

destructive potentialities of this new force, must be found".

One of the principles embodied in our joint resolution is that we must keep open every channel for consultation and negotiation. We must not close any door.

The second principle is that we must also not close our minds. We must explore all possible avenues which give any promise of leading to a satisfactory solution to this vital problem. The Atomic Energy Commission must be prepared to consider any suggestion which could contribute to such a solution. The members of that Commission should be willing and anxious as I know they would be willing and anxious to examine ideas from any source, whether from an officer of the General Assembly, or from any government, or from the press, or from any individual in any part of the world.

There is another vital principle which I suggest we must bear in mind. It is important that we do not mislead the world on this major issue. It would be heartless and it would be dangerous to give mankind the impression that atomic energy is under international control, if in effect it is not controlled; to pretend that nations are secure from the destructive power of atomic energy if they are not. We discovered in a hard and tragic way in the 1930's that a false sense of security, among peace-loving peoples, can encourage aggression; that this false sense of security can be the precursor to war. It would be no contribution to the peace of the world in present conditions of international mistrust and fear to encourage illusions of peace based merely on unsupported declarations against the use of atomic energy for war. If the situation was such that such declarations could accomplish their purpose, their high purpose, then there really wouldn't be any need for them at all.

The United Nations cannot afford, on this matter, to get irresponsibly, or to gamble with the peace of the world. We must be prepared to consider all ideas, but it is no less important that we should not be deceived by partial or temporary solutions, which may appear superficially attractive, and the stated purpose of which we all long to achieve. This is not a case of "save the surface and you save all".

A particular weapon, whether it is an atom bomb or a hundred and fifty infantry divisions, fully armed and equipped, may, in a bad international climate, be considered by those who possess it - and with sincerity - not as an instrument of aggression, but as a deterrent to aggression.

The deterrent of armed force is not, of course, in the long run, the right or safe road to peace. Peace, to be enduring must be based, not on the external restraints of force, but on the internal restraints of free men and women who have the will to peace in their heart; who live in a world where the area of collective international authority is widening; who have adequate access to information on which to judge rightly the issues of foreign policy, and, above all, who have the power to control their governments rather than to be controlled by them. Some day, peace must be based on the truly firm foundation of an open, co-operating, free world community, where men and women of all lands will trust each other, because, among other things, they will be allowed to get to know each other; where they will be permitted to exchange ideas and opinions without the interference of an all-powerful internal propaganda machine.

Until we have international trust founded on this kind