

example, all but two of which do not include the U.S.S.R. as a member and which few satellite states have entered, the difficulties encountered relate to the development of coordination and consistency amongst the policies of the various bodies.* In every case, matters of substance have been taken in hand and serious efforts made to overcome the great difficulties which have been encountered in the way of reaching decisions and equally of giving them effect.

The most fundamental of these difficulties results from the fact that the ideal of universal membership on which the United Nations was founded has brought about the inclusion within one organization of a majority composed of democratic states and a minority composed of Communist ones. Thus, the United Nations is the meeting place of rival political and economic philosophies. Inevitably, this puts an ever-increasing strain on the machinery of the United Nations and makes the implementation of its purposes and principles extremely difficult. For, as we have painfully learned, these purposes and principles mean very different things to nations holding differing political philosophies. Human rights and freedoms, the self-determination of peoples, international cooperation, are concepts which throughout the civilized world have long had substance and meaning. They are, it is true, ideals which have not been fully realized in practice. The United Nations was founded with the object of bringing about their fuller realization. Since the San Francisco Conference, when the Soviet Union adhered to these purposes and principles, it has become increasingly clear that the Communists do not believe in these ideals and have no intention of working for them. They have subscribed to the language of the Charter but their own aims are at variance with its principles.

The Communist-controlled states do not believe in cooperation for the improvement in the free world of political, social and economic conditions because they do not believe improvement possible except by the adoption of Communism. Claiming as they do that society in non-Communist countries is organized on an intolerable basis of exploitation, they resist all proposals for international cooperation which serve other causes than Communism itself. They cannot work together with us for the promotion and encouragement of human rights and liberties because these rights and liberties do not exist within their own borders. Most serious of all, they are not willing to contribute to the main purpose of the United Nations—the maintenance of international peace and security. On the contrary, one of the objects of international Communism is to foment insecurity in non-Communist states, while the aggressive foreign policy of the Soviet Union threatens the maintenance of peace in many quarters of the world. This contradiction between the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the policies of its Communist members runs like a deep fissure through the Organization.

In this situation the tactics of the Soviet Delegation and its satellite delegations have been based on a bold attempt to pin the blame on others for the tension they have themselves created. By the simple expedient of repeating over and over again that the Western democracies are "warmongers", these delegations hope to divert attention from the series of aggressive moves which have characterized Soviet foreign policy since 1945.

*See "Role of the Specialized Agencies in the United Nations System", pp. 124-128