

them in advance that, if they attempt anything, they will have to overcome those who were great factors in preventing the realization of the hopes of the Kaiser and of Hitler and Mussolini."

No, Mr. Vishinsky, the North Atlantic Pact is not a threatening factor on the international scene. On the contrary, it is a stabilising factor -- one of those instances of co-operation among nations through which free countries believe that they can find security and progress in a troubled world.

The Soviet Government, I suppose because it prefers the maximum division, isolation, and hence weakness, among all peoples outside its own borders, criticizes these efforts to organize collective security -- just as it stands aloof from efforts, through the Specialized Agencies, to organize collective prosperity and welfare in the economic, social, and cultural fields.

This Soviet rejection of co-operation among the nations troubles us profoundly.

Let me give an example, in a field to which the Soviet resolution itself calls our attention. Several times during the past few days Mr. Vishinsky and his representatives have re-iterated, in the Ad Hoc Committee of this Assembly, their refusal to co-operate with the rest of us in a world-wide organization to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and to ensure effectively the prohibition and elimination of atomic weapons.

Mr. Vishinsky explains this refusal by asserting that international co-operation in this field would be incompatible with Soviet sovereignty. He says that a United Nations Atomic Control Agency would be nothing more than a super-trust dominated by the United States.

This charge is of course quite untrue: but it may throw a revealing light on Mr. Vishinsky's mind, and the minds of his colleagues in the Soviet Government. They seem obsessed with the idea of domination: their internal government, it seems to me, is based on the concept of dominating rather than serving the Russian people. And they seem incapable of imagining an international organization which they do not dominate, unless it is one which would dominate them. Is this delusion, that they must dominate or be dominated, the real explanation of Soviet opposition to international organizations in which they do not have a veto?

True peace, Mr. Vishinsky, involves true community. Community is a matter of give and take: it is a matter of mutual service and understanding. Domination has nothing to do with it.

This refusal to co-operate with the rest of the world to control the fateful powers of atomic energy involves a grave responsibility. Mr. Vishinsky knows this. He therefore does not reject openly the principle of international co-operation for atomic control. But he seeks to limit it so drastically that his proposals have seemed to every non-Communist country which has examined them utterly ineffective. Frankly, the Soviet proposals for atomic energy control have seemed to us a cynical and heartless trick. If they are not intended to be so, then I would be grateful if Mr. Vishinsky would reassure us on this point.

For example, will Mr. Vishinsky tell us now that he is prepared, on a basis of reciprocity, to allow international inspectors to go anywhere, at any time, in the Soviet Union, to the extent necessary to satisfy themselves and the world that no clandestine operations are taking place for the production of atomic explosives?

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