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Chairman: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 18

Peaceful uses of atomic energy (A/2967, A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2, A/C.1/L.130 and Add.1 and 2, A/C.1/L.131 and Add.1 and 2, A/C.1/L.132/Rev.1, A/C.1/L.134/Rev.1) (*continued*):

- (a) **International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: report of the Secretary-General;**
- (b) **Progress in developing international co-operation for the peaceful uses of atomic energy: reports of Governments**

1. The CHAIRMAN, after stressing the importance of the problem at hand, announced that the general debate would be concluded after the statement of the representative of India, and that the Committee would then proceed with the discussion of the draft resolutions before it.

2. Mr. MENON (India) emphasized that his delegation had entered the debate with the desire that the Committee and the Assembly should reach a unanimous decision. That was still the fervent hope of his delegation. He was of the opinion that, given the necessary time after the general debate, the Committee might look forward to that prospect. If, however, that did not prove possible, the Committee would understand that nations and Governments had differences in their basic conceptions on the matter which still remained to be bridged.

3. The talks which had taken place between the various delegations had been very frank. As those talks were still going on, his references to the various draft resolutions would not go beyond principles. His delegation reserved its right to speak on the draft resolutions at a later stage.

4. Twenty-two months had been devoted to what might be called "preliminary talks". Since the conclusion of the debate at the previous session, when the Committee had agreed that the negotiations concerning the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency should proceed, and that suggestions thereon should be extended to the United States Government,

India had sent out some communications in order to obtain all the information possible. Subsequent to the Indian communication of 8 August 1955 to the Secretary-General, a draft statute for the International Atomic Energy Agency had been circulated.

5. Although in the last ten years progress in atomic development had been made, particularly in destructive fields, nations and scientists had not forgotten its more useful value. Besides technical advance, there had also been some progress in the understanding of the relation between technical discoveries and social conditions. However, no one should think that debate on the problem of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, or the establishment of the Agency, or even the large-scale development of such peaceful uses, constituted in themselves a solution to the problem of preventing the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. The two problems were separate, though related, and where they were related, their relation was of a rather ominous character. Although he had no desire to trespass on the field of disarmament at the present stage, he wanted to mention that fact because he thought it would be a great mistake to be guided by the escapist belief that building on one side solved the problem of destruction on the other.

6. He stressed that, following the pattern set by previous speakers, he would consider the item under three separate headings and deal first with the general question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, then with the question of holding scientific conferences, and thereafter with the question of establishing an International Atomic Energy Agency.

7. Turning to the first of those questions, he emphasized that his Government did not look upon the question of the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes fundamentally and primarily as a technical problem. It was necessary to bear in mind that the problem had vast social and economic significance. His delegation's approach was based on the view that the world was at the dawn of a new era where social values, industrial techniques and social purposes faced a great revolution. India recognized that any approach made to the problem could not be confined within national frontiers. That was true not only in the field of destruction, where the possession of destructive atomic weapons was of consequence to people who were far removed from them—indeed, it was probably more ominously of concern to those who were far away from them.

8. The search for energy derived from the atom had been brought to the fore by two factors. First of all, in order to raise the standard of living, it was necessary to consume more energy. It had been stated (760th meeting) by the President of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy that, at the present rate of consumption, the available sources of energy would be used up in less than a century. Secondly, the fact was that the people of the world had to learn from the occurrence of a calamity the ways to

turn that calamity to useful purposes. Since the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and the events that followed, an urge had been created to find more and more methods of exploiting and harnessing atomic energy. He wished in that connexion to stress that India's position in favour of the total prohibition of the use of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction remained unchanged.

9. In connexion with the problems of the new era, it was useful to recall a few facts in connexion with the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century. Mr. Menon mentioned in that respect the production of machine tools by the Western countries, such as the United Kingdom; the division of the world into two camps—those who produced consumer goods and those who provided raw materials and a market for those goods; changes in agriculture; the institution of forced labour and slavery; and the discovery of new land and the sharing of the unexplored parts of the world among the great Powers, who were the pioneers in the industrial revolution. Those were historical facts which had a strong bearing on the attitude that countries like India took in their approach to the present problem. Those experiences should be remembered in order that humanity might be saved from the consequences of the atomic revolution in so far as its evil aspects were concerned, and might turn that revolution to more useful purposes. In any arrangements made for the future, there must be, first of all, equity between nation and nation as well as between the social groups inside each country. It was necessary for the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency to place emphasis on the protection of those who worked with atomic energy, in view of the grave consequences involved and the ominous burden they undertook.

10. Turning to the development of atomic resources in India, Mr. Menon stressed that his Government's pursuit of knowledge about atomic energy would be restricted to its peaceful uses. In a short survey he described the political, administrative and scientific establishments in the atomic field in India, and gave details regarding the resources of atomic raw material, their extraction and processing, the training of scientists, the creation of scientific laboratories, and the reactor programme in which India was being assisted by Canada and the United States which provided it, respectively, with an NRX reactor and heavy water. India also co-operated in that field with Norway, Sweden, and certain other countries. His country was thus making its contribution to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It was the policy of his Government that the facilities available in India should be open to those other States which were willing and able to make use of them.

11. Speaking on the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held at Geneva, he stated that his Government wished to express its appreciation for the services rendered by the Secretary-General, the Advisory Committee, and the Secretary-General and the Assistant Secretary-General of the Conference, as well as the members of the Secretariat, all of whom had contributed to its success. His country had been happy to provide the services of Mr. Bhabha as President of the Conference. Mr. Menon also recalled the contribution made to the Conference in various fields by young Indian scientists. Apart from all its material achievements and the exchange of knowledge which had taken place, the Conference had not only been a great exercise in international co-operation, but had also furthered the great idea of an open world. In

lifting the veil of secrecy from atomic research, a new channel of international co-operation had been opened. Another great achievement of the Conference had been the momentum it had itself generated for the continuation of its work. The Conference had also been characterized by a spirit of recognition and generosity; if some of that spirit could be brought into the field of political discussion, considerable progress would be made. Finally, another great achievement of the Conference had been to make potent the desire for the establishment of the Agency, which his Government supported with enthusiasm.

12. With regard to the draft statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, he did not wish to go into detail at the present stage. His Government had communicated its views in that respect to the United States Government.

13. So far as India was concerned, there were two subjects before the Committee—one was the holding of scientific conferences, and the other, the Agency. The debate, therefore, dealt with two separate items, and he was happy to see that the Committee had been persuaded to deal with them separately.

14. The Indian delegation supported the proposal that the Advisory Committee should be continued in order to assist the Secretary-General with the tasks assigned to him.

15. Therefore, with regard to the Conference, to the Advisory Committee, and to matters contained in part A of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2, unanimity could be reached. With respect to part B of the draft resolution, his delegation was of the opinion that ways and means of arriving at a unanimous decision could be found.

16. With regard to the International Atomic Energy Agency, the draft resolution submitted by India and five other Governments (A/C.1/L.131 and Add.1 and 2) contained some ideas that were basic, but that did not mean that they were incompatible with other basic ideas. One of the basic ideas of the draft resolution was that the relationship of the proposed Agency to the United Nations must be of an integral character. In that respect, he recalled that when a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.105)¹ had been introduced at the ninth session with a view to establishing an atomic energy agency, the words "similar to those of the specialized agencies" had been used. The United Kingdom and the United States, particularly, had insisted upon the inclusion of the words "similar to those of the specialized agencies". His delegation had moved (720th meeting) the deletion of that phrase. There had been considerable debate, the result of which was set out in the statement made by the representative of the United States at the 722nd meeting of the First Committee on 18 November 1954. Mr. Lodge, at that meeting, had read a revised text of the draft resolution on the establishment of the proposed Agency (A/C.1/L.105/Rev.1)² to the effect that, once it had been created, it would "negotiate an appropriate form of agreement with the United Nations". Mr. Lodge had stated that one reason for eliminating the words "similar to those of the specialized agencies" was to make it completely clear that the resolution would not prejudge the outcome of the negotiations to establish the Agency. Mr. Menon further referred to the statement of the representative of the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 67, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*

United States (765th meeting), to the effect that the final decision on the question of the relationship of the Agency to the United Nations did not rest with either the sponsoring Governments or the Secretary-General, that it had to be determined by the total membership of the Agency, and that the agreement on relationship which it proposed, must be approved by the General Assembly. Mr. Menon was happy to note those statements and said that if, at the present stage of the debate, the question of the specialized agencies was brought back, the Committee would be going back upon the decisions of the preceding year and the experience gained from the wisdom of the statement he had just quoted.

17. The Committee would, therefore, assist the process of agreement if the character of the Agency was left for further discussion outside the Committee after the resolutions had been adopted. But if that was thought to be a purely negative attitude, he wished to state categorically that his Government was opposed at present to establishing the Agency as a specialized agency reporting to the Economic and Social Council. His Government thought that the Agency's relations with the United Nations ought to be such that its reports would be received by the General Assembly and the proceedings of the Assembly would be communicated to it. His Government did not think that the relation between the General Assembly, or the United Nations as a whole, and the Agency should be one of such remote control that the Agency's reports would come through the report of another of the United Nations' organs. None of the arguments to the contrary was relevant. One of the main arguments was that the question of the Agency's status should not be discussed with a great many nations sitting around the table. It was quite true that the Economic and Social Council consisted of eighteen members, but they were elected on the basis of geographical representation. Moreover, his Government could not subscribe to the view that those matters should be placed in a context in which there was some hostility to their public discussion. India supported the view that the drafting of a statute by sixty or seventy people sitting around a table was a physical impossibility. That was why India and its co-sponsors had merely stated in their draft resolution that the relations between the Agency and the United Nations must be of an integral character; that the Assembly must be able to obtain the Agency's reports and that the Agency must be able to receive the records of the proceedings and discussions which took place in the United Nations.

18. He wished to go on record as saying that it was not the intention of his Government to put forward such impractical suggestions as that the Assembly should exercise the functions of a corporation, or even of a parliament, in relation to the working of the Agency. It was essential that the Agency should be able to function from day to day so as to carry out its work as an autonomous body. But in so far as the Agency's relation to the United Nations was concerned, his delegation thought that the General Assembly was the appropriate body to which it should be related.

19. With regard to the character of the Agency, Mr. Menon mentioned the Secretariat document (A/C.1/758)³ which referred to the existing agencies as "within the framework of the United Nations". He further referred to the suggestion of the President of the United

States (765th meeting), to the effect that the final decision on the question of the relationship of the Agency to the United Nations did not rest with either the sponsoring Governments or the Secretary-General, that it had to be determined by the total membership of the Agency, and that the agreement on relationship which it proposed, must be approved by the General Assembly. Mr. Menon was happy to note those statements and said that if, at the present stage of the debate, the question of the specialized agencies was brought back, the Committee would be going back upon the decisions of the preceding year and the experience gained from the wisdom of the statement he had just quoted.

be under the "aegis" of the United Nations. It seemed from the revised joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2) that, since the previous year, agreement had nearly been reached on drafting the statute of the Agency by inter-governmental conference called by the sponsoring States without prior action by the United Nations. He did not intend to go into detail with regard to the revised joint draft resolution, but wished to state that his delegation considered that it would be a satisfactory result if the possible forms of the relation between the United Nations and the Agency were open to wide discussion elsewhere. Therefore, when the revised draft resolution proposed that there should be a world conference, India not only welcomed the idea, but thought that, in the present circumstances, it had met his delegation's position half-way. It was important from the Indian point of view that a conference of Governments should receive the drafts of the statute and be able to consider and approve them. In other words, the conference must seek in some way to establish the statute, and not remain merely a body of approval or ratification. It might be possible to obtain a majority decision in the General Assembly or in some other body; but it was necessary from the point of view of practical reality that every endeavour with which the Agency was concerned should be of a nature which attracted loyalty. A majority decision by the General Assembly would not commit the Governments of Member States, even if those Members were to vote for such a resolution; such a decision still had to go through the process of ratification according to various constitutional procedures. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that what the Assembly should be concerned with was not the victory of a resolution, but the establishment of an organ which would be welcomed by everyone, did not hint of exclusion, and did not create a caste system among sovereign States.

20. The very generous gesture made by the United States and its co-sponsors in putting the matter in the hands of a world conference at a later stage was doubly welcome. In the process of establishing the Agency, the largest measure of political, intellectual, moral and spiritual co-operation must emerge. That was why his delegation had proposed amendments (A/C.1/L.134/Rev.1) to the draft resolution of the United States and other countries. Mr. Menon was happy to recall the statements of the United States and the United Kingdom at the last session of the General Assembly, as reiterated at the present session by Mr. Pastore (765th meeting), that, in the establishment of the Agency, neither the United Nations nor the world conference would be faced, expressly or implicitly, by an accomplished fact. No statute could come complete in its final form before a body with an injunction against anyone touching it. Mr. Menon therefore believed that it was possible, through co-operation, conciliation and compromise, to agree upon a draft statute.

21. In going through a great revolution, India and countries like it did not wish to find themselves merely hewers of wood and drawers of water. India would not be in favour of an economy in which there were "haves" and "have-nots", which was the foundation of international conflict and war. His country would not be a party to any organization that, either by implication or by its economic consequences, would confine large areas of the world which were the producers of raw materials and were at present backward in their economic development, to that scale of the economic ladder. India was in favour of a scheme of international co-operation. So

States (470th plenary meeting) that the Agency must

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

long as there were under-developed countries that could not keep pace with other countries, as their standards of living were lower, they became the weak link in the chain of international progress.

22. Mr. Menon recalled the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 758th meeting of the Committee to the effect that the United Kingdom had, for many years, as a matter of international co-operation provided international services in banking, insurance, and shipping, but that it was now moving towards a new era of international atomic co-operation. Mr. Menon said that his country favored international co-operation in atomic matters, but that India and countries like it were not moving into a period in which a monopoly on shipping, banking, insurance, or atomic energy was going to be held by any country. It was his delegation's desire to see that the circumstances which came in the wake of the industrial revolution and some of the unhappy conditions which followed were not repeated. That was why his delegation, in putting forward its proposals, wished to give some guidance to the General Assembly as to the nature of the relations which should exist between the United Nations and the Agency. The United Nations should see that the preparatory work in that connexion was spread out in which a way that, even at the formative stage, the contributions of different parts of the world would come into the Agency. India would like to see the International Atomic Energy Agency established in such a way that no country could be excluded. Mr. Menon said that what he was asking for was an "open forum". India did not look upon compromise as a sign of weakness; at the same time, however, it had no desire to seek unanimity when it did not mean consensus of minds.

23. In conclusion, he pledged that his delegation and Government would endeavour to assist in reaching unanimous agreement on a draft resolution which would enable the world conference to meet and discuss a draft statute which would command wide acceptance in the world. That conference should be a deliberative assembly. He had no doubt that in a few days it could be announced to the world that the nations, in spite of their differences, were prepared to venture on that great experiment in a spirit of harmony and, if not necessarily in agreement in every detail, with a commonness of objective in order that humanity might be the better served.

24. The CHAIRMAN said that the general debate had concluded and that the Committee would proceed to the consideration of the draft resolutions before it. The four draft resolutions submitted to the Committee were contained in documents A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2, A/C.1/L.130 and Add.1 and 2, A/C.1/L.131 and Add.1 and 2, and A/C.1/L.132/Rev.1. The Committee would also consider, in connexion with the first draft resolution, the Indian amendments contained in document A/C.1/L.134/Rev.1.

25. Mr. MENON (India) said that the Indian amendments related to document A/C.1/L.129/Rev.1 and had to be revised in the light of the new text by the sponsors of the draft resolution.

26. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) stressed that a number of delegations, including that of the Soviet Union, had submitted draft resolutions or made constructive suggestions on many aspects of the development of international co-operation in the sphere of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

27. The Soviet Union delegation shared the opinion expressed by all the representatives who had emphasized the need for wide international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the great importance of the exchange of experience among the scientists and experts of various countries, the great positive significance of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, and the desirability of continuing the practice of convening such conferences to study both the general and the specific problems relating to the application of atomic energy. For its part, his delegation had submitted an appropriate proposal (A/C.1/L.132/Rev.1) which included the provision that conferences for the exchange of experience in the application of atomic energy in various fields should be convened periodically. On that matter, it was obvious that the Committee was in a position to adopt a unanimous decision.

28. There appeared to be general agreement regarding the continuation of the Advisory Committee to assist in the arrangement and conduct of the scientific conferences. The Advisory Committee should take into account the view expressed in the First Committee that the conferences should be convened both on general and specific problems.

29. Questions relating to the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency had been thoroughly discussed, special consideration having been given to the question of the relationship between the proposed Agency and the United Nations. Many representatives, including those of Indonesia, Norway and Sweden, had spoken in favour of a closer relationship than that existing between the specialized agencies and the United Nations.

30. His delegation was of the opinion that the Agency should be created within the framework of the United Nations and should submit reports on its activities to the Security Council and the General Assembly. The closest relationship was necessitated by important circumstances. The proposed Agency would deal with a new problem of immense importance for the progress of mankind. A close link existed between the production of atomic energy for peaceful uses and its production for military purposes, since fissionable materials could easily be diverted for military purposes. Believing that all necessary precautions should be taken already in the course of establishing the Agency to prevent the utilization of fissile materials for non-peaceful purposes, his Government deemed it necessary to provide in the statute for appropriate control over the use of the materials received by the Agency. The attitude of his Government on that matter had been indicated in its aide-mémoire of 3 October 1955 to the United States Government, which had been distributed to all delegations at the request of the USSR delegation.

31. His delegation could not agree with the argument advanced by some representatives that the establishment of the Agency within the framework of the United Nations would involve it in political controversies. It shared the view of those who declared that the establishment of the Agency as a specialized agency would not provide a panacea which would guarantee its happy and harmonious existence. His delegation agreed that discussion at the present session should be limited to an exchange of views on the principles on which the relationship between the Agency and the United Nations should be built and that the detailed consideration of appropriate provisions of the statute should be car-

ried out at a later stage in a manner to be agreed upon by the Committee. However, it would be expedient to provide in the final Assembly resolution that the working out of those provisions should be based on the recognition of the principle that the Agency should be established within the framework of the United Nations and that its relations with the United Nations should be the closest possible.

32. A majority of delegations favoured the view that the Agency should be organized on a broad basis and that no State should be denied co-operation on ideological or any other grounds. There was unanimity on the point that no country or group of countries should enjoy a monopolistic position in the Agency and that all bodies of the Agency should be organized with due regard to the interests of its member States. The suggestion that the governing body of the Agency should include both States contributing atomic materials and those receiving assistance through the Agency deserved approval.

33. The procedure for the consideration of the statute of the Agency had been criticized on the grounds that discussion was not being held on a wide enough basis and that States wishing to become members of the Agency might not be able to participate in the drafting. In that connexion he wished to emphasize the importance of the proposal of his delegation (A/C.1/L.132/Rev.1, para. 3) that a conference of experts, designated by the Governments of the States concerned, should be convened for the consideration of questions relating to the drafting of the statute.

34. His delegation was carefully studying the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2, which provided, *inter alia*, that a conference of States should be convened for preparing the final text of the statute.

35. The proposal of his delegation that an international periodical organ of atomic scientists should be published had been supported by several delegations, particularly that of the United States, and should be appropriately reflected in the final resolution.

36. Special attention had been given in the general debate to the idea that really broad and fruitful international co-operation in the sphere of the peaceful uses of atomic energy required that all atomic energy should be used only for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Union draft resolution called upon all States to continue their efforts to reach an agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons. Such an appeal should be reflected in the Committee's decision. The Indian proposal (A/C.1/L.134/Rev.1) that the General Assembly should declare its desire to promote energetically the use of atomic energy only for peaceful pursuits and the amelioration of the living conditions of mankind was of positive significance. The second revision of the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2) had incorporated that idea.

37. In that connexion he wished to state that the allegation which the representative of Colombia had made at the 763rd meeting to the effect that the Soviet Union had made the establishment of the Agency conditional upon the prohibition of atomic weapons was erroneous. The statement of his delegation and its draft resolution, as well as the comments on the draft statute which his Government had communicated to the United States Government, had made it clear that his Government did not regard the prohibition of atomic weapons as a preliminary condition for establishing the Agency, but as

contributing greatly to the broad development of international co-operation, the reduction of international tension and the creation of an atmosphere of international confidence.

38. The discussion in the Committee showed that, given the will on the part of the States represented in the Committee, it was possible to draft a resolution acceptable to all delegations. His delegation was ready to co-operate with others in order to work out such a resolution, which would undoubtedly foster the development of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

39. Mr. PASTORE (United States of America) wished to say a few words regarding the new revised draft resolution submitted by seventeen delegations (A/C.1/L.129/Rev.2), while reserving his right to comment on the remarks of the representatives of India and the Soviet Union. He believed that the new text accurately reflected the consensus of views which had emerged from the debate and hoped that it would enjoy the widest support.

40. Before commenting on the changes incorporated into the new text, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to a new development in the procedures for negotiating a draft statute for the proposed Agency. On 21 October, his Government had issued invitations to the Governments of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India and the Soviet Union to join the original eight negotiating States in their further negotiations on the draft statute. Acceptance of those invitations would expand the negotiating group to twelve States representative of the widest range of views. The delegation of the United States believed that such a procedure would ensure final agreement on a text satisfactory to all. It was hoped that the first meeting on the expanded group could be convened as early as December.

41. Turning to the revised text of the draft resolution, he called the attention of the Committee to the addition of an entirely new paragraph as paragraph 3 in part B which would welcome the invitations extended to the four Governments. As a result of the expansion of the negotiating group of States, consequential changes had been made in the previous text of the draft resolution. A new phrase had been added in paragraph 4 of part B to provide that all possible measures would be taken to establish the Agency without delay "bearing in mind the provisions of the present resolution". An entirely new paragraph had been added at the end of part B as paragraph 6 which provided that the Assembly would request the Governments concerned to report to the General Assembly as appropriate. By the term "Governments concerned" in paragraphs 4 and 6 of part B, the sponsors had in mind the group of twelve negotiating States.

42. In part A of the draft resolution, paragraph 4 had been revised to recommend that the second technical conference should be convened in "two to three years' time" instead of "in about three years' time". That change took account of the views of a number of delegations, particularly that of the Soviet Union. A new paragraph had also been added as paragraph 2 in part A.

43. Two new paragraphs had been added in the preamble as the second and sixth paragraphs of the revised text. The first of those new paragraphs, the wording of which was taken from resolution 810 (IX) adopted unanimously the preceding year, reflected the desire that the utilization of atomic energy should be promoted to

serve only the peaceful pursuits of mankind, while the other new paragraph expressed a similar thought in connexion with the activities of the proposed Agency.

44. In its revised form, the draft resolution constituted a major effort to ensure the speediest progress towards the establishment of a sound basis for international co-operation for the peaceful uses of atomic energy and particularly towards the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The new text represented a considerable change from the original draft. The co-sponsors had shown the greatest degree of flexibility consistent with the need to maintain the sup-

port of Governments whose contributions to the Agency were essential to its success. It had been the expressed intention of his Government to bring about, if possible, complete unanimity on the item before the Committee. It had indeed been the hope of President Eisenhower when he had announced his "Atoms for Peace" plan (470th plenary meeting) that the idea should become a reality and should be a success. It was in that spirit that the further revision of the draft resolution had been made. Mr. Pastore hoped that it would enjoy unanimous support.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.