr. Warren F. X. Michener, formerly at Oak Ridge, and by Lt. Robert F. Dodge, Mr. H. Ward Alter, and a number of enlisted men from Oak Ridge.

l. Colonel Kenneth E. Fields, of the Washington office of the Manhattan District, and Lt. Col. William S. Hutchinson, Jr., Major Alton P. Donnell, Mr. Alberto F. Thompson, Jr., and Mr. H. Ward Alter of Oak Ridge, all contributed by supplying information as to declassification policy and the declassification status of scientific articles.

m. Mr. Joseph Volpe, Jr., formerly a Captain and then a consultant in the Manhattan District, was assigned by General Groves to assist in the work of the United States Delegation while the Scientific and Technical Committee of the UNAEC was preparing its report during August and September. He also advised the U. S. Representative on matters pertaining to mining and raw materials.

n. Mr. Wilbur E. Kelley, formerly a Lieutenant Colonel, Deputy Area Engineer of the Madison Square Area, was assigned by General Groves to provide technical assistance to the United States Delegation. He was one of the United States experts who testified before UNAEC Committee 2, as hereinafter described.

o. Mr. Clarence N. Karl, formerly a Major in the Manhattan District, was assigned by the Madison Square Area as an

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administrative assistant to Mr. Baruch's office. He served as administrative and security officer for the Scientific Panel,

p. Mr. Robert W. Kirkman handled all personnel investigations from a security standpoint, and conducted special security investigations as requested.

q. Those connected with the Manhattan District who contributed expert testimony before Committee 2 of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission included some of those already mentioned above - ^{General Thomas F. Farrell,} Dr. Charles A. Thomas and Mr. Wilbur B. Kelley - and also the following:

Dr. John E. Vanece, formerly a Lieutenant Colonel in the Manhattan District, in charge of process development and analytical control of the production of uranium materials;

Dr. George T. Felbeck, Vice-President of Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation, in charge of the organization and operation of the gaseous diffusion plant at Oak Ridge. (References: 1, 8, 9.)

2-3. Publications. - The publications referred to herein above, prepared under the supervision of Dr. Tolman, consist of seven volumes entitled "Scientific Information Transmitted to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission by the United States Representative." The first volume contains a preface by Dr. Tolman, who also wrote a foreword for nearly every other volume. These volumes contained articles by the following personnel or former personnel of the Manhattan District, of whom a number have already been mentioned.

Volume I, "Background Information", 14 June 1946.

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Dr. R. F. Bacher (see above)

Dr. R. P. Feynman, former theoretical physicist at Los

Alamos

General K. D. Nichols (see above)

Lt. Col. John R. Ruhoff (see above)

Dr. Philip Morrison, physicist at Los Alamos

Dr. Waldo E. Cohn, Chief of the Radioisotope Development Section of the Clinton Laboratories at Oak Ridge

Dr. T. Harrison Davies, senior member of the Chemistry Division of the Clinton Laboratories at Oak Ridge

Dr. John W. Irvine, Jr., senior member of the Chemistry Division of the Clinton Laboratories at Oak Ridge

Dr. R. S. Stone, formerly in charge of Medical Research of the University of California, for the Manhattan District

Volume II, "Beneficial Uses of Atomic Energy", 10 July

1946.

Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer (see above)

Dr. Arthur H. Compton (see above)

Dr. Zay Jefferies, former consultant to the Metallurgical Laboratory

Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, Director of the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California, and closely associated with the Manhattan Project throughout

Dr. James Franck, former Director of the Chemistry Division of the Metallurgical Laboratory

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Dr. Milton Burton, former Section Chief of the Chemistry
Division of the Metallurgical Laboratory

Dr. Harold C. Urey (see above)

Dr. Clarke Williams, former Group Leader of the SAM
Laboratories

Volume III, "Bibliography and Check List", 15 August 1946
(This volume included a list of published articles on atomic energy,
many of them by Manhattan District personnel.)

Volume IV, "Nuclear Power", 5 September 1946. A study
made under the supervision of Dr. Charles A. Thomas (see above). The
following members of the Clinton Laboratories staff contributed to this
study:

Dr. M. C. Everett

Dr. C. R. McCullough

Dr. L. W. Nordhelm

Dr. A. M. Weinberg

Dr. E. P. Wigner

Dr. Gale Young

Volume V, "Medical Uses of Atomic Energy", 23 September
1946.

(No Manhattan District Personnel contributed to this volume.)

Volume VI, "Technological Control of Atomic Energy Activi-
ties", 14 October 1946

The Foreword of this volume, written by Dr. John M. Hancock, says
in part: "This problem has been studied for many months by the

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Manhattan District under the direction of Major General L. R. Groves, and the results of these studies have been incorporated in this report. In its preparation, great assistance was gained from two studies made by Manhattan District technical committees on this subject." The names which follow are then listed, and it is stated that "all of these men were closely associated with the development of atomic energy in this country".

Technical Committee on Inspection and Control:

Drs. M. Benedict (Chairman), L. W. Alvarez, R. F. Bacher (see above), L. A. Bliss, S. G. English, A. B. Kinsel, P. Morrison, F. H. Spedding, C. Starr, and W. J. Williams.

Second Committee:

Drs. M. Benedict and P. Morrison, Lt. Col. J. R. Ruhoff (see above) and Dr. W. J. Williams.

Volume VII, "Expert Testimony on Technological Control of Atomic Energy Activities", 15 December 1946.

This volume is a collection of articles based on the testimony given by United States experts in the Informal Conversations of Committee 2 of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. The United States experts appeared before the Committee at various meetings from 15 October to 21 November, made prepared statements, and participated in the discussions regarding the control of mines, mills, refineries, chemical and metallurgical plants, isotope separation plants, primary reactors, and secondary reactors. Those among these expert witnesses who were or had been included among the personnel of the Manhattan

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District have already been mentioned in a previous paragraph. (References: 8, 10.)

2-4. Omissions. - Determination of the names of those who have been with the Manhattan District has been to some extent a matter of judgment. Throughout this chapter, the effort has been made to be conservative in making this determination, and some of those whose connection with the Manhattan District has been more or less indirect have been omitted from the listings of those who contributed to the discussions and proposals. For example, among those who gave expert testimony before Committee 2 of the UNAEAC, and not mentioned as personnel or former personnel of the Manhattan District, were (a) Mr. James H. Critchett, Vice-President of the Electro Metallurgical Company of Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation, and (b) Mr. Harry A. Winne, Vice-President in charge of Engineering Policy of the General Electric Company. If the latter were claimed as a former member of the Manhattan District personnel, then his service on the Board of Consultants to the Secretary of State's Committee, and his joint responsibility for the so-called Acheson-Lilienthal Report, should also be emphasized. (Mr. Winne's name is of course included in the list of members of the Board, in a previous paragraph.) Even more important contributors to the efforts for international control as a whole, whose parts in the atomic bomb project were vital, were: Dr. Vannevar Bush and Dr. J. E. Conant (who are mentioned as members of the Secretary of State's Committee). These men likewise cannot be regarded as present or former personnel of the Manhattan District.

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2-5. Status as of 31 December 1946. - The date of termination of the Manhattan District History, 31 December 1946, coincided almost exactly with the termination of the first part of the work of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, and with the resignation of Mr. Baruch as United States Representative on that Commission. In Mr. Baruch's letter of resignation to the President, dated 4 January 1947, he pointed out that the first phase of the work of the Commission had been completed and said: "The basic principles have been clearly stated in the Commission's report which has been submitted to the Security Council and exposed to the study of the world." A further quotation from this same letter will bring this chapter to a fitting conclusion: "Accepting the principles, substantially those first enunciated by the United States Delegation on June 14, last, the Commission, after more than a hundred conferences, voted on December 30 (last Monday) by 10 to 0 (Russia and Poland abstaining) to approve the formulae submitted by the United States, as in keeping with the desires of the nations represented and with the creating Act of the General Assembly on January 24, 1946, in London." (Reference: 6, App. 3.)

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CHAPTER 7

APPENDIX - REFERENCES

1. International Control of Atomic Energy - Growth of a Policy. "An Informal Summary Record of the Official Declarations and Proposals Relating to the International Control of Atomic Energy Made Between August 6, 1945 and October 15, 1946". Pamphlet of the Department of State (USGPO) 281 pp.
2. President Truman's Message to Congress, 30 October 1945. Same pamphlet, App. No. 4.
3. The Three-Nation Agreed Declaration on Atomic Energy, Washington, 15 November 1945. Same pamphlet, App. No. 6.
4. The Soviet-Anglo-American Communique, 27 December 1945 (Excerpts) - "Report of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom". Same pamphlet, App. No. 8.
5. A Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Establishing a Commission on Atomic Energy, London, 24 January 1946. Same pamphlet, App. No. 10.
6. The First Report of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council, 31 December 1946. The US and the UN Report Series 8. Pamphlet of the Department of State (USGPO) 101 pp.
7. A Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy, Prepared for the Secretary of State's Committee on Atomic Energy by the Board of Consultants (with Foreword by the Secretary of State and Letter of Transmittal by the Committee), Washington, D. C., 16 March 1946. Pamphlet of the Department of State, 61 pp.
8. "Contributions by the Manhattan District and Former Manhattan District Personnel to the Work of the United States Delegation to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission from May through December 1946", by Dr. Paul C. Fine, forwarded to Major General L. R. Groves with letter dated 9 October 1947. In Manhattan District History Files.
9. Letter from Mr. Clarence L. Karl to Mr. Corbin Allardice, 30 January 1947. In Manhattan District History Files.
10. ^{International} "The International Control of Atomic Energy - Scientific Information Transmitted to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission - June 14, 1946 - October 14, 1946 - Prepared in the Office of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, United States Representative". The US and UN Report Series 5. Pamphlet of the Department of State (USGPO) 195 pp.

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