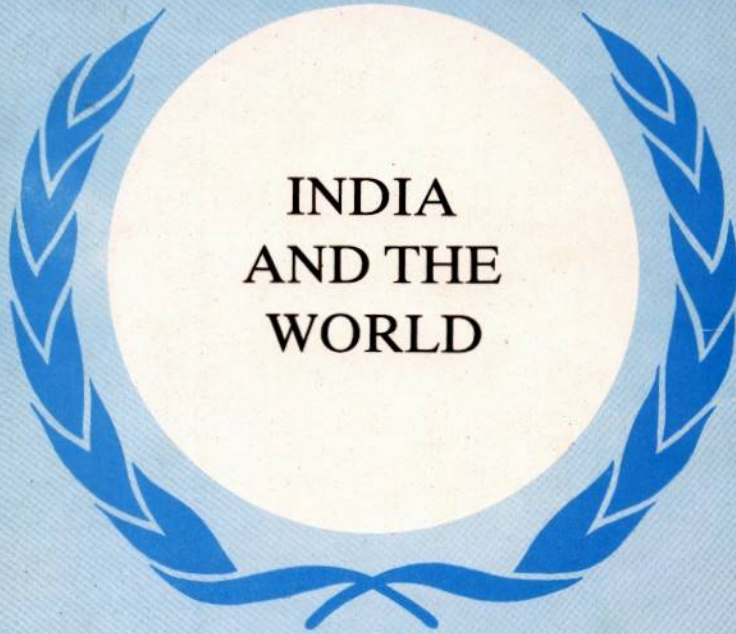


KRISHNA MENON  
at the  
UNITED NATIONS



INDIA  
AND THE  
WORLD

edited by  
E.S. REDDY, A.K. DAMODARAN

# KRISHNA MENON

SELECTED SPEECHES AT THE UNITED NATIONS - I

## INDIA AND THE WORLD

*Edited by*

E. S. REDDY

A. K. DAMODARAN

Foreword by

R. VENKATARAMAN

*President of India*

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## FOREWORD

Sparks flew, great and small, when the flint of India's renaissance clashed against the rock of colonial subjugation. Of these, one of the brightest was V.K. Krishna Menon. Anyone who knew Krishna Menon realised that he had risen from the great historical frictions of our time: those between colonialism and freedom; between exploitation and independence; between backwardness and progress.

Rooted in the intellectual and cultural traditions of Indian society and yet nurtured and shaped in the processes of Western dialectical reasoning, Krishna Menon dedicated himself with the intensity of his entire being, to the cause of India's freedom and, later, to the cause of free India's progress and development.

Ever since the day, seventy years ago, when young Krishna defied the establishment of the Presidency College in Madras and hoisted the red and green flag of Dr Annie Besant's Home Rule League atop the college building, he was looked upon as a valiant soldier and an eminent spokesman for India's dignity and freedom. Then, as a student and political activist in London, Krishna Menon worked ceaselessly day and night on what was then called 'the Indian Question'. Through the India League and the Labour Party, which he represented in the Borough Council of St. Pancras, Krishna Menon's searing intellect welded Fabian principles with the Indian Question to give our national movement a formidable ideological dimension. Krishna Menon was responsible in assisting the Labour Party and, indeed, Britain itself to see the national movement in India in the perspective of history. As many as 100 British M.P.s became members of the India League, thanks to Krishna Menon. He arranged meetings between British Labour leaders and Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru during the latter's visits to London, thereby becoming a crucial hinge on which the doors of the Round Table Conference in 1931 and of the subsequent Cripps and Cabinet Missions, turned.

Menon and Nehru shared a common abhorrence of fascism and a deep faith in socialism and secularism. They saw that imperialism, fascism and colonialism were facets of the same global malady which had to be countered swiftly and decisively. If Jawaharlal Nehru was the Indian National Congress' window to the outside world, it was Krishna Menon's privilege to transmit the light of Indian feelings to the world community and of the international opinion to us. Naturally, Krishna Menon soon emerged as the unofficial Ambassador of the Indian movement even before he became the first official High Commissioner of free India in Britain.

Menon held that post for a period of five years with telling effect. He was the very epitome of a representative of the Head of the Indian State, personally abstemious but at the same time uncompromising in maintaining the prestige of his high office. After demitting the office of High Commissioner, Krishna Menon was

requested by Prime Minister Nehru to serve on our delegations to the United Nations. This brought out the best in him; the best, the truest and the most effective. As Deputy Leader under Smt Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit first and, later, as Leader, Krishna Menon articulated India's views on a variety of international issues such as Disarmament, Great Power rivalries, Korea, the Arab-Israel conflict, the admission of China into the United Nations, membership of the Security Council, Algeria, the liberation struggles in Africa and, of course, on Kashmir.

Krishna Menon was like a seismograph in the United Nations, vibrating to every fluctuation in world affairs and registering India's reactions to each one of them. There was such a thing as a Menon Scale which, like Richter's, recorded vibrations of different intensity depending on the gravity of the tremor. And so Krishna Menon at the U.N. was capable of cautioning, warning and exposing every specious move on the part of the Big Powers.

This volume brings together several of Krishna Menon's statements at the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, spread over many years. They constitute a record of some of India's most deeply felt thoughts on the issues of the time. Reason and emotion as also logic and passion combine in these addresses to create a memorable record of the Indian standpoint on international affairs. They convey not only the perceptions of the new Indian Nation State but, indeed, the aspirations of all countries emerging from colonial bondage. They are informed with a deep concern for values in inter-nation relations and for the establishment of an order in which might is challenged by the collective conscience of human society.

Krishna Menon knew what Super Power rivalries aided with modern weaponry presaged for the world. Speaking on the subject in the general debate at the U.N. General Assembly on 28 September 1953, he said:

When the time comes for us to discuss this matter in the Disarmament Commission, I hope it will be possible for us in our collective wisdom to find a form of words which would proclaim our desire to express the wide-felt feeling of the people of the world that these terrible weapons shall not be used for their destruction, for these weapons would operate not only against the combatants but against the people. There would be no neutrals in this kind of war. There would be no human beings, no life of any kind. The war would be waged against the whole of creation, and there would be created a world where recreation and re-construction would become impossible. We would be releasing forces which we could not control. We would be hardening our hearts to accept a situation where instead of using the genius of mankind, the effects of its labours or the powers of its discoveries for the purpose of serving its needs we would be using them for its destruction.

We should remember that the United Nations then was a very different body from what it is now. The voice of the newly emerging nations was a fresh voice that could be easily drowned in the deep-throated timbre of established opinion. Krishna Menon was conscious of the fact that he was addressing an Assembly in which Asia had not been heard with the seriousness which this home of ancient civilisations deserved. He told the General Assembly:

This Assembly has to realise the fact that Asia is no longer a slumbering continent. We are a group of nations independent and free, determined to make our contribution to civilisation and to world purposes. May be it is true that we have emerged only in the last five, ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five years from colonial rule. But nascent nationalism today is as energetic as it can be, and the United Nations could still serve the cause of world unity and the purpose of liberations, if these nationalisms did not at the outset suffer from a feeling of frustration because their places in the councils of the world are limited and not proportionate to their importance and size.

The question of Korea and of the admission of China into the United Nations brought out the best in Menon. Krishna Menon declared:

We do not look upon the United Nations as an exclusive body. We look upon it as a family of nations, with all its divergencies, and to attempt to limit it in the other way - to make it a more convenient body of like-minded people - would be to go against the spirit, the principles and the purposes of the Charter and to postpone the day of the consolidation of the world community.

Proud as he was of being an Indian and an Asian, Krishna Menon was in many ways an ideal world citizen. And so questions relating to our brethren on the African continent evoked his wrath. He said:

We have a situation where the United Kingdom, which has a home territory of somewhere about 94,000 square miles - less than 100,000 square miles - has an empire in Africa of somewhere about 2,250,000 square miles; whereas France, which has a home territory of less than 250,000 square miles holds sway over nearly 4,500,000 square miles. Out of a total population of 191 million people, 139 million people are either subject to colonial rule or are in Trust Territories. Therefore, the vast continent of Africa, which is 130 to 150 times the size of the United Kingdom, is still in part the latter's private domain, the rest being shared by France, Portugal and Spain. Not only was the whole continent retained for the purpose of exploitation, but certain sections of humanity are kept out of it by various devices, indeed even on the basis of apartheid.

Krishna Menon challenged representatives of countries which held colonial sway to consider whether the loss of an Empire had not meant the emergence of a new Commonwealth and whether the removal of domination in countries of the Indian subcontinent had not resulted in the establishment of a new fraternity. Krishna Menon asked whether where there was mutual distrust there is not now mutual regard, and whether where there was conflict of interests the interests now are not complementary. If that were indeed the position, Krishna Menon asked whether it would not be right to get countries which had given up their empires in Asia to do the same in Africa.

Krishna Menon's speeches in the United Nations were a remarkable combination of historical perception as well as the most practical grasp of contemporary world compulsions. They took into account economic, political and legal imperatives; they incorporated a detailed knowledge of military, maritime and *realpolitik* processes. But while they were based on a knowledge and understanding of existing circumstances, they sought to appeal to the higher impulses of all member States of the U.N.

Krishna Menon once told the General Assembly:

The tension which we face is further sharpened by the quickness of the pace of mechanical development and by the inability of man to catch up in spiritual values and to make the consequent evaluations that are necessary.

Krishna Menon's addresses were just the kind of evaluation that he referred to. They evaluated motives, means and implications. His speeches were blunt. But, not surprisingly in a student of Harold Laski, they possessed an extraordinary sophistication. Totally free from all clichés and from the polemical jargon that characterises such statements, Krishna Menon's speeches were an intellectual repast. Studded with quotations from the early classicists such as Dante and Voltaire, they also refreshed his audience's memories of statements made by Lincoln, Jefferson and William James.

Krishna Menon's speeches at the United Nations also served to update the international community's perceptions of India. In almost every major address in the general debates, Krishna Menon took the opportunity to refer to recent events at home. Speaking in the General Assembly on 4 October 1955, for instance, Krishna Menon said:

Ours is a country of 600,000 villages. Eighty per cent of our population lives in villages. To these 600,000 villages, political democracy has come in the sense that any man or woman above the age of twenty-one is qualified to exercise the franchise. But our people have been early to realise that no democracy has any significance unless it has some meaning for the stomachs, for the leisure, for the education, for the sanitation and for the self-expression of people.

Speaking at the General Assembly on 8 October 1957, Krishna Menon placed India's economic revolution in the perspective of time and explained our endeavours thus:

We started with a political revolution and our industrial revolution follows. In western countries, the industrial revolution came in and the people who became part of the industrial development demanded more political power. Therefore we have less time. We have more people who make calls - upon us - that is, on the country .... Therefore, having had this political revolution, the State, the municipality, the parliament, the chambers of commerce or the trade unions - everyone was making demands on the resources of the country, and it was essential that attention should be paid to economic planning.

The Security Council debate in January-February 1957 on Kashmir (not included in the volume) was most memorable. Menon's patriotism no less than his sense of justice rose to fever pitch when, racked by fatigue but refusing to give up, he thundered:

Why is it that we have never heard voices in connection with the freedom of people under the suppression and tyranny of Pakistani authorities on the other side of the cease-fire line? Why is it that we have not heard here that in ten years these people have not seen a ballot paper? With what voice can either the Security Council or anyone coming before it demand a plebiscite for a people on our side who exercise franchise, who have freedom of speech, who function under a hundred local bodies?

Krishna Menon collapsed after the speech, but only to resume work that very afternoon. He was, as Indira Gandhi described him years later, a volcano. It erupted unpredictably and could equally unpredictably become quiescent. But it never went out. The fires of commitment smouldered within him always and circumstances had only to present themselves to him, when they raged again.

Success or failure were not things that could deflect Krishna Menon from his true nature which required complete dedication to the cause he held dear. These causes had national and international dimensions. The first category included:

Maintenance of National Sovereignty;  
Pursuit of the objective of Social Justice; and  
Adoption and practice of Secularism as a State Policy.

The second category, namely international affairs, included:

Non-Alignment;  
Reciprocity in international relations;



Strengthening of relations with friendly countries;  
Peace, Disarmament and Development.

While his addresses scored and settled points on the floor of the Assembly, Krishna Menon came to be widely respected and affectionately remembered for his qualities as a human being. Beneath his seemingly stern exterior there lay a most warm and tender heart. Other delegates, whether leaders or members of delegations found Krishna Menon to be a reservoir of courtesy and consideration.

I had the privilege of being a member of the Indian delegations led by Krishna Menon over a number of years. That experience is one that I cherish deeply. Participating in the work of the delegations led by him was to share in the articulation of India's reascent ethos. After every address of Krishna Menon, we on the delegation felt inches taller - as Indians, Asians and as representatives of a whole generation of newly emerging nations.

Krishna Menon was not only a strenuous fighter but also an adept in finding solutions to issues without sacrificing the basic principles. He could suggest dozens of alternative formulations to take into account the several views expressed in the debates. He would work tirelessly on resolutions before the U.N. so that consensus without sacrifice of principles could be reached. Krishna Menon helped to bring together and make aggregations of the world's oppressed communities. His idea in doing so was not to divide the population of the world and the comity of nations into compartments but to enable the world's under-privileged societies realise their latent strength. Krishna Menon was convinced that causes create partnerships and these partnerships need to be identified and consolidated. He would have rejoiced at the Delhi Declaration which elicited from General Secretary Gorbachev, representing as he does a Nuclear Power, a statement of faith in the doctrine of non-violence. He would have, likewise, perceived the INF treaty signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev as a historic beginning which must be continued. Krishna Menon's pragmatism would have warmed to the time-bound Action Plan presented by the Prime Minister of India at the Third Special Session of the General Assembly which incorporates an integrated set of measures and a programme of nuclear disarmament accompanied by steps to promote general and complete disarmament.

The causes which Krishna Menon served require the continued dedication of those interested in an international consensus for development, disarmament and peace. And such dedication cannot but be inspired by Krishna Menon's own words.

I congratulate Shri E.S. Reddy, Shri Nikhil Chakravartty, Shri A.K. Damodaran, Dr Ravinder Kumar, Shri Madhavan Kutty and Ms Uma Iyengar on their effort at putting together the U.N. statements of Krishna Menon. They have rendered an invaluable service not just to Krishna Menon's memory but to modern

historiography. I have no doubt that this volume will be read with profit and pleasure by a large number of people for whom the struggle led by Gandhiji, the golden years of Jawaharlal Nehru's Prime Ministership and the indefatigable services of Krishna Menon occasion both nostalgia - and hope.

R. VENKATARAMAN  
*President, Republic of India*

24 September 1988  
New Delhi

## EDITORS' NOTE

This volume consists of the annual general policy statements made by Mr V.K. Krishna Menon as Chairman of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly from 1953 to 1961. They are State documents explaining policy but have a personal flavour about them. Menon spoke extempore but was always scrupulously faithful to the instructions from his government. The style and the idiom were his own and some of the aphorisms, witty remarks and colourful descriptions tend to repeat themselves.

The speeches are being published rather late. Twenty-eight years have passed since the last speech was made, two months after the Belgrade Summit and the Berlin Wall and two months before the liberation of Goa. Kennedy had been President for less than a year and Khrushchev was at the peak of his power. The India-China border dispute had led to grave tension between the two most populous nations of the world. The Congo crisis was at its height and Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold had just died. All this has become a part of history now; the fascination of these speeches, published so unforgivably late, 15 years after Menon's death, lies in the relevance of many of the arguments he made during a decade, even though some of the obsessive items on his crusading agenda have now become uninteresting merely because of the success of the campaign. Of these, the most important is anti-colonialism. On many other themes which repeat themselves in these speeches like economic assistance to the "under-developed countries," the proposals made by Nehru and Krishna Menon appear to be innovative even today. On disarmament, both nuclear and general, which is the single most discussed topic in these pages, the world seems to have come round full circle and the ideas of Menon and Nehru on a world free of war and not merely of nuclear weapons have become the matter of serious negotiations during the last two years. At the time they were made, they were regarded as utopian.

President Venkataraman has kindly written a detailed and informative 'Foreword' to these speeches which shows his complete familiarity with the Menon ethos in U.N. diplomacy and also his own personal commitment to the great causes which Krishna Menon took up in the General Assembly and the Security Council as India's representative. It is not only a comprehensive critique of Krishna Menon's achievements as India's chief representative in the World Body for nine years but also a reformulation in contemporary terms of the contents of his speeches. In this brief note we shall limit ourselves to listening to some of the main points which India had to discuss with some zeal during those years when the first Cold War was at its height and non-alignment was slowly beginning to be accepted as a possible policy option for the new countries.

These formal speeches have to contain necessarily two or three items every year; a situation report about the developments in India and a reassessment of the

relevance of the United Nations are, as Menon himself used to admit, hardly annuals. Today when we read them, they are still interesting. Over the years we get a progress report of India's slow march towards self-sufficiency though some of the claims made - on the Community Development Programme, for example - have proved to be rather exaggerated. But there is an impression of stability, planning and ordered growth, based upon hard work at home and complete involvement with the world outside. The aid-giving agencies like the Colombo Plan and the United Nations Specialised Agencies are all given their due meed of praise.

It is in the passages on the United Nations that Menon's ideas are of great interest today. Necessarily the peace-keeping role comes up again and again, from Korea in the beginning to Congo at the end. Menon is extremely pragmatic about resolution of disputes outside the United Nations as in Indo-China. He makes it clear that as long as these are not in violation of the Charter they should be encouraged as contributions to global peace. Indo-China necessarily occupies a great deal of space in these presentations. Perhaps of special interest are those parts of the 1954 speech which deal in a quiet, unfussy, deliberately low tone, the contribution of the Colombo Powers and India to the final resolution of the dispute. India's association with the peace-keeping forces makes Krishna Menon return to this topic again and again; without any false modesty, he is proud of India's responsive attitude in this matter. However, he is absolutely clear that there is no future at all in the suggestions made in some quarters about a permanent peace-keeping force with officers and soldiers from various countries. He regards it as far beyond the scope of the Charter and also the actual political situation at the time.

In fact, India and Krishna Menon come out as rather conservative in matters like Charter amendment. This is discussed thoroughly and the arguments made by Menon about fuller representation for Asia in the Security Council were later to lead to the enlargement of that body. One major theme of his speeches on the United Nations was the question of new members; this was dictated by the exclusion of many countries at that time because of the Cold War. It also was connected with the problem of colonialism. By the time Krishna Menon ended his innings in the United Nations, the problem was halfway to solution. In this connection, of special interest is the strong advocacy year after year of the representation of China by the People's Republic of China. This is a well known aspect of India's policy; Krishna Menon's advocacy is always polite and restrained and did not prevent India acting as a mediator between United States and China in the middle 1950s.

It is only in 1958 when the border dispute first erupted that there is a new note of discomfort and unhappiness in his references to China.

Goa is necessarily mentioned in every one of these speeches, both as an Indian problem and also as a part of the general question of Portuguese obduracy on the

colonial question. Algeria also is mentioned frequently as the most worrisome colonial conflict of the time. What is important to note is firm support of Algeria's independence with lack of rancour towards France.

This is important. Throughout Krishna Menon's speeches on the colonial question there is a very clear understanding of the issues involved, the claims of the exploited peoples in the colonies as well as the achievements, however mixed they may be, of the colonising "metropolitan powers" - a phrase he was rather fond of and some liberal colonial administrators. This is, of course, most clearly seen when discussing the steady movement towards freedom of countries like the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Tanganyika. The Central African Federation is in a class by itself and provokes some of Krishna Menon's barbed comments, especially in connection with the Congo question and the Katanga secession.

Two general themes which recur in Menon's speeches are of relevance today. The need for a strong Secretary-General responsible not only to the General Assembly but also the Security Council and the importance of a competent, disinterested international civil service come up again and again. This becomes of some urgency during the intrusion of McCarthyism into the United Nations in the early 1950s and much more his last two years in the U.N. with Mr Khrushchev's Troika proposal and the death of Hammarskjold. The Indian response as formulated by Menon was moderate and practical.

Two subjects necessarily dominate these speeches - disarmament and development. On these topics, the ideas and opinions of India, Nehru and Krishna Menon remain topical 30 years later. From the very beginning Menon was absolutely clear about the need for the abolition of war as a means of settling disputes between nations as the only feasible way out of the nuclear trap. There are places where he anticipates the preoccupations of the eighties. He talks about the need for keeping both the solar system and the outer space free of attempts at militarisation by the inhabitants of one little planet. Even more insistent throughout this period was the campaign by India against nuclear tests. The story ends pathetically enough in this volume with the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests in August 1961. The Partial Test Ban Treaty was to come two years later as the first concrete result of all this campaigning within the United Nations and outside. This is one of the more memorable parts of the Nehru era in India's foreign policy and Krishna Menon's articulation of the issues is lucid and complete.

Another issue which affects global security, that of the poverty of the nations and the need for organised assistance is the other major theme which dominates these speeches. Here, there is an extremely imaginative, almost romantic proposal made by Menon which, unfortunately, did not get off the ground due to the Cold War confrontation. He wanted a United Nations developmental programme funded by all the members of the United Nations, rich and poor, strong and weak. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries were to be as much a part of the donor

nations as the market economies. Self-respect was sought to be retained for everyone, even the poorest state, by a token contribution to the fund. India's special experience as an aid-recipient and a donor enabled her to put forward this proposal. It was just another casualty of the ideological confrontation.

These are some of the substantive issues discussed in these speeches. Read together, they form a commentary on the world scene during a fateful period. There is no question that they are of permanent importance not only to the students of India's foreign policy but also of the evolution of the United Nations in those early years.

A most unexpected feature of these speeches is the total lack of malice or bitterness. There is irony, the odd barbed comment. But it is all in good humour. Here, Krishna Menon's specific experience as an Indian nationalist in England engaged year after year in concrete and fruitful negotiations with the other side conditions his approach and style. There is nothing of the angry militant here; it is the statesman, the diplomat and the partner in difficult enterprises who comes through in these remarkable examples of moderate policy formulation.

There are many points of minor interest also in these speeches; Krishna Menon is not too fond of the word "non-alignment." He prefers to use phrases like "uncommitted." He makes, of course, the classic defence against charges of neutrality and neutralism. The Belgrade Conference is not mentioned in the 1961 speech. He makes it absolutely clear that his opposition to blocs extends to the formation of the non-aligned bloc also.

These speeches form only a part of Menon's innumerable lengthy and politically significant interventions in the United Nations. It is intended to publish the other speeches of Krishna Menon and they will give a more complete picture of Krishna Menon's work in the United Nations. His speeches on disarmament and Kashmir, were of course, the most important of these, but he did make other interventions on many other subjects such as specific colonial problems and economic and social matters, as well as the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations. This last point is very important. He was not a mere practitioner of *realpolitik*, loftily uninterested in non-strategic or non-political issues. He has a comprehensive picture of the vulnerability, the threats to security and the hopes of prosperity of the newly independent nations. He was also quite clear in his mind that there was no realistic alternative for the immediate present to the present United Nations security arrangement with the central importance of the Security Council. He was one of the earliest advocates of summit meetings between the leaders of the great powers, as early as 1953. These summits began to happen with irregular frequency by the time he departed from the United Nations scene. He was also equally emphatic on the need for the five permanent members of the Security Council to work together closely in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. It was in this connection that he was most worried by the absence of China from the United Nations which made the agenda in the Charter impossible

to carry out. Recently, for the first time since 1954, the Foreign Ministers of the five permanent members of the Security Council have formally met and conferred. Krishna Menon would not have been worried about the threat of a new oligarchy. He was a realist. He was very precise in his appreciation of the need for retaining the system according to the original provisions of the Charter and, at the same time, transforming it into a more democratic structure by gradual political means and the influencing of public opinion in all countries. The very latest developments in the global dialogue would have made him reasonably satisfied; he would still have his own characteristic sharp comment to make on the failings of the great powers and their allies. In doing so, he would, of course, not have used a single derogatory expression. These speeches show him as an extremely courteous, even decorous debator. Even his sarcasm is of a low key. There is no shrillness at all here. The discipline of the formal presentation seems to have improved the artistic quality of his brilliant debating talents.

It is a rather happy accident that just before this first collection of Krishna Menon's speeches is being brought out, the Nobel Peace Committee should have decided to give last year's award to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. This would have gladdened the heart of that intrepid crusader for a more effective United Nations. His speech in the United Nations in 1958 reproduced in this volume contains his considered views on the scope as well as limitations of the role of United Nations in Peace-Keeping. In his speech, Krishna Menon expressed appreciation of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations; at the same time, he expressed very clear reservations about a permanent peace-keeping force as had been suggested by some other delegations. He thought such an idea premature at that time. The award of the Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in various parts of the world can be seen as directly related to the new diplomacy initiated by the global powers. The Soviet Union specifically has come round to the view that the United Nations system should be strengthened and that the provisions of the Charter about peace-keeping should be revived. Mr Menon would have his own strong views on the subject. He would be certainly happy at the greater importance given to the world Organisation in various regional conflicts.

This first volume of Krishna Menon's speeches is being published under the auspices of the Krishna Menon National Memorial Committee. The speeches were initially collected and edited by Mr E.S. Reddy, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations who also prepared the final draft.

The editors are particularly grateful to President Venkataraman for his constant encouragement and luminous and informative 'Foreword' to this volume.

A.K. Damodaran

# I. WORLD TENSION AND THE PATH TO PEACE<sup>1</sup>

...I shall now address myself to the thought that is uppermost in the minds of all in this Assembly - the problem which overshadows every discussion - on which all our other problems centre, and the solution of which - that is to say, the beginning of the solution of which - is essential if we are to see daylight at all in the affairs of mankind. I refer to what is popularly called "the tension that prevails". One need make no apologies for prefacing these observations with a reference to world tension...

The tension which we face is further sharpened by the quickness of the pace of mechanical development and by the inability of man to catch up in spiritual values and to make the consequent evaluations that are necessary. Listening to these debates, however, while one has been somewhat oppressed by the irreconcilability of points of view - perhaps by hearing the repetition of these irreconcilabilities - one has also been impressed by the extent of the common factors that have pervaded them; I should like to refer briefly to those common factors, because it is always necessary, even more so in the context of conflict, to be aware of and to utilise what little common ground there is, in order that from there we may march towards reconciliation.

The first point is that - whatever may be the reasons and whatever the backgrounds - from each representative who has spoken we have heard words that reminded us of the awareness of this tension, an awareness that seems to pervade every problem surveyed, an awareness which is put forward before us both as a challenge and as a warning, an awareness which calls us to action. While there is this awareness there is also, at the same time, the awareness of relaxation. There have been during the last few months and particularly since the sittings of the Assembly last autumn, many events in the world which have proclaimed that there is a tendency, not necessarily for some of the conflicts to become resolved, but at least for some of the deadlocks to be eased, and the awareness of this tendency towards relaxation, and the hopes aroused by it, have also marked every observation in every speech that has been made here.

Side by side with these two factors we also sense a feeling of compulsion in the speech of every representative, however much he may be in disharmony with the speakers who precede and follow him. In each of these speeches we felt that there was the indication of a compelling idea that the conflicts and the deadlock which had supervened must be overcome. I quote here the statement that was made in the first speech to the Assembly by the Secretary of State of the United States. I

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<sup>1</sup> Statement in the general debate in the General Assembly, 28 September 1953



quote it first because the Assembly began in this context. Mr John Foster Dulles said:

Never was the need for such harmony more urgent. Never were the consequences of disharmony so menacing. Yet the fact of tension cannot be ignored. That would be dangerously unrealistic. Also, the causes of that tension will have to be explored. Otherwise there can be no cure. But, in whatever it does here, the United States will seek to avoid any word or deed which might needlessly aggravate the present state of dangerous tension.

That was a good background indeed from which to have started. My main point in making this quotation is to allude to this feeling of compulsion to overcome tension in the world. At the same time it is apparent to us that the methods that have been followed by the nations of the world, and particularly by the great Powers have, it must be said inferentially, failed to overcome this tension. In other words, we have been told in this Assembly time after time that they must negotiate from strength - that every combination, every grouping, every step and, indeed, every further conflict and every further difficulty in resolving deadlocks that have arisen in consequence of such conflict, are part of the remedy to overcome tension.

It is therefore quite apparent - from these statements and from the situation with which we are faced today - that the remedies which have been sought, the institutions which have been created, the approaches which have been made, whether or not they were intended to lead in the direction I have referred to and described have certainly not had that desired effect. What conclusion must we draw from this fact? Making use of our experience, drawing inspiration from wherever we may find it, we must make further and other efforts.

It is true that, in implementing any attitude of that kind, the past very largely dominates us. There are fears and suspicions, the thought that proclamations may prove to be deficient in content while full enough in words, the idea that willingness to negotiate might be construed as fear or weakness. All of these things still dominate us and stand in the way of the reconciliation of nations. Our task, however, remains unchanged. That task is to resolve tensions in order that the United Nations may become what it was intended to be, in order that it should not take the path of its predecessors of the nineteenth century. Breaking with the past is part of the task now before us.

Some contributions to this effort have already been made by the leaders of the great nations of the world.

On 15 March, the Chief of State of the Soviet Union, Mr Georgi Malenkov, stated:

In the present and in the future, there do not and will not exist troublesome and unsolved questions that cannot be resolved by peaceful means. Any country, including the United States, can be assured of the firm policy of peace of the Soviet Union.

That statement was followed, chronologically speaking, by the declaration made on 16 April by the President of the United States:<sup>2</sup>

None of these issues, great or small, is insoluble given only the will to respect the rights of all nations.

Then, on 8 August, Mr Malenkov said:

We firmly maintain that at the present moment there is no disputable or outstanding issue that cannot be settled in a peaceful way on the basis of mutual agreement between the countries concerned. This refers also to those issues under dispute that exist between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We stood and stand for a peaceful coexistence of the two systems.

It is easy enough to argue that these are mere words, without content. What I have quoted, however, are the statements of heads of powerful States, and there is no need for them to make use of words unless those words have a social purpose. It is our business in this stricken world - and this applies particularly to those of us who are not riveted to great Power blocs - to see in such words the hopes of a future settlement. In so saying I come to the main purpose of these observations.

### *Need for a Summit Conference of Great Powers*

The time has come when it is necessary for us to move away, perhaps, from the lines of action that have been followed by the great Powers. Of course, the responsibility really lies upon the shoulders of the great Powers. There can be no real settlement of world problems except by agreement between the great Powers which alone have the material strength and in whose hands largely lies the power of decision. Hence, we should like to submit to the Assembly, at the appropriate moment, that it is necessary for the heads of these States - or whoever speaks for them at the highest level - to meet together in the context of an informal gathering, the kind of gathering that made possible the emergence of this very body. There were no rules of procedure when the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States met somewhere in mid-Atlantic and drafted the Atlantic Charter, which became the basis of the United Nations. There were many of us who thought at the time that the Atlantic Charter was very largely verbiage; it was and is possible to construe it in that way, because almost everything that humanity wants can be found within the pages of the Atlantic Charter. But there is no one today who will deny that, vague - perhaps eclectic -

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<sup>2</sup> General Dwight D. Eisenhower

as those words were, they formed the basis of this great Organisation, and that the formulation of those thoughts and ideas and the fact that they became the basis of a world charter were possible only because there was a meeting of minds outside the context of procedure, outside the context of technicalities, outside the context of preparatory material which can always cause one to become bogged down in details. In this Organisation we are in serious danger of not seeing the wood for the trees.

In this connection I should also like to quote from a telegram which the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom sent to Stalin in 1945 and which he read to the House of Commons on 11 May 1953:

There is not much comfort in looking into a future where you and the countries you dominate, plus the Communist Parties in many other States, are all drawn up on one side, and those who rally to the English-speaking nations and their associates or Dominions are on the other. It is quite obvious that their quarrel would tear the world to pieces, and that all of us leading men on either side who had anything to do with that would be shamed before history. Even embarking on a long period of suspicions, of abuse and counter-abuse, and of opposing policies would be a disaster hampering the great developments of world prosperity for the masses which are attainable only by our trinity. I hope there is no word or phrase in this outpouring of my heart to you which unwittingly gives offence. If so, let me know. But do not, I beg you, my friend Stalin, underrate the divergencies which are opening about matters which you may think are small to us but which are symbolic of the way the English-speaking democracies look at life.

The substance of that telegram is this: some of our difficulties were foreseen at the end of the war. At the same time, the statesmen who helped to found the United Nations at a time when war was still raging envisaged the joining in it of people who were then enemies. It is that spirit which we must try to recapture. If we cannot recapture it, we must at least learn through that experience that, despite the difficulties which we face, we must make the effort. There must be a meeting of the people who have the responsibility, of the people who have the effective power in their hands, of the people who, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, would stand "shamed before history" if they did not render by performance what was expected of them.

I would therefore once again quote the words of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. On 11 May this year, speaking before the House of Commons, he said:

I feel exactly the same about it today.

I must make it plain that, in spite of all the uncertainties and confusion in which world affairs are plunged, I believe that a conference on the highest

level should take place between the leading Powers without long delay. This conference should not be overhung by a ponderous or rigid agenda, or led into mazes and jungles of technical details, zealously contested by hordes of experts and officials drawn up in vast cumbrous array. The conference should be confined to the smallest number of Powers and persons possible. It should meet with a measure of informality and a still greater measure of privacy and seclusion. It might well be that no hard-and-fast agreements would be reached, but there might be a general feeling among those gathered together that they might do something better than tear the human race, including themselves, into bits.

For instance, they might be attracted, as President Eisenhower has shown himself to be and as *Pravda* does not challenge, by the idea of letting the weary toiling masses of mankind enter upon the best spell of good fortune, fair play, well-being, leisure and harmless happiness that has ever been within their reach or even within their dreams.

I only say that this might happen, and I do not see why anyone should be frightened at having a try for it. If there is not at the summit of the nations the will to win the greatest prize and the greatest honour ever offered to mankind, doom-laden responsibility will fall upon those who now possess the power to decide. At the worst the participants in the meeting would have established more intimate contacts. At the best we might have a generation of peace.

This proposal by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was applauded and supported by the Prime Minister of India, who said, three days after it was made:

I am very glad that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has recently suggested a conference on the highest level between the leading Powers of the world to meet informally, in privacy and without a rigid agenda, to tackle the problems that afflict mankind and to make every effort to rid humanity of the fear of war. I would earnestly commend this suggestion. The stakes are the highest that the world offers, and a war-weary and fear-laden humanity will bless those who will rid it of these terrible burdens and lead it to peace and happiness.

This was followed, even more recently, by the Premier of the USSR, who said:

In our days, the government of any country, if it seriously cares for the fate of its people, is obliged to take measures to promote in actual fact the settlement of controversial international questions. No small part, of course, can be played by talks among the great Powers. Naturally, for this, suitable prerequisites must be created.

So that this idea, which did not come out of one brain but is what humanity cries for, is a thing which the great leaders of the world, the heads of nations with power in their hands, could, without being overburdened by detail, bring to the discussion of peace and, by means of it, reach a solution of our present difficulties. And, as it has been rightly pointed out, even if any important result does not emerge in the way of a formula, still, not only can there be no harm, but it would perhaps help to clear the air to a considerable extent even in the immediate context of the situation in regard to Germany and Korea.

Nothing could be more desirable than that the heads of the four great Powers should meet and hammer out some sort of approach to the problem. My delegation, if it finds that the renewal of this idea - at this time and here - receives sufficient response from the General Assembly, will propose that the Assembly make a request of this kind to those Powers concerned, so that there can be no feeling whether it is that one or the other who is initiating it. As I have pointed out in these extracts, each one concerned has not only not opposed the idea, but endorsed it.

There are precedents, and remarkable precedents, to show that meetings of this kind are the way to resolve the difficulties that we face at present. It is not the intention of my delegation to propose before this plenary meeting of the Assembly any resolution of this character. We put this forward as an idea so that, at the appropriate time in committee, it may be possible for us to consider collectively whether it may not be the wisest thing to do in present conditions. For the Assembly, with all the weight of public opinion, representing sixty nations of the world - a great many of them without the power to make these decisions, but to make only their own contributions - may make an appeal in that direction if only so that the heads of these great States concerned may have the feeling that they have behind them the voice of humanity as articulated in the General Assembly.

There may be those who will argue that these problems before us are so complex that a meeting of the kind proposed is no remedy alone and that there are no magical remedies. We subscribe to that but we say that the situation we face is such that no way should be left unexplored. It is necessary for us to approach the problem of tension from the point of view of detail, from the point of view of particular issues, such as Korea, Germany, Austria, or disarmament, or anything else; equally is it necessary for us to attain some release and relaxation in regard to the supervening pervading factor which stifles our thinking and the adoption of any measures. While one cannot talk in terms of priority of time, this matter must certainly engage the priority of attention. It does not mean that any other schematic devices we may have, any other technical solution which we may be attempting, have to be put on one side. This proposal does not supersede anything, but is one of those things that will perhaps restore confidence to stricken humanity. Its main consequences will be that world public opinion will begin to join more effectively in support of the idea of concrete attempts towards peace,

that peoples will gain greater confidence in the United Nations itself, and that they will work more ardently, and a greater sense of the responsibility of and faith in their leaders will be created.

I will restate, however, the view of the Government of India as expressed by the Prime Minister: it is that this should not only be a conference where there is no inhibition because of detail, but that it should also be a conference not of sections, not of a group of like-minded Powers making up their minds beforehand in order to bargain with Powers of unlike minds but - to use a word which I am afraid will create another contest - a round-table meeting, that is to say, a palaver, a discussion, a conference in the real sense of the term. So far as we are concerned, when we speak of this high-level conference we mean a meeting of those who are most likely to bring about or help a solution; a meeting which will not exclude those who differ, but will attempt to bring together those who now differ, where both sides would make up their minds beforehand not to adopt *a priori* attitudes which would bar the way to peace. We regard this as the most immediate step. We recognise its limitations; we recognise that it arouses hopes. But without hope there can be no action, especially in times like these. Therefore this is the first proposal to which we seek to draw attention, and which we hope we shall, in due course, bring before the Assembly. Side by side with this other steps will become necessary.

### *Armaments Race – New Phase*

While tension is the all-pervading factor that rules us, its “dreaded arm” is rearmament. As the representative of Iceland pointed out, arms are piled upon arms - for what purpose? The energy of the world is, to a great extent, concentrated in the building up of defences. Most certainly a situation exists in which the world is divided into two armed camps. We recognise that the Disarmament Commission has been sitting for a long time; we recognise the progress that has been made in regard to its work. Speaking on behalf of my delegation last autumn, in the First Committee, on the resolution on disarmament, I pointed out that advances had been made and that it would be a mistake to be cynical about those advances; the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada and others had come together on such issues as simultaneity and the continuation of the Disarmament Commission itself. Nevertheless, technical problems still remain and we are still faced with this question of what takes place first; whether you count the arms and then disarm, or disarm first and soon.

The General Assembly is familiar with these problems, but we have this year, in the autumn of 1953, reached a position in which from either side, we hear expressions which must create not only awe in our minds, but the realisation that a newer phase of the already ominous situation has developed.

Listen, for example, to the words of Mr Casey,<sup>3</sup> the distinguished representative of Australia, who said:

We must face, before very long, a situation in which both sides will have reached saturation point in the possession of atomic weapons, saturation point being the point at which both sides possess a sufficient quantity of bombs to destroy all the major defences of the other side. The approach to this saturation point makes international agreements for control through an effective system of inspection of manufacture of atomic weapons, not only urgent but imperative. It is something to which the great Powers which possess these weapons must set their minds if the world is not to be destroyed by itself. They must realise the deep anxiety of all the peoples of the world that the ever-present fear of complete destruction should be removed.

Apart from the direct destructive effect of atomic bombs - and more so of hydrogen bombs - the poisoning effect on the world's atmosphere of the explosion of these weapons must be taken into account. It might well be that all the population of very large areas of the world would be killed by atmospheric poisoning, by the explosion of any considerable number of these dreadful weapons.

That is the unhappy prospect which our great technical skill has produced before us, but the statement of Mr Casey arouses new thoughts in us that a further attempt, which is complementary and will perhaps assist in the deliberations of the Disarmament Commission must now be made.

The representative of Iceland, speaking on disarmament, said:

One of the most important items before us, or, more correctly, the most important question, is disarmament. Again, we must admit this has been treated in all previous sessions. Or, rather, no treatment has been found possible since 1946, when the ice-cold winds of the cold war began blowing. No result has been reached. Resolutions have, however, been passed - a whole bunch of often high-sounding resolutions. Some of them - those which were naive enough - have even gained unanimity; 60 votes in favour, none against. And speeches and words have flowed year after year. All kinds of words - friendly words, warning words, angry words - have flowed. To no avail. The production of armaments has flowed, too - incessantly and ever increasingly; all kinds of armaments, from small ammunition to the most destructive weapons - those intended for individual killing, for mass murder, for wholesale slaughter, to the point of the complete destruction and extinction of huge areas of land and human

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<sup>3</sup> R.C. Casey, Minister of State for External Affairs of Australia

life. All kinds and all sizes of ammunition are available, to suit any place and any congregation of human beings.

And who wants this? The United Nations was founded 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.'

If I may interpolate here, I think we should always say to ourselves: "The United Nations was founded 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.'" Unless we are prepared to subscribe to the doctrine that the more arms, the more peace, we should seek to reduce and scrap arms and take such other steps as must be taken.

The representative of Iceland went on to ask:

What has it done to slow or call off the armaments race? Nothing. It has proved to be entirely unable and impotent to do anything in this vital matter. No wonder some people talk about the United Nations as merely a debating club... And what will happen if armaments production should reach what the distinguished Foreign Minister of Australia called the saturation point?

And then comes the ominous thought: "When the toys pile up, does not the child want to play with them?"

These are statements, not by what are called the great Powers but of people from far away in the Pacific and from Iceland, a country which is not identified with any of the great Power blocs, and genuinely seeking the reconciliation of all points of view.

We have also another statement, which comes from Mr Dulles himself. Mr Dulles stated:

Physical scientists have now found means which, if they are developed, can wipe life off the surface of this planet. Those words that I speak are words that can be taken literally. It is, indeed, a destructive power inherent in matter which must be controlled by the idealism of man's spirit and the wisdom of his mind. They alone stand between us and a lifeless planet. There are plenty of problems in the world, many of them interconnected. But there is no problem which compares with this central, universal problem of saving the human race from extinction.

Therefore, I think it is useful for us to remember that what we are faced with today is not merely the adjustment of some minor difficulty, of saving the face of one nation or another, but really of saving humanity from total destruction.



Referring to the armament race, the President of United States said on 16 April 1953:

The best would be this: a life of perpetual fear and tension; a burden of arms draining the wealth and the labour of all peoples; a wasting of strength that denies the American system or the Soviet system or any system to achieve true abundance and happiness for the peoples of this earth. Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies - in the final sense - a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world, in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

### *Non-use of Weapons of Mass Destruction*

My own Prime Minister, in his speech of 18 September, said:

In fact, if, by any manner of means, it could be laid down that the atomic and hydrogen bombs are not going to be used anyhow, that itself would bring tremendous relief to the world.

It is on the basis of this last statement that I want to suggest to the General Assembly that the time has come when we must think in terms of “if, by any manner of means, it could be laid down that the atomic and hydrogen bombs are not going to be used anyhow” and “that itself would bring tremendous relief to the world.” The time has come for the General Assembly to declare itself in favour of the non-use of these weapons of mass destruction, that this release of material energy discovered by the genius of men shall be used only for industrial and constructive purposes. Therefore, in the course of the proceedings of this General Assembly, and without any prejudice to the work of the Disarmament Commission, without any claim that we would thereby be solving the problem, we should make an appeal to the great Powers to subscribe to a declaration on the non-use of these weapons for destructive purposes, which they should immediately follow up by the work of the Disarmament Commission in that direction.

I want to make it quite clear that we are not in any way simplifying the issue or taking a very elementary view of it in thinking that a mere form of words would solve anything, but it would certainly bring an attitude of the non-use of these weapons. What is more, it would make people begin to realise that with the use of such weapons it would be not only the enemy that would be destroyed, but that the whole of humanity would stand in the face of destruction, and that coupled with these beautiful bombs are other weapons which have introduced in modern warfare the medieval methods of torture by burning people slowly in order to annihilate the enemy. There are such things as the napalm bomb and various other weapons and inventions, by means of which human beings are gradually tortured

and burned to death. These instruments could be banned or, at any rate, a declaration could be made to that end. Some people might call it a pious declaration, but even that would be the beginning of an approach of a different and wholesome character.

Here, again, we are not without precedents. There are, for example, the conventions relating to gas or bacterial warfare. The prohibition of, or rather the agreement not to use, chemical warfare goes back towards the time of the First World War, when an amount of gas was used. The conventions which came after the war proved a deterrent to the use of gas.

It may be that the appeal made by the General Assembly, this proclamation of its will, of the conscience of humanity, may lead to the formulation of a convention for the abandonment of these weapons as instruments of war.

I do not for a moment say that an agreement, even if it be an effective agreement, for the non-use of atomic weapons or other weapons would by itself be disarmament. I suppose that destruction can be brought about by what are called the "conventional weapons" of war, but in this stricken world any remedy, any step that we can take towards reducing arms and, any step which we can take to deal with a situation which the representative of Australia and Mr Dulles have described as tending towards the elimination of humanity from the face of this earth, would be a step in the right direction.

When the time comes for us to discuss this matter in the Disarmament Commission, I hope it will be possible for us in our collective wisdom to find a form of words which would proclaim our desire to express the wide-felt feeling of the peoples of the world that these terrible weapons shall not be used for their destruction, for these weapons would operate not only against the combatants but against the people. There would be no neutrals in this kind of war. There would be no human beings, no life of any kind. The war would be waged against the whole of creation, and there would be created a world where re-creation and reconstruction would become impossible. We should be releasing forces which we could not control. In the meantime we would be hardening our hearts to accept a situation where instead of using the genius of mankind, the effects of its labours or the powers of its discoveries for the purpose of serving its needs we should be using them for its destruction.

Before I leave this subject, I want to lay particular emphasis on the elements of torture involved in all these weapons. I suppose that all kinds of killing are to be condemned, but killing people by torture and by burning is about as bad as any one can think of.

I should like to say that any expression of this kind by this distinguished body, by this world Assembly, would have the effect of reorienting our whole views on this question and perhaps of speeding the work of the Disarmament Conference; that

is, the Disarmament Conference would perhaps have an encouraging set of “marching orders,” something to work up to and something which perhaps would prevent it from getting lost in the technicalities of the present time. I am not for a moment saying that the differences which obtain between the two schools of thought on effective ways of disarmament are not genuine but let us get an agreement that the banning of these weapons, the placing of them outside the armoury of modern warfare, is desirable.

These are two sets of problems which, in the main, we present to the great Powers, and I make no apology for doing so. They have a great responsibility because of their vast and effective power, and there is no sense in our avoiding this issue. It is quite true we each have one vote, large country, small country, powerful country, neutral country, or combatant country, but in effect, the power of decision rests in the hands of the great Powers and more particularly in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union.

### *Contribution of Small Nations*

While I have stated this frankly and starkly in respect of the role of the great Powers, it is also necessary for us all to try to make our own individual and collective contribution towards relieving the tension, even in the proceedings of the General Assembly. Would it be possible for us in the debates to abandon the luxury of epithets and superlatives? Could we, for example, give up using such words as “satellites,” and such words as “imperialistic warmongers” in describing anyone else? Could we not generally introduce a sense and atmosphere of parliamentary discussion? Would it be possible to create in this Assembly a degree of human relationship where private discussions are possible more than they are now? I am not for a moment suggesting any kind of secret diplomacy or anything of that kind. But I think that this Assembly rather suffers from the fact that we are always thinking - I hope we are thinking - but thinking very much aloud, and often more aloud than thinking. Therefore, if perhaps we could have a vocabulary which would abandon such words as “satellites,” which would abandon such words as “imperialist warmongers” and all of that family, on either side, it would be of some help. The English language is full of very nice words and, I am sure, so are the Spanish language, the Chinese language, the Russian language, the French and all others.

It would also be of very great help if it would be possible for the so-called small nations of the world - I do not quite know how they become small - I think the definition of smallness has some direct relationship to the quantity of arms they possess and the degree of aggressive intention - if it would be possible for the small nations of the world to have a great degree of freedom so that the basis of the United Nations, as it was founded, of sovereign nations and of sovereign governments acting each equal one to the other, would become more effective. It is true that there will be lobbies, there will be groups, there will be whips and there will be ganging up, and one thing or another of that kind, that is inevitable,

but we should seek to reduce it. After all this is not a “parliament of men”; this is an assembly of sovereign governments. Sovereignty lies in our own governments and in our own parliaments.

In this sovereign assembly, therefore, if we are to have freedom of discussion, and if we are to have the advantage of collective wisdom and the contribution which each one can make, it is necessary that the voice of the small shall be capable of being influential, and its influence must be measurable in terms of the content of its opinion, and contribute in terms of the results which its impact can bring to bear upon others.

Equally, I think it is necessary for us to bear in mind in the proceedings of this General Assembly that there are certain rules which we have made. They may be called conventions. Those conventions may not be changed just because their effects or application go against one. There is a saying in English that it is not fair to change the rules of a game when the game goes against you. Therefore, if we have views about geographic distribution, if we have views about generally arranging our affairs in such a way that all points of view are expressed, then, for immediate gain, we should not sacrifice this principle, because, apart from everything else, there is no telling whether it may not boomerang one day!

Therefore, in the composition of our committees and in our discussions, we should bring about a degree of accepting the inconvenient, and the toleration of opposite views. We should not, if I may put it more bluntly, have the United Nations deteriorate into a Holy Alliance in which the gospel and the truth were the monopoly of the three sovereigns. Indeed we should not go back to 26 September 1815, or to the earlier date of August 1814. We must not become a quadruple alliance where legitimism was the rule and seek to suppress all colonial liberation movements taking the name of “communism,” or label every attempt to alter things as a “doctrine of rebellion” and, by dealing with them in this way, promote the power of militarism and imperialism; nor must we have the ganging-up on people and groups, or the exclusion of minority views or, on the other hand, the attempt of a minority to dominate the majority by continuous repetition of its own views and the abuse of processes and procedures. If these could be overcome and if thus we really become the United Nations as contemplated it will be of great advantage to us. In aid of that particular prospect, not only the great nations, but the small nations like ourselves, the new nations, the less effective nations from the point of view of no material power, can make their contribution.

### *Admission of New Members*

Next on the list of things which we ourselves could do is a problem which has become a hardy annual, and which perhaps would be regarded as merely the rehashing of an old proposition. That is, the bringing into our ranks of those who

are not here. This particularly affects us, because those who are standing outside represent the vast and teeming populations of our Asian continent.<sup>4</sup>

I do not want to anticipate the discussion on the report on the admission of new members, but would it not be possible for the General Assembly to find devices whereby at least the fourteen States which at one time or another have been agreed upon by all those concerned could be admitted *en bloc*? It is not very convincing if one speaks as though this is against the Charter or says that this is an arrangement which is called a package deal. I believe that we are not entirely averse to deals in this place. But it will be possible for a non-permanent member of the Security Council,<sup>5</sup> for example, or a group of them, to make a suggestion, not necessarily of admitting some in return for the admittance of others, but of having a whole group presented in one resolution or by a number of resolutions on the same day with the understanding that they would not be vetoed by anybody.

There are fourteen of those States which for the last five or six years have been knocking at our doors and which are qualified, according to the terms of the Charter, that is, they conform to all the canons of international law that are to be satisfied for the recognition of States.

I do not want to reopen this problem in any great detail, or to anticipate the discussions in the committee. But I would submit that the bringing in of new States - more especially when the particular composition and character of the States in question does not alter the balance even of blocs in the General Assembly - would be of great advantage. There again the Assembly could take a hand and leave the splitting of hairs upon the technique of it to other people. If it were possible to make a beginning - I do not say that this is a perfect end, because there are still large States that would be outside the Security Council and the General Assembly - it would still make a breach in this wall of opposition to the newcomer. The exclusiveness like that of a club, and the psychology of blackballing, would begin to disappear.

Therefore, again, if it is possible to discuss the report on the admission of new Members in this light, it should be possible for us to get away from legalism and the textbooks of international law of a hundred or two hundred years ago and

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<sup>4</sup> There was a deadlock for several years on admission of new members to the United Nations as the Western Powers vetoed the admission of "People's Democracies" (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia and Romania) and the USSR, in turn, vetoed the admission of other applicants. A USSR proposal to admit all applicants together was rejected by the Western Powers.

The admission of several Asian States - including Ceylon, Nepal, Jordan, Mongolia and Japan - was delayed for several years because of this deadlock.

<sup>5</sup> The Security Council then consisted of five permanent members and six non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms.

apply ourselves to modern conditions and recognise that a political decision is being made. The keeping away of some people because other people are kept away is as much a package deal as the other deal. If it is right to exclude someone because someone else is excluded, how can it be less right to include someone because someone else is included?

I am not at this moment referring to the position of China. I propose to do that a little later. I want to repeat, however, that the enlargement of the General Assembly in this way would, to a certain extent, make its representation reflect more the composition of the world's populations. The United Nations depends in the main on world public opinion. It is quite true that only accredited representatives speak and vote, and it is true that the committees alone can pass resolutions, but without the mass opinion of the world, which in every country is far more considerable than is ordinarily realised, it would be impossible for us to go forward.

Any step that we take in this direction of making it clear to people that our intention is to enlarge the scope of the General Assembly as much as we possibly can and as far as the Charter allows, will be a step in the right direction.

### ***High-level Meetings of the Security Council***

I next want to refer to two or three other items regarding the United Nations, in the same connection. Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter provides that the Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which the heads of governments or the ministers concerned shall meet. I read the language of this paragraph carefully and there is nothing merely permissive about it. It says "shall hold periodic meetings."

I think, in my comparative ignorance, that I may probably be overstating it - that the Security Council has tended to be a body which meets when it has to meet, that is, when it is obliged to do so by some reference to it. If it is the executive part of the United Nations - I do not say it is a world government - if indeed it is the Security Council, and if we are working towards removing the scourge of war and creating neighbourliness between nations, and towards the evolution of a world community, it is necessary that world leaders, especially those with effective power - the foreign ministers of States - should occasionally meet each other. That would, to a certain extent, pave the way, or perhaps lessen the difficulties of not having had this high-power conference before now. Therefore, a proper interpretation of, and a greater adherence to, the spirit of Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter is of great advantage.

This matter has been brought before the Assembly once before. The President of the French Republic, speaking on this matter said:

... If the distinguished men towards whom all anxious eyes are now turned were... to establish human contact with each other, to exchange ideas personally, to consider their differences without any agenda or public debate, and to try within the scope and in keeping with the principles of the United Nations jointly to reduce the disagreements which paralyse the world - if this should happen, we would welcome them with a joy which, I am convinced, would become world-wide.

The representative of India, Sir Benegal Rau, whom most of you know and have a great respect for, speaking at a plenary meeting of the sixth session, said:

“I speak with great diffidence, but the subject is so important that I cannot refrain from making a suggestion or two. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France all are present here. Could they not meet and discuss or rediscuss at least the most outstanding matters of disagreement between them? Could they not have something corresponding to one of those periodic meetings of the Security Council which are prescribed in Article 28 of the Charter?”

The obvious method has also the additional advantage that a foreign minister can probably speak to another foreign minister without always having to explain to his Parliament what actually was said in the context of informal conversation.

My delegation, and a great many other delegations, have been rather sadly impressed by the fact that during the third part of the last session of the Assembly, when the Assembly was reaching a juncture in regard to taking decisions, we were told that the fifteen belligerent Powers in Korea, inferentially, had a status which appears to supersede the position of the Assembly.

The Assembly is the body which makes decisions in the form of recommendations. The Assembly speaks for the United Nations. That is a position which must stand unaltered. I have no desire to labour this point because, no doubt, it will reappear when we are debating the Korean item.

### *Independence of the Secretariat*

I now refer to another great organ of the United Nations, the Secretariat - the Secretary-General and his staff. Here again, we shall have the opportunity to discuss this matter on the agenda in relation to this specific item. I would like to say that the position of my delegation with regard to this is, as has been stated before, that we stand for the independence of the Secretariat and the international civil services. We do not recognise a difference between a host country and another country. We do not consider that the municipal law of any country should stand in the way of the obligations of an international civil service except in the

sense that an international civil servant owes loyalty to his own country in the context of municipal affairs.<sup>6</sup>

In other words, the international civil servant is very much like a servant of an embassy, or the staff of an embassy, entitled to a diplomatic position, always provided he obeys the law - should it be the municipal law - i.e., the sanitary laws or the traffic laws, of the country in which he is stationed. It would not be right for any country, however great or however small, to interfere in the integrity or in the development of an international civil service, which is probably one of the great contributions we can make towards world citizenship. So when the appropriate time comes, we shall look forward to the Secretary-General upholding the integrity of the Secretariat, permitting no inroads upon it and allowing no construction of legalisms, except after thorough examination, to invade the individual responsibility or the loyalty of the Secretariat to this international organisation.

At the same time, we consider it highly important that no country, host or other, shall have reason to feel aggrieved by any lack of care in the selection of people or in the scrutiny that is required, but once that has taken place the responsibility for the carrying out of the obligations must rest with the Secretary-General.

### *Asian Representation*

The next item on which I have to comment, which has also a rather wider implication, concerns the observations made on this platform by the representatives of two or three Latin American countries. I have no desire to enter into any controversy on this matter, but if it is possible to remove doubts and misunderstandings one tries to do so.

Our purpose in this Assembly is not to add to the heat of any feeling or of any debate, but to try to calm it down. There were three speeches made in regard to comments made by my Prime Minister on the vote taken at the third part of the seventh session of the Assembly on a draft resolution, submitted not by us but by Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, with regard to the

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<sup>6</sup> In 1952-53, the then United Nations Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, dismissed several American members of the Secretariat who exercised their constitutional right to refuse to answer questions by a United States Federal Grand Jury and by the Security Sub-Committee in the United States Senate concerning membership in the Communist Party or alleged subversive activities.

The Secretariat had, on the other hand, retained in employment many persons regarded by other governments as subversive.

Mr Lie justified his position on the consideration that the United States was the "host country" of the United Nations Headquarters. His surrender to McCarthyite pressure in the United States caused concern among several member States.



inclusion of India in the political conference.<sup>7</sup> At this Assembly and in Committee the Indian delegation took no part in the voting at all. The views of the Indian delegation in regard to the composition of the conference are well known. I will not at the present moment enter into that, because we shall be discussing the Korean item again, but there was some suggestion that the Government of India, or the Prime Minister, had made slighting references to those Latin American countries. Nothing is further from the desires of the Government of India or the intentions of its head, and I will read out to you the passage which throws light on this. Here is what the Prime Minister said:

I have the greatest respect for the countries of Latin America. Let there be no mistake about it, but the facts stand out that nearly the whole of Europe and nearly the whole of Asia wanted one thing in this political conference, while a number of countries of the Americas did not want it. They have as much right not to want it as they have to want it.

If that is not, on the one hand, an expression of appreciation of the Latin American States, or on the other, an unambiguous statement as to the right of any country to vote as it likes, I don't know what it is. It is essential for us to analyse this voting and to see how, on each problem, one group of countries or one set of people votes. No one could take exception to that. That is a correct political exercise. Therefore, there is nothing in this statement which is intended to be a slight on any country. At the same time, this matter gives me the occasion to draw the Assembly's attention to the position of Asia in regard to the United Nations.

Asia has a population of 1,275 million. You must comprehend the immensity of that figure. It occupies an area of 9,423,000 square miles, and the whole of this territory, with the exception of less than 500,000 square miles, and some 14 million people, is represented here.

Taking for this purpose the representation of China by its present delegation out of the issue, China is entitled to be represented here. Without including present Chinese representation, on the Security Council, out of eleven places, Asia has two places. On the Economic and Social Council, out of eighteen places, Asia has three places. On the International Court of Justice, out of fifteen judges, two are Asians. In the Secretariat, out of a very large number of persons, taking all grades and excluding the personnel of Nationalist China, there are 150 Asians.

That is the position of Asian representation in the Assembly. While we make no complaint, and we are not advocates of divisions into continental compartments,

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<sup>7</sup> Article 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement provided for the convening, within three months after the agreement became effective, a political conference of both sides in the conflict "to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

The agreement came into force on 27 July 1953.

as we believe that the Assembly has to be built on the basis of national sovereign States; while any group of people which comes together for specific purposes may promote what it regards as a right purpose, we have no desire to divide the world into further compartments or to create the kind of pan-Asian or other feeling which would jar world unity. At the same time, it is not possible to bring about equilibrium with a background of disproportionate representations.

Therefore, when the Prime Minister refers to these matters it has to be borne in mind that he speaks within the context of the Asian people, and of Asian thinking. Also, this Assembly has to realise the fact that Asia is no longer a slumbering continent. We are a group of nations independent and free, determined to make our contribution to civilisation and to world purposes. Maybe it is true that we have emerged only in the last five, ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five years from colonial rule, but nascent nationalism today is as energetic as it can be, and the United Nations could still serve the cause of world unity and the purpose of liberation, if these nationalisms did not at the outset suffer from a feeling of frustration because their places in the councils of the world are limited and not proportionate to their importance and size.

### *Revision of the United Nations Charter*

We are also asked to address ourselves to the problem of Charter revision. We do not either support or reject the proposition as it stands at present. The proposition, however, is stated merely as one for study. Under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the revision is due in a ten-year period, but we would say that that is one of those things where wisdom would dictate the course of hastening slowly. Also, one's attitude is determined largely by the purposes for which the revision is intended.

It would be a disaster if the United Nations were to repeat the example of the League of Nations, where those who disagreed went out, one by one and ultimately catastrophe resulted.

We should look back also on the history of international organisations right through the nineteenth century, when, with a background of high-sounding phrases, the concerts of Europe were born and ultimately lapsed into balance-of-power groups. Once again I say that it would be a sad thing if the United Nations, will-nilly, began to deteriorate into the position of the Holy Alliance or of the holders of legitimist conceptions of those days.

If I may say so with great respect and humility, what we perhaps require even more than the revision of the Charter is a greater adherence to the spirit of its provisions. That greater adherence comes about only by the resolving of the tensions to which reference has been made, by a more sincere and prompt adherence to such decisions as are made. The allegiance, the support and the

moral backing that the nations and the peoples of the world give to the Charter are far more important than any kind of revision.

I think that we have made no secret of the fact that our Government is fully committed to the position that the United Nations must reflect the conditions of the world - and one of these conditions is that it is not possible now to have an organisation in which by majority vote, decisions are imposed on a great Power. Therefore, while we would be the first to complain against the misuse of the veto, we are, in the present conditions of the world, supporters of the doctrine of great-Power unanimity.

### *Economic and Social Activities*

At this stage, having referred to these political matters, it gives me some relief to address myself to another aspect of the United Nations - its economic and social functions. The newspapers, the radio and all other instruments of publicity give a great deal of space and time to our political achievements or the lack thereof. But we do not hear a great deal about all the more solid achievements of the United Nations through its Specialised Agencies, its various committees and so forth.

In pursuance of Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, the Economic and Social Council is pledged to devote its energies to raising the standards of living for people in under-developed countries and bringing about general world economic and social equilibrium. It must be realised in this connection that, out of the 2,300 million people in the world, the vast majority lives below the subsistence level. As long as the vast majority of human beings lives below this level, consequences of a physical, moral and political nature will follow, and any kind of world stability, any march toward a united world of greater equilibrium, of understanding and of prosperity, laying the foundations of peace on an enduring basis, is impossible.

At the same time, we would be the first to admit that the raising of the standards of living in what are called the under-developed countries must depend primarily upon the efforts of the people themselves. Just as there can be no export of revolution, so can there be no export of prosperity. Ultimately, this must depend upon the efforts of people themselves.

But we have to take into account the handicaps from which these territories suffer. The under-developed countries are largely regions which until yesterday were colonial empires, where the populations were hewers of wood and drawers of water - regions whose role in the economy of the world was to provide labour and raw materials for the metropolitan countries. There is no doubt that there were differences in the tempo of this exploitation; there were paternalistic imperialisms and there were less paternalistic imperialisms. But the net result is that the nations of the ex-colonial and colonial areas have backward economies, their industries are less advanced, they subserved the purpose of the powerful industrial

economies of the metropolitan countries. In order to make headway and to remove this handicap, it would be necessary, for some time, to provide assistance. In our view, this should come largely by way of technical assistance.

We are happy to pay our tribute to, and express our gratitude for the work of the Technical Assistance Committee and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. In 1952, India received 136 technicians, and 105 fellowships were received by Indians who were going abroad for technical training.

From UNICEF, since its inception, India has received a total aid of \$9,500,000. The Assembly will be interested to hear that a considerable part of this UNICEF aid, along with such aid as comes from the Colombo Plan and other arrangements, is going not into temporary relief of any kind, but into large-scale enterprises such as anti-malarial and anti-tubercular and other projects which are attempting to eliminate the causes of disease and of infant mortality. The relief that is being received, as far as India is concerned, is being diverted to the manufacture and distribution of penicillin, to malarial control, to BCG campaign, and so on, and in all this we have been assisted very considerably by the Colombo Plan. In Indonesia and Thailand the disease known as yaws has been brought under control and, I understand, is likely to be completely conquered.

In this connection, I think it is only fair to say that, so far as India is concerned, technical assistance has not been a one-way traffic; it has been reciprocal. India has sent eighty-four technical experts abroad under this scheme. We have also trained ninety-three others who have been sent to India for training. I think that is a very healthy situation and contributes to self-respect in the relationship that must exist in all sound schemes of social amelioration, and to the mutuality of such schemes. We are happy that we have been able to make this contribution, and we bring to the Assembly the conception that these technical aid schemes are not merely a one-way flow.

It is the view of our delegation that UNICEF should be placed on a permanent basis.

On the larger issue of economic aid, the delegation of India supports the international organisation of aid through an international fund and corporation, because it is more likely to bring about equitable distribution, it is more in keeping with the temper and purposes of this Organisation, and certainly it contributes more to the building up of self-respect and of mutual understanding between nations. We shall therefore support, when the time comes, the establishment of these two units.

It is the view of my delegation that greater attempts must be made to reach and establish increased economic equilibrium in the world. We of the non-dollar areas are continually in debt to the dollar area, and what is called the dollar gap has to be bridged. We find that, although the gap is not considerable in terms of the

wealth of the dollar area, it is considerable for us. If, however, we were to export about 0.5 per cent of what are the requirements of these areas we should get over this difficulty. It is an unhealthy situation that between two currency systems which cover the vast multitude of peoples there should be this kind of hiatus, which can only lead to social instability and all the economic and political consequences that follow.

One of the things required in this world is greater freedom in the movement of trade, greater liberation and a removal of barriers and of economic nationalism.

### ***Food Production in India***

We have contributed as much as we could to economic amelioration, and I think it is right that we should refer to our own efforts. The great problem of India is food. Our first necessity is to feed our population, even up to a subsistence level. India has made considerable advances in this respect, and I refer here to last year's. In 1952, India imported four million tons of food; in 1953, it will import only three million tons; in 1954, the imports will be one million tons. We have increased our rice production, as can be seen from these figures: in 1952-1953, rice production was 23,400,000 tons as against 20,070,000 tons in 1951-52, which represents an increase of about one-seventh. Wheat production for 1952-1953 is estimated to be 6,380,000 tons, as compared with 5,700,000 tons for the previous year. India has reclaimed large areas of land that were formerly uncultivable and has brought these tracts into cultivation through mechanical means. This year India will bring under cultivation, by the end of the year, 1,400,000 acres of land.

However, all this vast production is somewhat offset by the natural disasters which India has suffered. We have some unwelcome guests in the country who come to us as migrants. I believe they originate somewhere along the banks of the Euphrates. They settle down in Pakistan for a while, and then they come on to us. Where they go from there, I do not know. They are called locusts. Large quantities of our crops are destroyed by them, and they commit general havoc, and this invasion by locusts is more or less a normal occurrence.

This year - even while we are sitting here - the rising waters of our rivers have caused floods such as are unprecedented in our history. During the period from the middle of July to the middle of August, some 4,500,000 people in India have been rendered homeless. It has been the worst series of flood disasters in our history. Six rivers have risen: the Imphal, the Brahmaputra, the Subansiri, the Ganges, the Kosi and the Godavari. These floods, which normally subside after a period of a fortnight, have this year chosen to remain. The area of devastation has extended to many thousands of square miles, and nearly a third of the State of Bihar is under water. Not only have this year's crops been destroyed, but the cultivation of these lands for next year has become impossible. The improvement that has been made in the supply of food is, therefore, largely offset by this disaster.

## *Representation of China*

I should now like to address myself to some of the current problems on the agenda. The first problem relates to the representation of China in the United Nations Assembly. This question will no doubt come up when the report of the Credentials Committee is presented, at which time we shall challenge the report. For four years the legitimate Government of China, the government that has control of the country, the government to which the people owe allegiance and whose authority alone is able to fulfil its obligations, has applied for admission to the United Nations and requested that its delegation be received. The Assembly has not accepted the credentials of the representatives of this government. We regret that this question was again the subject of controversy at the beginning of this session of the General Assembly. In our humble view it is unfortunate that the Soviet Union and the United States fought the issue at large.<sup>8</sup> It should properly be debated at the time of the submission of the credentials report. I submit, with all the deference one can have towards the Chair, that we are doubtful concerning not only the wisdom but also the propriety of raising the question at this early stage, because that is anticipating the findings of the Credentials Committee. We are unable to accept the view, subject to the Chair's ruling, that the matter has been disposed of by the resolution submitted by the United States and adopted by the Assembly - that may relate to the problem of the recognition of China or to anything of that kind. On the report of the Credentials Committee what we are challenging is the right of the present delegation to sit here.

Therefore, I wish to restate our attitude, which is the same as it was last year. The Government of China, which has applied for representation in the United Nations for the past four years, which is the only government that can carry out the obligations in respect of the Charter, and which is the only government entitled to be here, ought to be here. When I was dealing with questions concerning Asia, I should have stated that denying this representation to the proper Chinese Government really means disfranchising 500 million people.

I wish to state, as regards the representatives of the authorities of Formosa who take the place of the Chinese Government here, that we have no quarrel with them as persons and that we make no derogatory references of any kind to the personalities concerned. Here we are dealing with a political issue. We have due regard for those who occupy those seats. But at the same time it is our duty to point out that the present situation renders the representation of nearly a third of the Asian continent to this Assembly null and void.

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<sup>8</sup> At the beginning of the eighth session of the General Assembly on September 15, 1953, the USSR proposed, on a point of order, that a representative of the People's Republic of China should take the seat of China in the General Assembly and all other organs of the United Nations.

The United States moved that the Assembly postpone for the duration of the session consideration of proposals for the representation of China by the People's Republic. This motion was adopted by 44 votes to 10, with 2 abstentions.

### ***Kuomintang Troops in Burma***

The next problem to which we address ourselves is one that is in some ways related to the question of the representation of China, that is, the problem raised by Burma at the last session. At the seventh session of the General Assembly the delegation of Burma, headed by the distinguished judge who leads the delegation, presented the case of Burma in what was generally accepted as a wonderful achievement in understatement. The case of Burma was presented with a great degree of restraint and a desire to obtain results rather than to raise a controversy. On territory of nearly 50,000 square miles today there are foreign troops. As the representative of Burma stated yesterday, they are called "foreign" troops because of the delicacy of expression that prevails in the United Nations in regard to such matters. Those troops are the troops of the Kuomintang. We have not been able to accept the explanation that General Li Mi has no control over these troops. For the past four or five years they have ravaged the countryside of Burma, they have raped and murdered. They are invaders and conquerors who ought to be sent out of the country.

The United Nations passed a resolution in which it sent an appeal to the Formosan authorities. The United States has used its good offices. Still the situation prevails.

We have no desire at the present moment to bring this discussion to the point of decision or to submit any resolution. We hope it will be possible, in one way or another, to diminish this harassment of the Burmese Government. These troops, armed from Formosa, have the most modern of weapons and are supported by airplanes. They are feeding upon the countryside and leaving it desolate. If this army, equipped with modern weapons, supporting subversive forces and challenging the authority of one of the Members of the United Nations, cannot be stopped and if it cannot bring forth proper condemnation, indeed it is a sad thing.

We hope that by the time this item comes up for debate on the agenda the Burmese Government will be able to report that quick progress has been made towards its solution. At the present moment - I can frankly say, so far as my knowledge goes - there is no indication that the invasion of the territory will be ended. As I have said before, what hurts Burma hurts us. Burma is our immediate neighbour. Its people have been linked to us by centuries of civilisation. A country that has recently emerged from colonial rule has its own difficulties and problems. That it should be harassed by foreign invaders of this type and should have to fight on yet another front, is indeed a very sad fact.

### ***Race domination in South Africa***

The next item on the agenda to which we should like to address ourselves is the problem of race conflict. The item which is termed "race conflict" is, I think, a bit of euphemism; it is, really race domination. This question has been before us for

six successive sessions, that is, in the form of the “Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa,” or, more recently, the question of apartheid itself. For six sessions, one or the other of these problems has been before us. The General Assembly has passed five resolutions in regard to the matter. It offered the Government of the Union of South Africa four alternatives, and on three occasions it condemned the Group Areas Act and asked the South African Government not to put it into operation.

The South African Government has turned a deaf ear to all this, except to the extent of intervening in the debate in the attempt to show that these are matters of domestic jurisdiction. This again is another of those expressions of the doctrine of legitimism; if people do not protest, then they are not dissatisfied enough; if they protest, then they are rebels; in either case, the people are wrong.

### *Colonialism*

The next item to which we should like to address ourselves in this general debate is the colonial issue. It is not our intention to allude particularly to the problems of Morocco or Tunis or South West Africa. However, I think it is necessary to say that, in the case of the first two, which are partly under the administration of the French Republic, it is not merely a problem of colonial rule. To our mind and in our approach, it is a problem of the violation of international treaties. It is disregard of the Charter and of treaty obligations and the intervention against and violation of the sovereignty of a territory. Morocco and Tunis are territories that are externally sovereign because the regime of the French Government is regulated by treaty obligations. By violation of the treaties, therefore, the authorities responsible have put themselves in a position where they are subject to challenge, not only - as colonial rulers - on the general problem of colonial rule, but also with regard to the sanctity of treaties and the sovereignty of territories which they have violated. We shall deal with this matter in due course when it comes before the Committee.

In South West Africa we have a similar problem. This is a territory where sovereignty is dormant, but exists in the people. South West Africa was a mandated area where only the administration was vested in South Africa. In 1921 or 1922 the South African Government, without asking anybody, gave South African citizenship to the European population of South West Africa, in violation of the principles of the Mandate. What the South African Government has committed in this region is an *anschluss*, an invasion, a conquest. Therefore, to regard and dismiss this merely as colonialism is to condone a lack of respect for treaties. What follows from conquest is the violation of sovereignty. We who have suffered from colonial rule must naturally lend our assistance to those who are thus brought into the regions of colonialism by conquest, the violation of treaties, or illegal interpretations of them by metropolitan Powers for their own purposes.



I should now like to address myself to the general aspects of colonialism. Would it be wrong for some of us who are members of former dependent peoples, whose struggles and peaceful endeavours have resulted in the establishment of a fraternity where at one time there was domination, to ask the representative of the United Kingdom, even from this rostrum, whether the "loss" of an empire did not mean the emergence of a commonwealth; whether the removal of domination has not resulted in fraternity; whether, where there was mutual distrust, there is not now mutual regard; and whether, where there was conflict of interests, the interests today are not complementary? Would it not be right that, in this Assembly, instead of colonialism being treated as a matter to be taken up on the complaints of those who are affected, it became, by the initiative of the metropolitan countries themselves - presented as an evil that it is sought to end - an affair that has to be brought to an end? Therefore, would it not be right to expect enlightened metropolitan countries to seek ways and means whereby the rule of the people by another ceases in the shortest possible time?

Since the time of the war, in the Asian continent some 600 million people have ceased to be members of dependent States. One is happy to say that today, in the whole Asian continent, there are only 14 million people who are under colonial rule. Most of them are under the aegis of the United Kingdom, and the rest are under France. But there are only 14 million people who are what might be called subject peoples. It should be possible to bring this subjection to an end. These subject peoples occupy only a very small area of Asia.

On the continent of Africa, the problem is rather different. We have a situation where the United Kingdom, which has a home territory of somewhere about 94,000 square miles - less than 100,000 square miles - has an empire in Africa of somewhere about 2,250,000 square miles; whereas France, which has a home territory of less than 250,000 square miles holds sway over nearly 4,500,000 square miles; 6,750,000 square miles are colonial areas, and, if you include the Trust Territories, it amounts to 8,750,000 square miles. Out of a total population of 191 million people, 139 million people are either subject to colonial rule or are in Trust Territories. Therefore, the vast continent of Africa, which is 130 or 150 times the size of the United Kingdom, is still in part the latter's private domain, the rest being shared by France, Portugal and Spain. Not only was the whole continent retained for the purpose of exploitation, but certain sections of humanity are kept out of it by various devices, indeed even on the basis of apartheid.

Therefore, in viewing colonialism, it is not sufficient for us to determine whether the people are worse or better off, or whether the metropolitan countries can find a certain number of convenient local allies to be against their own people. It is time that the sovereign countries, in the context of the provisions of the Charter, faced this colonial issue - which involves discrimination as to race and creed and militates against the self-determination of peoples and national independence - not in the way of entertaining complaints or of merely meeting agitation, but as part

of the more constructive endeavours to liberate the entire world by the conscious attempts of humanity, and particularly by the metropolitan countries.

With the best of intentions and feeling - and I feel I can do so - I particularly say to the United Kingdom, which has before it the experience which has often been stated in the words, she has lost an empire to win a commonwealth, she has lost domination to win a fraternity, should not the notable example of Libya and West Africa be extended so that the United Kingdom should no longer have colonial countries any more than it should have slaves at home?

### ***Korea***

That brings me to the last item on which I want to speak, and that is Korea. The question of Korea has cast its shadow not only over this Assembly but over the entire world. It is a very distressing and dark shadow, the spectre of a country drenched in blood where millions of people on one side and the other have died, where millions of children have been orphaned and where reconstruction, even if it begins today, will take many years before it can make of Korea a homeland in which all its people can live. In addition to this, Korea stands today as the symbol of something which will test our wisdom, our humanity and our political sense. Solutions in Korea represent one of the ways of resolving world tensions. Together with Germany, people look to Korea and what happens there as an indication of what is likely to happen in the rest of the world.

The shadow of Korea is drawn long over the face of this Assembly and indeed over the world. It is a story of tragedy, not only of the Korean people but of the peoples in China, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and everywhere else where troops have gone and engaged in war for purposes which their sides believed to be right - so far as the United Nations is concerned, to resist aggression. It is our business to see that our efforts of the last three years, which have made very slow progress, now become embodied in the terms of truce.

The position of India in this matter is very well known. Speaking from this rostrum only a few weeks ago I made it entirely clear that anything that we say in this matter or indeed on any other is not intended to add to the heat of the debate. We think that in the progress that we have made in Korea and in the winning of an armistice, we have reached one milestone. But still, what happens in Korea today is only part of the implementation of the Armistice Agreement,<sup>9</sup> namely, the handing over of the prisoners in pursuance of the Armistice Agreement. When that is over, or simultaneously with it, there comes the other problem of peace.

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<sup>9</sup> The Korean Armistice Agreement was signed on 27 July 1953 by the sixteen participating nations. India undertook the chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission for Korea and founded a Custodian Force which took charge of the prisoners of war who had to be repatriated.

At the present moment I satisfy myself with saying that it would be wrong, in our humble opinion, to approach this problem of peace with the same mentality and in the same atmosphere as prevailed at Panmunjom. There an armistice was negotiated by two sets of warring peoples. The war has stopped now, and it is the common desire of either side to establish peace, and we must therefore approach the problem of peace in an atmosphere of conference.

It is appropriate for us to mention that gallant band of men who are today performing the act of repatriation in Korea, I refer to the Indian Army. The Indian Army is charged with the onerous duty of dealing with the problems of law and order, objective problems, but with very little material power. Our men and our officers have covered themselves with the kind of glory that is not usual in war. For the first time a peace army, on foreign territory, without arms, has been called upon to deal with turbulence and, according to all our information has done so gallantly and well. I hope this situation continues. They have performed their duty in such a way as to create a feeling of pride not only in our nationals but in this Organisation itself. They are part of an international machinery - and I hope it is appropriate for me to refer to this, because one thing that comes out of what has been happening with regard to repatriation is that, given the will, and if we are able to throw away the accepted and conventional views of approach, we can sometimes achieve results. Therefore, an unarmed army is today dealing with a situation in a way which is not only glorious from their point of view, but full of lessons for others who have to resolve political problems.

The Armistice has also shown us the need for patience. The Assembly will remember Resolution 610 (VII)<sup>10</sup> that it passed by an overwhelming majority as early as December of last year, and we are still only in the Armistice period. I am not saying that because progress has been slow in the past we should be complacent, but this is not the time nor the occasion for impatience, nor does the topic lend itself to a situation where impatience would win any results. The guns are silenced, but an outstanding problem still remains, and that problem is the problem of the conference.

I would not say anything from this rostrum which would in any way add to the difficulties which already exist, but I think some clarifications are necessary in order to aid progress. The position of India in regard to the political conference is entirely clear. It was never a candidate to become a member of the conference, and it has never refused to carry out obligations. That position we still maintain. It will become part of an international venture of this kind only on the expressed desire of the sides concerned and only on its own conviction that it can perform a useful service. We have not stated it thus in order to perform an oral trapeze act, but in order clearly to state our position.

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<sup>10</sup> Resolution 610 (VII) adopted by the General Assembly on 3 December 1952, contained proposals on arrangements for the release and repatriation of prisoners of war in order to resolve the deadlock on that issue in the negotiations for an armistice in Korea.

There is a considerable degree of agreement and, as I stated in this Assembly on the last occasion, our appreciation of the situation with regard to China and North Korea is that they would approach the problem of the conference in a responsible attitude of mind. It is therefore up to us, in so far as we appreciate that it requires two sides to make a conference, to persevere. One can also say this to the United States, quoting from Abraham Lincoln: "There are no great principles which are not flexible." Principles in politics are not like points in geometry, without dimensions. Principles must enable people to meet and reconcile their differences. It is no derogation of principle if divergent points of view can honestly be reconciled within it. It is therefore important that statements made here should be taken in that light.

We heard a statement from the representative of the United States the other day which indicated - and here I am supported by the United Kingdom, one of the sponsors of the draft resolution subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as Resolution 711A( VII)<sup>11</sup> - which indicated a degree of flexibility, and let us hope that that degree of flexibility is conveyed to the other side. Let us be quite frank about it. We cannot get any settlement unless these parties talk to each other, because settlement must be reached with the other side. I do not want at the present moment to ask for clarifications in this Assembly. I believe that if the United States, on behalf of the United Nations Command, desires to speak to the Chinese people they should do so directly, as there is room for them to do so. If there are other nations that are able to offer their assistance they will be very glad to do so.

There are one or two small points which require clarification. I have been at pains to read the statement of Mr Dulles on Korea where this particular sentence occurs: "The Republic of Korea has no ambitions which run beyond Korea." That is a statement which has to be clarified at some point, because there are two governments on the territory of Korea.

There was in the *New York Times* this morning - and I do not give any credence to it in any authoritative way - a statement attributed to the President of the Republic of Korea. He said as follows:

By agreement with the United States, the Government of the Republic of Korea has postponed its determination to unify North and South Korea by military means in order to see what may come out of a political conference. We have also entered into a mutual defence treaty with the United States.

If ninety days after the political conference opens it has failed to achieve the objective of Korean unification, then naturally we shall resume the

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<sup>11</sup> Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 28 August 1953, on a political conference in pursuance of the Korean armistice agreement.

battle for our national independence and unity. We expect, and we have no reason so far to believe otherwise, that all friendly forces now in Korea will assist us toward that objective if the Communists force us to resume the war. Any plan or programme entered into by a friendly nation which is contrary to this determination of ours will not be accepted or respected by us.

I do not ask this Assembly or any of the fifteen Powers which sponsored the draft resolution which I referred to just now to assume responsibility for the President of the Republic of South Korea. At the end of the seventh session of the Assembly, the delegation of India put the question to the representative of the United States, who answered that there were no agreements with South Korea beyond what had been published. For myself, I am prepared to accept that, and I therefore regard the above statement as simply that of Mr Rhee.

But the statement of the Secretary of State of the United States that “the Republic of Korea has no ambitions which run beyond Korea” is something that requires clarification in the light of the objectives of the United Nations for the unification of Korea. There are two governments in the place and that is that.

With regard to the consideration of the item in the Assembly itself, all I wish to say is that the question of Korea is on the agenda. I hope that we may be able to discuss it in order to congratulate everybody concerned on the issue of the conference if it takes place. If that happens, it is right that we should have an opportunity of discussing Korea. If, on the other hand, the conference does not take place, or there are certain impediments which have to be removed or certain other steps to be taken, it is also right that we should discuss the question. But when it should be discussed is a matter within the wisdom of this Assembly in which each of us has his own contribution to make. At the present moment the item stands on the agenda.

We have also this advantage, that our Secretary-General has fully justified the confidence which the Assembly placed in him by leaving him latitude in the matter of reporting. We have now an Assembly document which from its content would appear to be an interim document, and we must expect more information and must also allow time for events to develop, and for the direct negotiations to which the representative of the United States referred. For our part, our Government will carry out the obligations arising from the repatriation duties that it has undertaken, but we hope that the Assembly will appreciate the fact that if, at the end of ninety days the problem of these prisoners cannot be turned over to the political conference, a somewhat ticklish situation will arise. It would be very wrong for anyone to expect that the Government of India is forever to be charged with the responsibility of looking after such prisoners as may remain.

But this is not a problem which we need anticipate just now, because we must address ourselves to this question not only with a sincere desire for the conference to come about, but with faith that it will come about.

In order that our faith may be justified we must seek flexibility. We do not desire to ask inconvenient questions. The resolving of this matter is not beyond the wit of man. There is a desire on both sides for the holding of a conference. We have the experience of the negotiations at Panmunjom, there are lessons we should now learn from the work of the Indian Army in repatriation, there is the working together of two sides on the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. All these are contributory factors which lead to the hope that a Korean settlement is not far away.

### *The Proposals*

That brings me to the end of the observations which I desired to make in my intervention in this general debate. We meet in the eighth session, as I said a while ago, many years after the war, in an organisation which was established to rid the world of the scourge of war. My delegation has put forward certain proposals.

To sum them up, my delegation would like to propose, at an appropriate stage and if the opinion of the Assembly warrants it, that some request be made to the heads of those great States on whom primary responsibility lies - and that responsibility is heavy and onerous indeed - the men of whom Sir Winston Churchill said that they would "stand shamed before history." We should address our appeal to them to meet in high level conference without any further loss of time, because today the guns have been silenced in Korea, there is a context of greater flexibility in regard to the problems of the European continent, and there are further problems looming ahead. It has to be remembered that the delay in the solution of problems creates further problems.

This then is our first request - the high level conference - which the Assembly should ask those concerned to bring about.

Secondly, we would like the Assembly to consider whether it would not be possible to make some declaration for the purpose of placing beyond use in war atomic and other highly destructive weapons and instruments of death by torture, so that the inventions of man could be applied to constructive purposes. Thirdly, we would like to see the content and context of the Assembly broadened by the admission of new Members and the process of "blackballing" limited. We should like to reduce to a minimum the attempt to argue on technicalities, appreciating that these technicalities work both ways. We should like to bring into our fold at least such applicants as have been standing long at the door and who have been supported at one time or another by both parties concerned. Equally, we should like, and would make our own humble contribution towards, a

lowering of tempers and the heat of discussion in this place in order that the Assembly may really become more of a concert of nations. We do not look upon the United Nations as an exclusive body. We look upon it as a family of nations, with all its divergencies, and to attempt to limit it in the other way - to make it a more convenient body of like-minded people - would be to go against the spirit, the principles and the purposes of the Charter and to postpone the day of the consolidation of the world community.

Therefore, under the President's guidance we shall go forward with faith and determination, relying upon the collective wisdom of us all to achieve solutions, or the beginning of such solutions, which we can render possible in the context in which we help to shape events, so that, as Dante said, "On this little plot of earth belonging to man, life may pass in freedom and with peace."

## II. THE WORLD IN THE TENTH YEAR OF THE UNITED NATIONS<sup>12</sup>

...In the course of the general debate at the beginning of every session of the General Assembly, it has become customary to speak on matters of general policy, to review the past, to talk about the present, and to think of the future. So far as my delegation is concerned, although the past is not dead, it is certainly not the present; and in the present circumstances of the world, the dead hand of the past sometimes lies too heavily on us and takes the form of inhibitions and prejudices which make our march forward more difficult than it would otherwise be. The present does not really exist, because the moment one has spoken about the present - or is even aware of it - it has already become the past. Thus, all that really matters in public affairs, in the affairs of mankind and in the contemplation of our civilisation is the future - the future that alone is the real or actual present. Therefore, the future to us is the historic present in more than one sense.

In viewing the world in this light, we have reason to feel somewhat anxious and concerned in some ways and gratified in others. We are today in the tenth year of the United Nations; and as is customary on these occasions, we take stock of world affairs and draw up a balance-sheet. As the Charter provides for its own review next year, that may well be called an audit.

However, in spite of all the priests of gloom and counsels of despair, no General Assembly ever sends us back home the same as when we came. I do not say that we are always the worse for it: We learn a great deal and we all make some contribution. Our collective consideration brings new aspects to bear on even the most difficult problem. Therefore, while we may confront the same set of problems each year and the Secretary-General may place the same number of items on the agenda, the problems themselves are never the same; their content changes. This is the social dynamic which governs man and society, whatever his state of civilisation and whatever the structure of his society.

Speaking from this rostrum last year on behalf of my delegation, I said that the overwhelming problem before us was the one which has been called world tension, and I spoke of the remedy we have to seek for it and the objectives we must pursue to find the path towards peace. That continues to be the position today. But so far as the general atmosphere is concerned, it is the consensus of this Assembly that this year we are in a better position to understand each other and perhaps to find common ground in the solution of these problems. I hope this is the case. I am not for a moment saying that there have not been observations from one side or the other - or from all sides, if you like - where the degree of

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<sup>12</sup> Statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 6 October 1954



sharpness exhibited was perhaps unnecessary. I hope I shall not be guilty of this, and if I am, I hope the President will forgive me and regard it as an error.

So far as the actual problems are concerned, Korea still stands at a deadlock. I suppose that is not news to this Assembly. Mr Lloyd<sup>13</sup> said the other day that we are not accustomed to obtain solutions on Korea at the first try... But though Korea stands at a deadlock,<sup>14</sup> there has not, in spite of particular circumstances, been any renewal of fighting, nor has a situation arisen where the opening of further negotiations was barred, or extremely difficult.

In the realm of disarmament, to which I shall make only a brief reference, we appear to have made advances both between the sessions of the Assembly and in the last few days as well. It is probably one of the outstanding developments of the last few days that - in spite of the suspicions which still lurk in everybody's minds; in spite of the cautiousness of people, whether they come from the northern cold climes, or from the tropics; in spite of what may be contained in this or that suggestion - there is, on the whole, a general feeling to which many representatives subscribe, notably the representative of France, who gave us the assurance that the common ground on which we stand may lead us to the path of solution.

In the last session of the Assembly, "colonial issues" suffered reverses. The colonial Powers had great voting strength in the Assembly and certainly they have greater experience than we have of organisation of strength, but the problems are still the same; they are still tough, stubborn, and inescapable.

I do not desire to recapitulate any of the items on the agenda, because they properly belong to the Committees, and I only refer to them to outline the picture before us....

### ***Progress in Conciliation***

Now, between sessions of the Assembly, there have been notable improvements in the world, to one of which the representative of the United Kingdom referred the other day as a notable advance to which not too much attention has been paid; namely, the Berlin Conference. People are accustomed to refer to the Berlin Conference as though it had not achieved what it had set out to achieve, and, therefore, produced something else, as a sort of consolation prize. But first, the consolation prize itself is not unsubstantial. Secondly, the greater achievement of Berlin is that since 1948 it is the first conference which resulted in greater

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<sup>13</sup> Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom

<sup>14</sup> The Foreign Ministers of France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States of America met in Berlin from 25 January to 18 February 1954. They failed to reach agreements on European questions and disarmament, but agreed to meet again in Geneva with the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China from 26 April 1954, to discuss Korea and Indo-China.

understanding between individual participants.

I would like to remind the Assembly of the fact that last year on behalf of my delegation I suggested that my Government considered that the meeting of the heads of the great States would probably break the existing deadlock. This, however, did not come to pass; but meetings between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four great Powers took place in Berlin, and the meeting to which the five most important States in the world were called resulted from that.

But apart from resulting in the two Conferences at Geneva, the atmosphere that prevailed in Berlin - if reports be true, and I have no reason to doubt them - marked, one hopes, the beginning of a new era and perhaps the beginning of the thawing of the cold war. There have been definite achievements. Thanks to the initiative of the United States of America, two conferences or what became two conferences, were arranged and foregathered in Geneva and dealt with two problems outside Europe, although the Berlin Conference had been primarily called together for the consideration of European problems.

Outside Europe, not only in Korea and Indo-China, but in other parts of the world, there seems to have been progress along the lines of conciliation. There was the difficult problem of Anglo-Egyptian relations, in which while we have no direct concern - that is, in the sense of having any interests - we have a very deep-seated sentimental and political concern, in the sense that these two countries are historically very closely related to us; thus their good relations and the terms on which they find agreement are a matter of concern to the people of my country. We hope that the beginning which has been made in resolving the long-standing difficulties between Egypt and the United Kingdom will lead to further conciliatory steps to extend the area of peace.

Similarly, the Iranian Parliament, I understand, will very soon consider the agreements that have been reached between the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom also seems to have scored another success in this respect, in having held conversations with the head of Saudi Arabia, on behalf of the neighbouring countries and, in contrast to what might well have happened, such as disputing over borders, a settlement seems to have been reached in this part of the world.

### ***Advances in Colonial Problems***

Now I come to a subject which, to my delegation, is of particular importance, and for which we have particular responsibilities: that is, the so-called colonial problems and problems of Trust Territories. Here also, there have been some advances, the most notable of which is the further approach of the territory of the Gold Coast towards independence. We take particular pride in these advances, because our country assisted by our own evolution in the forward march of these Territories, which are in the main inhabited by non-European peoples, towards

self-government and towards taking their places as equal and independent States. Advance seems also to have been made in the territory of Nigeria.

In our own part of the world, we have a much smaller problem which, thanks to the new outlook advanced by the Prime Minister of France, is very near solution. In a few days' time, this smaller problem which has caused much irritation may be out of the way.

In the Trust Territories - with which I shall deal in detail later - there have been similar improvements. But all this does not in any way mitigate the harshness of the fact that, with the present burden of armaments and the speed of the armaments race, the ominousness of that picture is little lessened.

### ***Flood Disaster in India***

On the economic side, world production has increased, but world trade has not increased proportionally. Industrial production, apart from the Soviet Union and its allies, has, I think, increased 111 to 119 per cent; while in the Soviet Union itself and in other countries of Eastern Europe and in China, production has risen 12 to 15 per cent. In India, we have maintained the increase in our productivity, as I shall point out later.

While these facts are on the credit side among the achievements of man, nature has, as usual, been unkind so far as our part of the world is concerned. Europe, fortunately, has been free from extensive floods or other disasters; but in Asia and Africa, cyclones, earthquakes and floods have laid waste large areas of land and rendered thousands of people homeless.

In Algeria an earthquake has wrought considerable havoc, and I am sure that our sympathy will go out to the Algerians and the French whose homes were destroyed and whose families were killed in the disaster. In Japan, too, typhoons have caused considerable havoc. But the greatest of all natural disasters have been in China, Pakistan and India. China has suffered very severely from floods, and so has Pakistan. Those entitled can no doubt speak about them. I consider it important that, in an Assembly of this kind, we should hear about the sufferings of our fellow beings and how they stand up to them. India has witnessed the worst flood in its history. Thirty thousand square miles of its territory lie under water. Where the Brahmaputra was formerly a mile or two wide, it is now between thirteen and fifteen miles wide. Some nine and a half million people have been affected by the disaster, and some two and a quarter million rendered homeless. Thirteen and a half million acres of land - agricultural, cultivable land - have had their fertility destroyed and crops have been damaged. The present estimate, in terms of money, is about £50 million sterling. The whole of the north-eastern area of India, covering the States of Assam, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh - particularly Assam - appears like a vast ocean where some savage monster has uprooted trees and houses.

These floods have, in a sense, another aspect. I think that the humble peasantry are the salt of the earth. In spite of the disasters which strike them year after year - and this year in an unprecedented way - they have shown remarkable courage; there has been no pilfering or begging or anything of that kind; they have tried to rehabilitate themselves. We are grateful for the considerable number of expressions of sympathy and the material assistance that have come from abroad. I hesitate to give the names of the countries which have come to our assistance for fear I might omit some in a list that is not complete; but assistance has come from our close neighbours, and from the United Kingdom, Canada, Thailand, Australia, the United States, the USSR, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Iraq. These countries have sent medical supplies and similar commodities to relieve suffering in India.

### *Economic and Social Development in India*

While the flood disaster has been so serious and while large parts of our territory have been laid waste in this way, we are happy to say that, for the first time in recent history, India is not starving. Compared to the figures for 1949, India has produced 11,400,000 tons more of food this year, an increase in production having put us in a surplus position. So, apart from the damage resulting from the breach of communications, which makes it difficult for us to take the food to these places, India, for the first time in its modern history, is free from famine. The target of our five-year plan for the production of food was only for an increase up to 7,600,000 tons this year - over the three years - but this target has already been exceeded by 3,800,000 tons. Similarly, the production of cotton - which is one of those commodities whereby we not only clothe ourselves but manage to earn foreign exchange - has increased by 960,000 bales. Industrial production in India has kept up a steady advance since 1950, the base year. Taking 1950 as 100, it rose to 112 in 1951; 123 in 1952; and stood at 128 in 1953. Agricultural production which was severely affected by the ravages of nature, particularly drought - we suffered badly in 1951 and 1952 - has picked up, and today stands at 102.5, as against 100 in 1950.

In addition to this, there have been other advances; I am happy to say this not because it affects India but because, in this Assembly and its organs, we are constantly faced with the problems of the underdeveloped countries for which the nations assembled here show a great deal of concern. A good many of them make material contributions; they give technical assistance; they give advice; their sympathy for the underdeveloped areas is increasing. Therefore, when an advance is made it is good and proper to report it. The minor irrigation works of India have brought, or will bring when they have been completed, 5,300,000 acres of land under cultivation. The major irrigation works in India, up to this year, have brought 2,800,000 acres of land under cultivation, making a total of 8 million acres in all. India also has reclaimed approximately 850,000 acres of land formerly considered uncultivable.

Our population which, in 1947, was 85 per cent illiterate, is today advancing towards literacy, so that the planned target of making every person in India literate sixteen years after 1947 will easily be reached. Our community projects, which are a great social experiment, have brought a different tempo of life, even with regard to the understanding of the problems connected with the work of the United Nations, to the millions of villages of India. Social legislation has advanced in the same way, so that those evils which, quite rightly, used to be charged up to India in the past - for example, untouchability, the worst of them - have been tackled drastically in this country with a great religious tradition, with the result that today in India, the practice of untouchability is a crime punishable by law.

We also have raised the age requirement for marriage to eighteen for women and twenty-one for men. Our health and educational services in the last three years have been responsible for an expenditure of \$1,900 million.

### *Colombo Conference of Prime Ministers*

By citing our own country as an example, we wish to draw the attention of the Assembly, in the best way we can, to that great part of the world which is easily dismissed in the shortest name of any continent, Asia. There is a new Asia, and greater understanding of that new Asia - or, at the outset, even the recognition that there is a new Asia - is of vast importance; for here lives nearly half of humanity. Asia has, in the last forty or fifty years, become politically important. Burma, Pakistan, India, and Ceylon attained their independence soon after the Second World War. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the countries of western Asia obtained their nationhood. In China, for the first time, a strong and uncorrupted government has come into existence and is introducing economic and social reforms of far-reaching importance. Japan, after its defeat in the last war, has made a marvellous recovery. While we join issue with the United Kingdom on the colonial question in Malaya, we are happy to feel that advances are being made there; and, indeed, we hope that, as freedom broadens from precedent to precedent, Malaya will belong to the fraternity of free nations along with us.

Politically, the most important event in our part of the world - that is, South-East Asia - has been the meeting of the Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo in April of this year,<sup>15</sup> thanks to the initiative of Sir John Kotalewala, Prime Minister of Ceylon. Unhappily, he and his country are not represented here, not through any sin of theirs, but because Ceylon is one of the victims of the East-West conflict and of the incapacity of the Assembly to solve the problem of the admission of new Members to the United Nations. Sir John Kotalewala invited the Prime Ministers of five countries, and I believe that, although it was not so intended, this meeting took place at the same time as the Geneva Conference. Much of what that

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<sup>15</sup> The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Nepal and Pakistan met in Colombo from 28 April to 2 May 1954.

meeting accomplished - the resolutions it adopted and the agreements it reached - has been printed, but little is known of the fraternity and the “getting together” that Colombo represented. No doubt there are differences of opinion and of views between some countries, or between a number of countries on one side and another, and so on; but Colombo was primarily a regional conference which had no regional sentiment.

One of the first things that the Colombo Conference did was to proclaim that it was in no sense a rival to the Geneva Conference; and while it may appear unnecessary to say this, I believe that this is a point that ought to be made in a gathering of this character: in these days of excessive regionalism and of doctrines of all kinds which keep peoples away from various parts of the world, it is significant that the five countries with their nascent nationalism, all Asians meeting in Colombo, proclaimed to the world that their problems were not merely Asian problems, although they thought they had the right and the duty to consider them together, and suggest solutions. The deliberations in Colombo, to a large extent, were a factor - though unofficially, perhaps informally and perhaps not through the usual channels of communication for conference papers - in the deliberations in Geneva itself.

I think I must refer briefly to the main points discussed. One was the “problem of Indo-China,” as it was called, although when the Conference was convened, the Indo-China problem had not reached that stage of development. This item occupied the Conference; and it is to be noted that the points of solution and the points for consideration suggested by the Conference were largely the same as those announced by the Prime Minister of India a week or two earlier, which became more or less the central topic of discussion and of the solution that might be found in Geneva. I shall speak of Indo-China a little later, so I shall not go into that subject now.

### ***Relationship with China and the Five Principles***

The next outstanding item in our history last year has been the subject of agreement on the relationship between ourselves and the People’s Republic of China, which originally was the preamble to a small agreement on certain Tibetan affairs but was afterwards proclaimed and became more formal - that is, not quite formal, but more public - when the Prime Minister of China visited India during the interval in the Geneva Conference. We believe that by the understanding reached through this historic treaty, our two countries have made a great contribution to peace in the Asian world. We have taken a path which is not the path of maintaining the balance of power, but the path of non-aggression, fraternity and understanding.

There are many in this Assembly who will say, as I heard it said the other day, that there have been non-aggression agreements before. But however that may be, my function is to convey information and to state things as I see them. This

relationship is based upon mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. Now, these ideas did not come from one party or the other; they arose from the discussion of the problems in Asia itself; there was no bargaining, no attempt to find safe positions for one side or the other, no attempt to gain greater advantages for one person as against another. The agreement represents the result of a common exploration in order that two ancient Asian civilisations - we have had an historic connection with China for three or four thousand years - might demonstrate that in modern times, forms of government inside countries need not be a bar to fraternal relations between them. I refer to this because, in the view of the Government of India, these are principles which are applicable to the relations of other countries with us or between themselves, and which probably, in our humble view represent an approach that might contribute to the solution of some of our problems.

### *United Nations and its Agencies*

I should like now to refer to the annual report (A/2663) of the Secretary-General. As usual, the Secretary-General has submitted a report which is extremely important and which I am glad to say - and here I refer to the part with which we have to deal and not the parts that concern the work of the Committees - is extremely brief, concise and to the point. The Secretary-General mentions settlements outside the United Nations. It is the view of my Government that to ignore the machinery of the United Nations where it holds the field would be wrong, but we would not regard the successes attained at Geneva as in any way an affront to the United Nations. So far as our Government is concerned the five Prime Ministers who met in Colombo agreed, in their five points, that the decisions at Geneva should be the subject of information for the United Nations.

In the report of the Secretary-General, there is a reference to this matter in the context of the Security Council. That being a matter of greater importance, I propose to take it up later. It is not possible for me in the time I have - even if I wished to do so, or had the capacity to cover the entire range of United Nations activity, but I believe that we have a responsibility to say something in regard to those matters in which we are represented by election or through the Assembly, or where, under the arrangements made by the United Nations, the relevant organs meet in our country.

India is represented on the Economic and Social Council; and one matter on which the Government of India desires me to lay stress is the future of the special United Nations fund for economic development. We think and I have no doubt that the Assembly thinks - having regard to all the speeches that have been made, even at this session, on the priority of attention to be given to underdeveloped countries, and recalling the words of the Secretary of State of the United States only a few days ago with regard to the disparity between the effort that is put into war and that which is put into peace - that the establishment of this Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development is a matter of vital importance. It will

carry the message of the United Nations farther into the world and into the hearts of men and women than any resolution or any institutional development of another character could do. Political decisions are necessary, vital and emergent - and they may change the shape of things in the world. But at the basis of everything are the lives of men and women, food, shelter, sanitation, and the opportunity to be their best selves which is provided by economic development. We believe that in the basic principles underlying this special United Nations fund there is not merely aid as such, but the element of cooperation. India receives external aid; India also sends out aid; and that is how it should be. Therefore, the fund is based on both self-respect and self-help, and upon cooperation - an endeavour and an approach that is calculated to promote the purposes of the Charter expressed in the first paragraph of its Preamble, as in its entirety; namely, to make this Organisation a centre for harmonising different interests. It is something which makes a country feel that it belongs to the world of other countries and which makes men feel very much that they are brothers.

We have also had meetings of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) in India. I want to make particular reference to two seminars which were held, one on statistics and the other on housing. We, as a country, a people and a government, are interested in the attention which the United Nations pays to statistics, because for underdeveloped countries to see the picture as it is, constitutes the first step toward finding the causes and the remedies for problems. The Government of India pays considerable attention to statistical surveys in India itself; and, if the information gained as a result of these surveys is put to use, it will go a long way.

### *UNICEF*

The next organisation that we want to speak about in some detail is the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). We have a special interest in UNICEF because the degree of public support and public interest in this agency, and the extent to which its work has permeated India, are considerable. Its main activities have been in the field of the cure and prevention of malaria and tuberculosis. It may not be commonly known that in India 100 million people are affected each year by malaria, and that one million die from the disease. As a result of the start given by UNICEF, DDT factories have been set up, and many square miles of land in India have been sprayed.

Similarly, thanks to UNICEF and also to the generosity and the thoughtfulness of our sister State New Zealand, penicillin plants have been set up in India to deal with widespread diseases. But, above all, the BCG treatment for tuberculosis in India is planned on a larger scale than has ever been the case anywhere before. It is planned to treat 170 million people. As a result of these activities, there are today some 5,000 child welfare centres in India - perhaps it should be 50,000. UNICEF is, shall we say, one of the triumphs of the United Nations. We have made our contribution effectively and reciprocally in assisting other countries.



What is more, any financial contribution that comes from UNICEF is many times added to by India itself, and that is why these things have become possible.

I should like to say a word about UNICEF itself, apart from the question of its activities in India. We are told that in Africa, 3 million people are affected each year by malaria, and 300,000 of them die. Here is a vast field in which the activities of UNICEF should be more widespread than they are. My delegation, conscious of its responsibilities as a member of the Trusteeship Council, has this year, on more than one occasion, raised the question of assistance by the Specialised Agencies to the colonial and Trust areas. UNICEF has some 25 million children under the umbrella of its activities. That sounds like a lot of children; but, when one considers that there are 900 million children in the world, one can see that this is a relatively small number. Of the 900 million children in the world, 600 million are insufficiently nourished and insufficiently clothed. Some of them are without any clothing and are extremely badly nourished. Therefore, the problem that we have to deal with, while it may not have the same emergent character and is not likely to cause the same staggering reaction as the problem of atomic energy used for destructive purposes, is nevertheless one of the most persistent cankers eating into the social body of every country.

We therefore want to take advantage of this occasion to make a plea to the Assembly to give greater thought to the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations. Apart from everything else, they represent a great investment in understanding of and between people. Here are the children of this generation, who in more ways than one are unlike the children of any other generation because the world stands today at a new epoch of civilisation - and it is interesting that children do not appear to have inhibitions about curtains, whether of iron, or bamboo, or plastic, or nylon.

There is an exhibition in Delhi conducted by a man named Shankar, who gathers children's paintings from all over the world. From forty-five countries, among them the most unexpected places, children between the ages of two and fifteen send in their paintings every year. Thousands and thousands of them come. Supported by the governments and the embassies, this exhibition has become an international institution. Whether it be in North America or South America or Scandinavia or Western Europe - which today includes the United Kingdom - or in the Soviet Union, where children have special attention or in the continent of Africa, where they are neglected, the problem of children and the concern that we should have for them, not merely out of sentiment but as a reasoned-out proposition, is extremely important.

Therefore, my delegation wished to suggest that UNICEF, compared to what it should do and it could do, is doing extremely little, but is doing it very well - and, what is more, its activity is increasing. Its resources are limited. My delegation desires to make the suggestion - and it will make a proposal in the appropriate place - that the United Nations should set aside one day as a World Children's

Day, on which collections can be made for this purpose. Children can be brought into the understanding and consciousness of other children, together with all the problems that concern children, such as their health - and I do not mean only physical health....

### *Problem of Germany*

I now come to some specific problems which are not covered by agenda items.

The first of these items is Germany. It may well be asked why the Asians, who are so far away, should have anything to say here about Germany. It may well be thought that the problem of Germany is a matter that has been discussed and considered by the four great Powers who had the major responsibility for defeating the Hitlerite armies in the Second World War. However, not only do we make no apology, but we consider that it is our bounden duty at the present moment to deal with this matter...

Why are we concerned about Germany? We think that Germany is the centrepiece of this peace fabric - or non-peace fabric. What happens in Germany will decide, to a very considerable extent, the question of peace or war. I make no reflection - but it so happens that, in the history of the last hundred years, it has been the position of Germany, whether in the direction of expansion or in the direction of internal unity, that has contributed to instability and to creating the conditions for war.

During the last thirty or forty years, my country - and at that time India included what is now Pakistan - was deeply concerned in this matter. In the First World War - in Flanders, at Mons, in Belgium, at Gallipoli, at Salonika, at Katlamara and in the rest of Mesopotamia - Indian soldiers paid with their lives, and it is generally recognised that they made some contribution to the victory and did their job as soldiers should. In the Second World War - at Sidi-Barram, Tobruk, Benghazi and El Alamein; in Tunisia, Italy and Greece; in standing guard in the Middle East, not only for what is now one side in the world conflict, but for both - the Indian army, the Indian people and their resources were engaged.

I do not for a moment suggest that a country should pay its way, so to speak, by participation in war. That would be contrary to all the principles which my Government and country hold. What I have said, however, is meant only to point out that if a war of this character should break out, if a situation should deteriorate and lead to world conflagration, the place, we think where the danger to world peace still largely lies is Europe even more than Asia. It is in Europe that all the great wars have begun. It is from Europe that the great wars have been carried to other parts of the world. It is European wars that have enlisted us in conflicts. It is therefore right and proper that we, as independent nations and, as countries forming part of communities which represent half the population of the world - and here I do not speak in any sense of regional or national chauvinism - should

refer to this matter.

This introduction is necessary because this is the first time that we have intervened here in this connection. I have no desire at the present moment to raise the question whether the Members of the United Nations or any other country should really enter into these general discussions and problems. I make no comment on the recent developments in either part of Germany. All we know is this: It is now nine years since the end of the war, and there is still no peace. A German peace is necessary for world peace, and a German peace requires the unification of Germany, in whatever way that may be brought about. Without casting praise or blame on either side, I would say that it so happens that there are two schools of thought which are united in a desire for a unified Germany, but which have different solutions to offer.

On the one hand, one side, the West, wants quite rightly from its point of view and, as the plan is presented, quite unexceptionably - universal elections in Germany, presumably supervised by the United Nations, out of which will come some organ which will seek to unite Germany or will express the voice of a united Germany. I do not understand all the details, but that is how I see the plan.

On the other hand, the Eastern side - that is, the Soviet Union - while also wanting a united Germany, which, indeed, is in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of 1942 and the general objectives of the successful termination of the war itself, asks for a different solution. The Eastern side asks that the two Governments, one in Eastern Germany and one in Western Germany - until recently, they were not sovereign Governments but authorities - should together, and presumably on an equal basis, arrange for these elections in a coalition government; that is to say, it is proposed that there should be unity before the holding of elections. On this matter the two sides have been at loggerheads, with the result that Germany remains divided.

Now the unity of Germany is not a concern of the German people alone, although we think that the achieving of that unity is very largely their interest and of greater concern to them. I would say, in all humility, that we cannot make a proposal in this connection because the subject is not before the United Nations. But, speaking for a country which has international responsibilities and which, indeed, has been drawn into more responsibilities than we had really cared to undertake, we should like to suggest at this moment that, whatever may be the merits of the two solutions I have described, they both lack one merit; the other side will not agree. Without that merit, either solution is unworkable. We should therefore like to give expression to the idea - I do not say "to propose," I do not know, really what words best to use - that a beginning could perhaps be made along the following lines.

The Soviet Union has proclaimed that Eastern Germany today has sovereignty. Mr Lloyd told us the other day that it has an army of a considerable size. Now, an

army is usually regarded as an evidence of sovereignty. Eastern Germany has its own administration; it has, or will soon be given, sovereignty. The situation in Western Germany in this respect is similar. Western Germany has a government of its own and is also going to be allowed to have sovereignty. When the occupation terminates, the occupation forces are to be withdrawn and other purposes are announced. It therefore appears that there will be one community divided into two sovereign camps.

On behalf of the Government of India, I would say that we think that it is time that there should be direct talks between the two sides, in order to bring about this unity which is of so much concern not only to Europe but to all of us, since the consequences of disunity have been so terrible for everyone in the past fifty or sixty years. We do not for a moment want to say - in fact, it is not our place at the present moment to say - what status or contents these talks should have, what form they should take or anything of that kind. But, if there are two independent communities, as has been proclaimed, and if, as I have no doubt, the governments of those communities have the support of their own people, it appears to us that it should be possible for Germans to talk to Germans in order to find ways, or at least beginnings to establish the unity of their own country. We think, as we indicated in Geneva, that direct talks conducted in the way that the parties themselves may do best, have a great value. That would not upset any arrangements that other parties responsible for the two sides today might have. This suggestion is not intended to take the place of anything now being done. If, however, as the result of direct talks, a united Germany emerges; if the two Governments are able, together to present to the two sides - the Soviet Union, on the one hand and the Western Powers, on the other - proposals which will lead to unity if that is what the Germans want, and if it is in keeping with the security of the world, as it should be in present circumstances, then it appears common sense that such talks would open the way to some constructive solution.

My delegation wishes to place on record that these observations represent my Government's view in this matter and its concern.

### *Question of Korea*

I come next to another problem, one in which we are more deeply concerned. I refer to the question of Korea. That subject is on the Assembly's agenda, and we are therefore precluded - not by any ruling, but by the principles governing the good conduct of business - from going into any great detail here.

I hope that no one will think that I am speaking out of turn if I remind the Assembly that it has conferred upon my Government and country a very considerable responsibility as regards Korea, even though we were not active belligerents in the war. We were regarded by both sides at least as not having been too partisan. As I have said, India undertook considerable responsibility, along with other countries; we had a great responsibility as head of the Neutral

Nations Repatriation Commission. The Government of India has submitted its report to the Assembly, and we hope that it will some time come up for consideration. I think that it would be a very bad practice if the United Nations were to call upon Governments and people to carry out certain responsibilities, and then forget all about them.

There are other matters of detail that I think it would be unwise to ventilate in this place; but on the general problem of Korea, the Government of India does not take an alarmist or a very despondent view. We are concerned, very concerned, about certain matters: that while there is no fighting, there is still no peace; and that a situation has arisen where not some ordinary person, not some irresponsible politician or some agitator, but the head of one of the party States, the head of the South Korean Government,<sup>16</sup> speaking to the United States Congress on 28 July 1954, said, among many other things:

On the Korean front, the guns are silent for the moment, stilled temporarily by the unwise armistice which the enemy is using to build up its strength.

That is the “unwise armistice” which the General Assembly promoted under the leadership of the United States and the other parties concerned, including the enemy parties, after very long and arduous negotiations.

The next part is more ominous:

Now that the Geneva Conference has come to an end with no result, as predicted, it is quite in place to declare the end of the armistice.

I think we should place on record in the plenary meeting of this General Assembly that the armistice and its termination are governed by article 62 of the Armistice Agreement. While it is, I think, unkind - because, if I may speak in the privacy of this plenary meeting, the United States has exerted its very great influence to bring moderation to the counsels of this gentleman - we should ask the United States delegation to deal with this matter.

On the other hand, the fact remains that this armistice is an uneasy one; and it is our concern to convert the armistice into a permanent peace. It is necessary that all foreign troops in Korea be withdrawn by both sides. The presence of foreign troops is not conducive to the dignity, the unity or the well-being of a people. A foreign army on the soil of any country is, by definition and by all considerations, something which is most undesirable. It is necessary for all foreign troops to be withdrawn and for the unification of Korea to be achieved.

In this connection, my delegation may have proposals to make at a later stage. We are heartened by the feeling that there is general agreement about the necessity of

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<sup>16</sup> Syngman Rhee

bringing about the unification of Korea. My delegation does not take the view that the negotiations - which, thanks to the decisions of the General Assembly at that time, have been strictly in accordance with the letter of article 60 of the Armistice Agreement - have ended; those negotiations are still in being. From the papers that one has seen, it appears that some day a report will be made to the United Nations, not a final report.

I make bold to say that, contrary to the usual assumptions, the proceedings at Geneva marked a definite advance. The Conference revealed, first of all, the desire by both sides to get together and a great deal of personal contacts were made. The three joint Presidents, Prince Wan Waithayakon, Mr Eden and Mr Molotov - as the two latter did in the other Conference - used their influence to keep it going and to bring about results. This is not the time to review the field or the points of common agreement; that will have to be done in Committee. All I want to say at this moment is that we cannot just forget this matter, but, as wisdom dictates and as prudence guides us, we shall have to take steps, with the least possible disturbances but with the greatest possible efficacy, to achieve the goal that is before the United Nations.

The goal before the United Nations was not just the ending of the war in Korea. That was part of the achievement of that goal, or of the removal of the impediments to achieving that goal. We will, at the appropriate stage and if circumstances permit, make some suggestion which may be acceptable to both sides. In order to assuage any anxieties there may be, I want to say that our one desire in this matter is, as it always has been, in this or any other question, only to assist in the processes of settlement. If, therefore, this problem pursues that course of development, it may be the best part of common sense to leave for the present other matters relating to the Korean problem, which can be discussed at a later stage.

I am happy to feel that in this matter, up to this point, I appear to have the support of the major parties. I have read the speeches made at Geneva. I have read the speech of Mr Spaak,<sup>17</sup> the Foreign Minister of Belgium, and I heard Mr Lloyd<sup>18</sup> say on 4 October:

I think everyone feels that there must be no more fighting, that unification must be achieved by peaceful means. The Western Powers, the countries which sent troops to fight under the United Nations flag in Korea, believe in unification on the basis of elections in which there will be genuine freedom of choice by the individual elector, who will be free in fact as well as in name... . We hope for the resumption of negotiations between the appropriate parties and at the appropriate time.

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<sup>17</sup> Paul Henri Spaak, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium

<sup>18</sup> Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom

In Geneva, the Soviet Union, China, North Korea, South Korea, and the other fifteen or sixteen Powers all agreed upon certain things; that there should be unification; there should be elections, and there should be supervision. I believe, as was discovered with regard to Indo-China, that very often the unfortunate circumstance prevails in public discussion that the same words are given different meaning by different people. I make bold to say publicly that the discussions which took place in Geneva have brought this problem another step towards unification - I should like my words to be noted - another step towards unification, which is nearer achievement than it ever was. To throw away this opportunity would be a great mistake. My delegation, for its part, will seek, as in the past, to be guided by the dictates of common sense and by the degree of assistance it can get from all concerned.

### *Colonial and Trust Territories*

The next subject on which my delegation desires to express its mind is that of the colonial and Trust areas. I have already said there have been advances in this field. The Gold Coast, Nigeria, the French possessions in India, and Greenland, which was a Danish colony, have all shown an advance towards independence. The advance, perhaps, is not as fast as we desire, but at any rate it is in the right direction. Although it is not always recognised, my delegation is not only happy but anxious to pay tribute wherever advances are made. We realise that those in possession do not easily relinquish control, but in the majority of these cases the parties concerned have had the benefit of the extremely good relations that have prevailed between themselves and their former subject peoples.

Having said that, I was equally happy though I say this with greater reserve because I do not know what the circumstances are, nor does anyone else - to feel that the Prime Minister of France has made a new approach to the problem of Tunisia, an approach for which this Assembly has been asking year after year. All the Assembly asked for was that there should be direct contact and negotiations, but whenever that was asked for, Article 2, paragraph 7,<sup>19</sup> was thrown at us. However, a beginning has been made. I do not want to speak too soon. We have seen that there are always difficulties, but I have no doubt that with the new feeling that now prevails, with the gradual recognition that the demands of national freedom are best met quickly rather than slowly and by direct negotiations in a dignified way with those who are in a position to deliver the goods, and before precipitous tendencies break up in the area itself, satisfactory progress will be achieved. It is like collective bargaining in industrial disputes.

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<sup>19</sup> Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter reads: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter, but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

In some of the African protectorates, some advance is being made. As regards the Trust Territories, I think this Assembly would want to - and I feel we ought to - pay high tribute to that great little country of New Zealand for the very bold and very imaginative task - I would not call it an experiment - it has undertaken in Western Samoa. This is one region of the world in which, although one nation rules another, yet there is a greater sense of equality than anywhere else. A convention is to meet in Western Samoa where the principle of self-determination will work in practice among so-called backward peoples. In the state this world is in, I hope we shall stop talking about head hunters and backward peoples. I suppose the so-called head hunters hunt only one head at a time, but we seek to hunt the heads of the whole population by atomic destruction and wars. We are not entitled to talk in that way. However, a great advance has been made in Western Samoa and, while there are still many difficulties in the way and while the final form of development is not complete, there has been no resistance from the Administering Authority. The Administering Authority has never, in word or in deed or in sentiment, expressed the idea that this territory is New Zealand Samoa; they speak about Western Samoa. We are happy to feel that this venture of the United Nations, following up the late departure in colonial matters practised by the late League of Nations, has now borne fruit.

Similarly, in Togoland, advances are likely to be made if there is agreement between the parties concerned.

There is another Territory where again, quite silently, a great advance has been made. Colonialism is not merely an economic relationship; it is not merely a question of land-grab or of profit. It is a historical inheritance of race relations, of the rule of one nation by another, and the only solution for it is the creation of multiracial societies. Therefore, the step that has been taken in Tanganyika in providing equality of representation in the new legislature although at the present moment it is still weighed against the Africans as far as proportion is concerned, is in the background of colonial practice a great advance. What is more, we hope that the Administering Authority will enable us to feel that the impression that we gathered in the Trusteeship Council that there will be a common electorate in this area will indeed be the fact.

I am afraid that we cannot say the same for the rest of Africa. Unfortunately, the worst part of Africa in the colonial domain, Portuguese Africa, never comes before us. On these colonial questions, therefore, I hope that those who have great influence and authority in this Assembly - not in theory but in reality - will not argue that these areas are part of the sovereign territories of the metropolitan country, but rather take the view advanced by our Vice-President, Mr Trujillo of Ecuador,<sup>20</sup> who, as the dean this year of the Latin American States, must be regarded as representing the opinion of an important and influential part of the world which has experienced colonial rule - not in its own lifetime but in its history. I have seen no better statement of the juridical position of a colony than

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<sup>20</sup> Jose Vincente Trujillo, Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations



this explanation of latent sovereignty. Mr Trujillo stated:

Last year in the Fourth Committee, my delegation maintained that it is incompatible with the letter and spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter to plead article 2, paragraph 7, in support of the claim that matters connected with the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories are matters of domestic jurisdiction. My delegation maintained then, and repeats now, that nations which have not reached full self-government are, as it were, incomplete States which, while possessing the elements of population and territory, but lack only government, or in other words, the capacity of self-determination and self-rule. For that reason, possession of their own territory is the inalienable right of non-self-governing peoples and never of the administrators, whose only power over such territory can be compared with the powers under civil law of a guardian over a ward. We can no more speak of the sovereignty of an administering Power over a Non-Self-Governing Territory than we can speak of a guardian's ownership of his ward's property. We only use the term 'sovereignty' in connection with internal administrative measures taken by an Administering Power.

Further, in regard to this problem, the Latin American States at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas came to the unanimous conclusion for all South America - and we hope that some day North America will follow - that all South America had positively declared in favour of self-government and self-determination, that is to say, if one must use the hackneyed phrase, they have taken an "anti-colonial" attitude.

I think that it is only proper, in view of the responsibilities that my delegation feels it has, to say at once that simply because there is a right does not mean that an attempt should be made to assert it on every occasion. Whether a particular question is competent for discussion, or whether it is wise to discuss it, or whether it will yield results, is a matter of the circumstances of each case and occasion. As people responsible for making contributions to these questions in a constructive way, we should recognise that the application of these principles is conditioned by time and circumstances in each case. Of course, my country stands, fully and without reservation, for the rights of any people. We do not recognise primitive or non-primitive people, people who are competent or not competent - competence is a matter of opportunity. There is no community in the world, be it the most historic, the most ancient or the most civilised, which does not have to its credit - or is it to its debit? - a vast number of tragic mistakes.

At Colombo, the five Prime Ministers unanimously pronounced themselves against the continuance of colonial rule. I think that any settlement in the interests of the people must be largely a matter of our persuading and putting pressure in a way that will create results, not merely situations. My delegation has taken this view in the Fourth Committee and in the Trusteeship Council, and I am glad to say that some Administering Authorities and some colonial Powers have been

amenable on occasion.

### ***West Irian***

We now come to a specific colonial problem, that of West Irian. My delegation voted for the inclusion of this item on the agenda for exactly the same reason that it did not lend its support to the inclusion of the item on Cyprus: because we believe that these people are entitled to their own rule. Since this is a Committee item I do not wish to go into it in detail. I should like, however, to say to my very old friend, the representative of Australia<sup>21</sup> - perhaps his remark was not so intended, and I am sure that on mature reflection he will probably see his way to revise what he has said - that it is not really my "pigeon" in the sense that it is not India that is talked about, but it is one of our close neighbours and very good friends. We feel sad - I would not say we resent - but we are sorry that this statement came from Australia which is part of that area usually called Australasia; they are to live with us in the centuries to come. Mr Casey said:

Despite what the Indonesian delegation might say to the contrary, there has never been independence movement among the Papuans. The only voices heard in favour of union with Indonesia are echoes from Djakarta. Agitation from outside, such as that now in train, can only have disturbing and detrimental effect upon the indigenous population of Netherlands New Guinea, who, like the population of Australian New Guinea [that is, a Trust Territory], are untroubled by political conflicts of any kind.

I have no desire to add to any friction that there may be in this matter. I say this, however, because not to say so would be not to perform my duty in this matter. I am sure that this statement was not ill meant, but it is one of those things to which what I said earlier applies so much: there is a new Asia.

My delegation does not in the least say that there should be no disagreement, because if that were our position we would raise the same objection to the expression of sentiment by Mr Luns<sup>22</sup> of the Netherlands. We do not. What Mr Luns said was:

... however much we deplore the Indonesian initiative, we have no intention of letting our relations with Indonesia be affected by this case.

### ***Kuomintang Troops in Burma***

The presence of the Kuomintang troops in Burma is still an item on the agenda, and therefore we have no desire to say anything about it in detail. But I think that this Assembly ought to be reminded of the great patience of the Burmese Government and people in this regard. We hear a great deal about the aggressions

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<sup>21</sup> R. C. Casey, Minister of State for External Affairs of Australia

<sup>22</sup> J. M. A. H. Luns, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

to come. However, here is a case of aggression where tens of thousands of square miles have been occupied, ravaged and plundered, where there is shedding of blood and everything else. While we pay tribute to those who have brought about a partial remedy, it does appear that the remaining troops in this area should leave. It is not usually known what degree of forbearance has been exercised on the other side, and the situations that may arise from the presence of these troops in Burma.

### *Agreements on Indo-China*

... With the conclusion of the Armistice in Indo-China<sup>23</sup> war came to an end after a period of twenty-five years.

The Indo-China settlement is important for many reasons. But before I discuss it and since there will be no other occasion, I think that, since my country has an intimate knowledge of this matter, this is a proper opportunity to mention in a very few words the great debt of gratitude that humanity owes to certain people in this connection. I think, first of all, we must praise the two belligerents, Mr Mendes-France of France<sup>24</sup> and Mr Pham Van Dong of Viet-Minh,<sup>25</sup> two people who grappled with this task with one common aim. But the Conference would have achieved nothing but for the wisdom, the patience and the really hard work that was put into it by two persons, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom<sup>26</sup> and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.<sup>27</sup> Here was an example, not only of how the problem of Indo-China has been resolved, but of how two statesmen, who differ fundamentally, as we know, on so many things, were engaged in a common task, and, in a spirit of give and take in common exploration, put formalities and other difficulties on one side and found solutions. At no time was it felt that the matter would not be worth pursuing.

Since the Assembly is likely to know very little about it, I should also like to say that when the real history of this affair is known the world will realise that in the Prime Minister of China there was a statesman of considerable stature who played the role of a conciliator and a co-ordinator in the talks that were conducted in Geneva.

I think that it is not a question of whether or not the matter is on our agenda. It is one of the great things that has happened in the world, because the Indo-China settlement has halted what might well have been a world war. It has reversed the

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<sup>23</sup> The dispute over the sovereignty of Indo-China was taken out of the jurisdiction of the United Nations and handed over to the nine-nation group holding its sessions in Geneva in 1954. An agreement was signed on 21 July 1954 providing a temporary division of the country.

<sup>24</sup> Pierre Mendes-France, Prime Minister of France

<sup>25</sup> Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

<sup>26</sup> Sir Anthony Eden

<sup>27</sup> V. M. Molotov

trend of conflict. It has brought about a great change in Asia.

At the same time, it showed the role of the United States in this matter. From what I know of him, I want to pay my personal tribute to Walter Bedell Smith, Under-Secretary of State, without whose assistance it would not have been possible to bring about a settlement. It is quite true that the United States took a different position from the others in the final settlements, but the whole world knows that, but for his beneficent influence and his willingness not to intervene where points of view had been reconciled, it would not have been possible to accomplish what was done at Geneva.

The personal relations of the delegations were excellent. I think the way has been opened for international conferences different from what they used to be. My own Government, by the voice of its Prime Minister on 22 February, asked that there should be a cease-fire in Indo-China. At that time, this was laughed at, except by a few, notably one man who afterwards became the Prime Minister of France. He brought the matter up in the French Parliament and rallied 250 votes for an immediate cease-fire. It did not come about.

Two months later, the Government of India put forward six points which are well known, one of which is extremely important to us: that we must create a climate of peace in negotiation. Our Government used what influence it had in trying to slow down the tempo of battle. These points, in essence, were restated in the Colombo proposals, which were sent to the Geneva Conference. As a result of Geneva, we have today in Indo-China hope of independence; that is to say, independence in the sense that the French Government is committed to the Indo-Chinese people, to itself and to the four great Powers to grant independence to the Indo-China States, and to withdraw its forces.

I shall not go into the terms of this Agreement because time is passing. However, there are certain points with which I want to deal because they have been mentioned here and it would be very wrong for these erroneous ideas not to be contradicted as far as possible.

It was mentioned in the course of the debate that Vietnam was partitioned. Nothing is further from the truth. The idea that there is a cease-fire line on the Ben Hai river near the 17th parallel is something that came from the mechanics of negotiation where it was not possible to define cease-fire arrangements by lines and pockets; some line had to be drawn. There was much give and take. Reference was made in one speech to the fact that on one side large number of people would move from their homes. Our Commission reports that it has set up a petitions committee and that the number of complaints that have come in is very small and the complaints have been dealt with. People go from one side to the other and *vice versa*, so there is no partition of this territory. What is more, this has been definitely laid down in every single one of these Armistice Agreements and embodied in the Final Declaration of the Conference. Paragraph 6 of the Final

Declaration of the Geneva Conference states:

The Conference recognises that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Vietnam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary. The Conference expresses its conviction that the execution of the provisions set out in the present declaration and in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities creates the necessary basis for the achievement in the near future of a political settlement in Vietnam.

Therefore, the idea that Indo-China is partitioned as Korea was is not in accordance with the facts.

You have heard it said by the representative of Australia that this is the best they could get. Now, could there be any better definition of the result of negotiations? If you negotiate, you do not get what you think you ought to get and the other fellow does not get what he thinks he ought to get. I think that is about as classic a definition of negotiation as we can have.

Mr Casey described what happened in Indo-China. I think he gave a very useful explanation of what a negotiated settlement should be:

I believe that in the present world situation the ending of open hostilities in such an inflammable situation is an important thing in itself. All of us, I think, were concerned - and perhaps not least the Government of the Soviet Union - at the way in which the heat of the fighting in Indo- China appeared to be creeping steadily up towards flash-point. Wars, particularly modern wars, do not stand still. They tend either to expand or to contract. The termination of the fighting stopped what might well have been an expanding risk.

Secondly, the Geneva settlement means that Laos and Cambodia will have complete independence. [So will Vietnam, that should be added.] The Soviet Union, Communist China and the Viet-Minh, as well as the representatives of the democratic countries, agreed to respect the integrity and the independence of these States. This is a provision which may be of first importance in stabilising the situation in South-East Asia. It is the earnest hope of my country that all the free Asian countries will accord diplomatic recognition...

Thus, the idea of looking upon the Indo-China agreement by paying it a kind of left-handed compliment, if I may say so, does not accord with the great achievement which was brought about by these world statesmen who were gathered at Geneva.

Mr Lloyd referred to trouble in Laos. I have seen some reports about this in the newspapers. But I want to assure him that the International Commission, which

consists of the Canadians, the Poles and ourselves, has not reported anything of the kind. Crimes, thrusts to power occur in most of these territories, which have not been established for a long time; but whether there is any political trouble, anything that goes against the Armistice Agreement - which would naturally trouble the United Kingdom - I would, as far as I can and with the knowledge I have, try to set his mind at rest.

All the reports from Indo-China to the Commission are of the most assuring character. The Vietnam Government [the Southern Vietnam] assured them co-operation even though it has not signed the Armistice Agreement. The Indian Chairman and the Canadian and Polish representatives have said that this assurance was not merely verbal but physical. The Viet-Minh, that is, the northern people, have lent their good offices. Most of the prisoners have been repatriated. There have been no complaints, and if there have been difficulties, they have been dealt with between the parties. The relations between the French and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are excellent. The Commission has set up a Department of Petitions to deal with the movement of the population. The Commission takes care not to act as a superbody. I have read out only some items of the report that has come in. In Cambodia the repatriation of prisoners is complete.

I thought I would mention these facts in regard to Indo-China, because my country bears witness to the patience and arduous labours of these men who have, for the first time after the conclusion of the Second World War, achieved a result that may be called a substantial contribution towards peace.

### *South East Asia Defence Treaty*

My delegation wishes now to refer to another matter, which is controversial in respect of some representatives in the Assembly; that is, the agreement which was recently reached in Manila.<sup>28</sup> The views of the Government of India on this matter are well known. We regard it as something which should not have happened but has happened. My Prime Minister has publicly stated that we do not question the motives of any of the parties; it is not for us to question motives. As the famous jurist, Lord Acton, said, "The thought of man is not triable." We cannot go into motives. We have no desire to make this an issue which will prevent the consideration of other questions.

We believe that the creation of this arrangement has to a certain extent diminished the value of the climate of peace that was generated by the Indo-China settlement. At the same time, we think that the arrangement which has been reached is far less productive of anxiety than was originally thought. It is very difficult for us to understand the great hurry to perform this operation when there had been aggression, trouble and war in Indo-China for eight years; and when once a

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<sup>28</sup> The South East Asia Defence Treaty was signed in Manila on 8 September 1954, by France, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States.

settlement had been negotiated, that there should have been an agreement of this character. The ink was not dry on the Indo-China settlement. Nothing positive was gained by this agreement, because it does not appear that it can be an instrument of great potency; but it can do a great deal of harm. It has already done some.

We now come to its more political aspects. My Government must register its objection to the designation in the Treaty articles of "a treaty area", that is, of a treaty area that is outside the territory of the signatories, and, what is more, one which the parties have the right to extend - in other words, a roving commission to go and protect other people's territories, whether they want it or not. We think that is contrary to the sovereignty and self-respect of the people who are there. It is contrary to the spirit if not the terms of the Charter and, what is more, it is something calculated to prevent the Asian countries from ironing out their differences, and it is also something calculated to perpetuate the very things it is seeking to prevent. An alliance of this kind, where the principal parties are powerful countries whose interests in our part of the world in the past have been of an imperialistic character, cannot be regarded as an alliance of equals. It is based upon diplomacy by threats, which has not paid in the past.

There are too many such alliances in the world. There is the Soviet-Chinese alliance - the Soviet Union, presumably, has alliances with other people - there is the United States' alliance with Syngman Rhee and probably with Formosa; there is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and this and that and the other. It so much cuts into the whole idea of collective security and the principles of the Charter or, at any rate, its objectives; that is to say, it is a proclamation of the doctrine of balance of power and of power groupings. But as I said, while we regard this as harmful to the interests of peace, it does not at the present moment affect us greatly.

We regret that this agreement should come soon after Geneva and have helped to give rebirth to the suspicions which all of us have tried to get rid of. It has been contended that this is a regional organisation under the Charter. If that point had not been mentioned, my delegation would not have wished to take it up. I would like to say that no one can object to agreements among sovereign nations, but when those agreements go beyond their own territory for the protection of an area - and what is more, in our case some of these parties are bound to us by other ties - it introduces into Asia the whole apparatus of the cold war, and cannot contribute to the extension of the area of peace or to drawing those who may have, or are reputed to have, aggressive designs, or aggressive ideas, or aggressive illusions, into the comity of nations.

No one can object to a club of like-minded nations, or temporarily like-minded nations, doing what they like. But this agreement goes further. It designates as its area the South-West Pacific and the general area of South-East Asia. Generally, South-East Asia extends from the Himalayas to the equator. What is more, the

South-West Pacific is open sea. So that from this point of view we think that the agreement has hurt us.

In arguing before this Assembly that this is a regional organisation, the proponents of this treaty, some of them signatories, have quoted one article or another of the Charter. Some call to their defence article 51, and claim that under this article it is a purely defensive organisation. Now what does article 51 say? It says:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council...

I shall not go into the question of whether this is a measure taken or a measure contemplated, and I shall not go into the question of reporting to the Security Council. But if there has been no attack we cannot regard this as a measure of self-defence. And, what is more, it certainly is not the self-defence, not even of a collective self. It is very doubtful that law permits a collective self in this way, unless the selves that make up the collective self are individuals, such as in a company or in a corporation. These, however, are sovereign States, whose selves remain separate. If their selves had been merged, then the fact of their individual seating in this Assembly would be open to question. Therefore, they are multiple selves and there cannot be any question of self-defence. Article 51 of the Charter, therefore, does not apply. It is not an organisation, even a military one, of the character cited within the meaning of the clause cited.

If it is stated that the agreement comes under article 52, then we say that it is not a regional organisation, because the maintenance of international peace and security is primarily a function of the Security Council, as stated in article 24. Any argument, therefore, about this being a regional organisation is, in our view, totally inadmissible.

The Government of India was invited to attend the Manila Conference. It did not attend because to do so would have meant a reversal in our policy. To do so would have meant we were not sincere in our views, or that there was no meaning in the agreements and understandings we had just reached with Burma and with China: these agreements refer to non-aggression and non-interference. To have concluded these agreements and then to become a party to a system of this kind would not have been consistent. Furthermore, it would not have been of any positive value because, as I said, the results are more negative and harmful than positive and useful. As it stands, the main areas and the larger countries of this region are not part of this system of organisation. We regret that this has come into existence and we hope that in future common sense will prevail on both



sides. In spite of the many organisations and arrangements which we may not favour, we have no intention of making this a kind of barrier in our relationship with other people. We shall, as far as we can, base our conduct on understanding and use whatever persuasion we are able to exercise; particularly with respect to the United Kingdom, which in this matter has cut right across the lines of other relations, we have explained our position fully.

I hope that nothing I have said will be regarded as merely making an argument or as in any way cutting into the complete and unqualified right of countries to conclude whatever agreements they wish. I shall resist the temptation to quote Mr Casey's speech on this matter.

That is our position regarding the Manila agreement. However, as we are optimistic, we hope that it will not do much harm. At any rate, our endeavours will take the direction which I have indicated.

### ***Representation of China***

I come now to the question of the representation of China. The resolution which was moved by the representative of the United States, Mr Lodge, does not say that we must not discuss this question; it says only that we must not take a decision on it.<sup>29</sup> India's position on this question is very well known. The stability of Asia would be very much assisted by having the People's Government of China represented in this gathering. It made a great contribution at Geneva. What is more, if Geneva proved anything, it was that no results could be obtained if the right people were not present. That does not necessarily mean that we are getting anywhere just because the people who are sitting together are like-minded; in order to get anywhere we also have to talk to the "unlike-minded."

I hope that the Assembly will take note of the very strong and considered views expressed by the Prime Ministers at Colombo in regard to the representation of China. While they have not used exaggerated language, they have sought to convey to the world the importance of this matter and their concern about it.

We would say that the presence in this Assembly of the People's Government of China alone can bring into our counsels the large part of Asia which is now disfranchised. This is so in fact, though not in law, because of the position adopted by the Assembly. We believe that our delegation's view on the question of legality is well known. We hope that the political considerations which might cause difficulties in the case of some people will not last too long, and that we shall be able to talk to those with whom some people may disagree. The participation in our deliberations of the People's Government of China would be one of the most substantial contributions towards establishing stability in South-

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<sup>29</sup> On 21 September 1954, the General Assembly adopted a United States proposal not to consider, at the ninth session, any proposal to seat representatives of the People's Republic of China.

East Asia and towards providing for non- interference in the affairs of other States and for arrangements on non-aggression.

The Prime Ministers considered at Colombo the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. They felt that such representation would help to promote stability in Asia, ease world tension and assist in bringing about a more realistic approach to world problems.

On this same question, just two days ago the Prime Minister of India made the following statement:

In regard to the United Nations, this House knows that we have stood for the People's Government of China being represented there. Recently the United Nations passed a resolution that this matter will not be considered for a year or so. I have long been convinced of the fact that a great part of our present-day difficulties - certainly in the Far East, but I would like to go further and say in the world - is a result of this extraordinary shutting of one's eyes to the fact of China. Here is a great country, and it is totally immaterial whether you like it or dislike it. Here is a great country, and the United Nations, or some countries of the United Nations, refuse to recognise that it is there. The result is that all kinds of conflicts arise. I am convinced in my mind that there would have been no Korean war if the People's Government of China had been in the United Nations - it is only guess work - because people could have dealt with China across a table. It adds to the complexities and difficulties of world problems.

Remember this, that it is not a question of the admission of China to the United Nations. China is one of the founding Members of the United Nations. It is merely a question of who represents China. This fact is not adequately realised. It is not a question really of the Security Council or anybody else deciding as they have to decide on the admission of new countries. China is not a new country. It is really a question, if you like, of credentials - who represents China - a straightforward question, and it surprises and amazes me how this straightforward question has been twisted round about and made a cause of infinite troubles. There will be no settlement in the Far East or in South-East Asia until this major fact of the People's Government of China is recognised. I say one of the biggest factors ensuring security in South-East Asia and in the Far East is the recognition of China by those countries and China's admission to the United Nations. There would be far greater assurance of security that way than through your South East Asia Treaty Organisation or the rest.

If China comes in, apart from the fact that you deal with China face to face at the United Nations and elsewhere, China would assume certain responsibilities in the United Nations....

Instead of adding to its responsibility and laying down ways of cooperation you shut the door of cooperation and add to the irresponsible behaviour of nations in this way and call it security. There is something fundamentally wrong about it. The result inevitably is that the influence of the United Nations lessens, as it must. I do not want it to lessen because whatever it may be, it is one of our biggest hopes for peace in the world.

In this connection, constant reference has been made here to what has been called aggression by subversion. The Government of India is glad to be able to relate that both the Head of State, Mao Tse-tung, and the Prime Minister of the People's Government of China, Chou En-lai, have recently said that it has been pointed out to them that the millions of Chinese who are overseas but claim Chinese nationality and who support China, cause a good deal of trouble. In former days, China did not recognise the right of a Chinese to divest himself of his Chinese nationality. It may be said that the authorities on Formosa also take the same view. This factor contributes to making the position of Chinese communities in the countries of South-East Asia very embarrassing. We know the peculiar situation that prevails in Malaya. The British Government has the very difficult position whereby one talks of Malayan independence when the Malaysians themselves are in a minority.

An interesting development has now taken place, and reference to it has been made both by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, the Head of State and the Prime Minister of the People's Government of China. They stated that they would not consider Chinese communities living outside China in the same way as they had formerly been considered, but that those communities may now choose between becoming nationals of the country in which they are living - and if they so chose they would be cut off completely from China - or retaining their Chinese nationality, in which event they must not interfere in the internal affairs of another country. This is an action which certainly will remove some difficulties and apprehensions.

I may say that this is the view of my Government with regard to the people of Indian origin in the British colonies, and elsewhere. We regard them as Tanganyikans and Kenyans, or as whatever they are, in spite of their civilisations and their connections of race, and everything else.

### *Disarmament*

The next problem that I would like to address myself to is that of disarmament. In Resolution 715( VIII) of 28 November 1953, a Sub-Committee was set up, even though our proposal for it did not have much support at first.<sup>30</sup> We are all happy

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<sup>30</sup> In Resolution 715 (VIII), the General Assembly requested the Disarmament Commission to study the desirability of establishing a Sub-Committee consisting of representatives of the Powers principally involved.

On 9 April 1954, the Commission established a Sub-Committee consisting of representatives

that the Sub-Committee has laboured very hard and our hearts must have been warmed by the speeches made by the representatives of France and the United Kingdom, and certain South American countries. It is felt now that we have gone a step beyond the Sub-Committee's report.

When this Assembly met, there were two positions, that of the United States and that of the Soviet Union. There was a compromise position, that of France and the United Kingdom, which the United States was willing to accept. Now, the representative of the Soviet Union has come forward and said, without qualification, that he accepts, as a basis of discussion, the proposals put forward by the Sub-Committee.

I am most anxious not to develop the details of this matter, nor to go into the procedural aspects of this question, because my delegation proposes to participate in the discussion on disarmament, and we believe the time has come for the Assembly to consider whether those parts of the world - regions, as they are called - can be left out in this Committee's consideration of the problem of disarmament. A revision of this attitude may be necessary, but I am more concerned about another matter which I will try to state as briefly as possible - that is, the problem of disarmament itself, with particular reference to atomic and hydrogen war.

In view of the short time at my disposal, I propose to leave out all the gruesome details of this affair; but I want to make the suggestion that cold war, in many ways, is like war itself. The conversion of a state of war into a state of peace is preceded by an armistice or by a truce. It is for that reason that my Government desired that the committees concerned should take into account its proposal (DC/44 and Corr. 1) in regard to the hydrogen bomb for a stand-still arrangement. In this letter, which our representative in New York handed to the Secretary-General, we requested that the Disarmament Commission should consider this matter. Paragraph 6 states:

The Government of India make these proposals and request their immediate consideration by the Disarmament Commission in the sincere belief and the earnest hope that they will make a useful beginning in the fulfilment of the earnest desire which the General Assembly affirmed last year....

This only applies to explosions, but we believe that the whole problem is amenable to stand-still arrangement, pending the outcome of the very helpful discussions which are going on, and I think it will bring some heart and a feeling of optimism to the peoples of the world, and reverse the process of increasing

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of Canada, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. (It rejected a USSR amendment to include the People's Republic of China, Czechoslovakia and India in the Sub-Committee.)

arms.

There is, however, one matter in the Sub-Committee's report on which we must make our position categorically clear. Two views on the Anglo-French proposals are possible. There is the view of the Soviet Union that there must be unconditional non-use of the atomic weapon, which is not acceptable to the Western side; the compromise put forward is that it may be used conditionally.

My delegation and, indeed, the peoples of Asia, if I may say so - the majority of the peoples of Asia - will never agree to the idea that we can have conditional use of atomic weapons. We think that this is an entirely wrong line to take. We are prepared to concede that the non-conditional non-use may entail difficulties and, therefore, the conditions which make non-conditional non-use possible, must be made to emerge. With that point of view we are in the utmost sympathy and understanding, but with the idea that there maybe conditional use of atomic weapons - that is, the idea that atomic weapons can be used in case of aggression, or in any other case, especially when there is no definition of the word "aggression" - we cannot agree.

We also submit that these weapons have ceased to have the kind of value that was formerly thought. We now have evidence and pronouncements, which I propose to read out in committee. We believe that the parties concerned already possess a quantity of weapons that can destroy the whole of this planet. I am sure they do not want to destroy other planets.

### ***Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy***

There is a proposal which has caught the imagination of this Assembly and the world, which was submitted by the United States delegation. It arose from a speech made to us by President Eisenhower last year with regard to the civilian use of atomic energy, and it was put on the agenda unanimously.

My Government desires, to state that it yields to none in the desire for promotion of steps that will make atomic energy available for peaceful purposes. All atomic energy in India belongs to the Government. All atomic knowledge is controlled by the Government. Therefore, no private interest is attached to atomic development, so far as my Government is concerned. We desire to state - and we feel the United States delegation will understand - that we require time to see and study the proposal and to consider with our experts in this matter the pattern of the proposal put forward. I do not know very much about it, so I would like our experts to come forward and participate in the discussion.

### ***Some Other Items on the Agenda***

The Secretary-General's report refers again to the problem of the diminution of the status of the organs of the United Nations. The fact that that is even referred to

indicates that this is a regrettable situation.

Much reference has been made to the use of the veto. My delegation would like to submit that the use of the veto is a symptom. The use of the veto is the index of a condition. I would submit that it would be profitable for delegations to peruse the observations made by the representative of Brazil (486th meeting), who referred to the emergence of the veto in San Francisco, and told us that the work of the United Nations would not have been possible if it had not been for this agreement. If that is true, then the continuance of the United Nations may require it, but the point is that it is not the veto that maintains the exclusion of the Chinese Government.

For lack of time, I have omitted the whole of the section relating to the representation of Asia in Committees and Councils and in the other organs generally. We think that the Security Council and the powers placed upon it by Chapter V of the Charter should remain inviolate and, since representatives of Latin America have themselves made reference to this point, it is not my desire to refer to it.

There is an item on the agenda entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations." We hope that it will be possible to make some progress in this matter, and my delegation does not desire to say anything that would make any conversations or discussions on this item more difficult.

Meanwhile, there are two or three other matters to which I must make brief reference. We think that in the matter of wider representation of countries, a very significant part of Europe, which for the last hundred years has been associated, in one way or another, with war, has been left out. It would, we think, be a wholesome thing if the Soviet Union and all those countries which agree with it - I am sorry to use the expression, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European States - would take their places in the Specialised Agencies, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and other organisations of the United Nations, so that there might be a reflection of the world as it is, at least in these organisations where there are no prohibitions. This proposition would be a contribution towards what we are trying to solve in the General Assembly and on which there is a considerable volume of agreement. I have no doubt at all that, with a degree of give and take, we should be able to find a solution. Therefore, we appeal to such countries and the Soviet Union to consider not withholding their support and their presence from the Specialised Agencies. The United Nations has made a gain this year in this respect in regard to the International Labour Organisation.

I am instructed by my Government to refer to Japan. We hope that, very soon and with the utmost speed, a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan will be concluded and that Japan will take its place in this Assembly. This is a matter of concern to us, as an Asian country, and we believe that Japan's taking its place as

a free and equal Member of the United Nations would contribute to the stability of Asia and would prevent certain problems that have already begun to rear their heads from coming up here. It would also be a contribution to the greater universality of the United Nations itself.

I have made no reference to Austria, but we believe that to Austria apply the same observations which we have made before. We hope it will be possible for us to see Germany and Japan represented here.

### ***Concluding Remarks***

Before I leave the rostrum I would like to summarise the different suggestions which my delegation has made. We hope that there will be a peace treaty with Japan. We hope that those concerned will encourage and do whatever is possible to bring about direct negotiations between the Governments of East and of West Germany in order that a new approach may be made to the problem of German unity. In regard to Korea, my delegation will, if circumstances permit, make such suggestions as we may consider at the time to be possible. In the matter of disarmament, it is our intention to examine the possibility of introducing into the deliberations of the Assembly consideration of what may be called a stand-still arrangement pending the conclusion of a disarmament agreement. I have referred to our position in regard to the Security Council and to the problem of membership. I have also referred to the fact that my delegation proposes to suggest establishing a Children's Day all over the world under the authority of the United Nations, in order to further the work of UNICEF and to give the rising generation an appreciation of the new epoch in our civilisation.

If there had been time I would have referred to the main problem of the view my Government holds in regard to its own foreign policy. We believe that each of these issues on which there are differences should be matters on which each country ought to make up its own mind; in that way it would be possible for different systems to live together. I do not want to use the word "co-existence" for the simple reason that it has been much jeered at. But what is co-existence? It is simply the working out of the Charter; that is all. The Charter says:

...to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person... to promote social progress... to ensure... that armed force shall not be used... to employ international machinery...

And, according to article 1, paragraph 4, one of the purposes of the United Nations is to be "a centre of harmonising the actions of nations..." There is nothing new in this idea; it is only a question of our carrying out the principles.

I have come to the end of my observations; the remainder I must leave for the moment and take up in committee. The problems which I have put before the

Assembly may perhaps give the feeling that there are no easy solutions to them, but our attitude is all important. Some people may be inclined to say, in the words of Voltaire:

*This world, this theatre of pride and wrong  
Swarms of sick fools who talk of happiness.*

They may say that happiness is not possible for this world of ours! We are not thinking of idyllic and romantic happiness for nations. It is possible to find a solution for each individual proposition provided we approach it with integrity and in a spirit of common exploration. Therefore, let us think of the words attributed to the spirit of a shipwrecked sailor:

*A shipwrecked sailor buried on these coasts  
bids you set sail.  
Full many a gallant barque, when we were  
Lost, weathered the gale.*

I think the latter should be our guide more than the former.



### **III. YEAR OF BANDUNG CONFERENCE: COMMON EXPLORATION OF PATH TOWARDS WORLD CO-OPERATION<sup>31</sup>**

It is usual on these occasions to survey the field of international affairs from the point of view of each country. It is also important, in our view, to make some reference to, and to give some picture, however brief and however incomplete, of the important items of progress or of difficulty in our own countries. Therefore I hope that my fellow representatives will pardon me if I refer to the conditions that obtain in my own land where, as usual each year, some great natural calamity afflicts our people.

During the last few months, a great part of India and of Pakistan has suffered from floods of dimensions unprecedented in recent history. In all the natural calamities which have been visited upon us since 1871, there has been nothing like this. Tens of thousands of villages have disappeared; 15 to 20 million people in India, and a larger number in Pakistan, have been rendered homeless. The amount of property destroyed and the damage to our crops has not been calculated. Our Air Force and our Army and the whole of our administration in those areas are concentrated on the work of relief. Yet we have not been able to assess the damage to more than 25 per cent of the area. Several thousands of square miles are still under water. But our people are of good heart, and I think that it is right for me to express here the sympathy of our Government and people to our neighbours and friends in Pakistan, whose suffering is even greater than ours.

But all calamities have their good side, and we are happy to feel that the fortitude and endurance of our people have resulted in there being no panic and there being ordered evacuations and a proper functioning of relief organisations. We are also happy that from many countries, too numerous to mention, sympathy and assistance have come which, though they will not come up to the enormous dimensions of the requirements, express the concern of the peoples of the world for the suffering that has been visited upon our people. The International Red Cross and the Governments of countries have come to our aid, and I am happy to say that for the first time it is not merely in the way of aid, but in the way of flood control, that international co-operation has occurred. The Government of China for the first time is co-operating with the Government of India through its administration in Tibet in assessing the rise of water in the great river Brahmaputra, and this close co-operation is expected to assist in the control of the annual floods.

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<sup>31</sup> Statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 4 October 1955

My delegation wishes to express the hope that the United Nations will, at the opportune moment and without much delay, undertake the study of floods in the world and their proper control. We can no longer regard these as calamities, but as part of the process of nature, which the wisdom of our people, our hard thinking and our organisation and scientific development must seek to control. It is impossible to do this on a national basis alone, and we hope that, among the many activities that we are undertaking in this world for the relief of human suffering and for raising standards of living and bringing about stability in communities, the study of floods which afflict not one continent but many, will be undertaken.

### ***Rise in Food Production in India***

This is but one aspect. In India we have made progress in many ways which are of interest to this Organisation. Here we have a part of the world recently emerged into national independence, where the political tasks of democracy are being tried out very thoroughly, where there is an area of so-called under-development, which has always been below the margin of subsistence, where the efforts of the people by voluntary organisation and under democratic systems have to meet these great tasks.

I am happy to say that, while in 1947, in the year of independence our country was short by 7 million tons of food, and we had either to tighten our belts or spend the greater part of our foreign earnings in buying food abroad, last year India for the first time in its recent history passed the starvation or below subsistence level. We have not only bridged this gap of 7 million tons, but we have also found additional food for the 30 million more people who have been born in India in the past eight years. Therefore it is not merely that we are happier because our people are less hungry, or not hungry, but we are also happy to be able to communicate to the world that the organised efforts of communities, the confidence of people in their governments, and the increasing realisation that hungry people in any part of any country are a source of disaster for the whole country - it is these three things that this development proclaims that are of international importance.

### ***Community Projects***

There are only two other items of internal development to which I shall refer, because we believe they are of international significance. One is the great and revolutionary development in India of what are called community projects.

Ours is a country of 600,000 villages. Eighty per cent of our population lives in villages. To these 600,000 villages, political democracy has come in the sense that any man or woman above the age of twenty-one is qualified to exercise the franchise. But our people have been early to realise that no democracy has any significance unless it has some meaning for the stomachs, for the leisure, for the education, for the sanitation and for the self-expression of people. As the majority

of our people live in these villages, many of which are not only far away from a railway station but even from a road-head, one of the first efforts made by our own Central and State governments and our organisations and public opinion was to introduce the system of community projects.

I am happy to say that today in India, between the community projects and what are called the national extension blocs - the first stage of this development - we have covered 120,000 villages, which is nearly one-fifth of the number of villages in India. At the end of the second five-year plan, all India will be covered by this scheme, which means there will be an administrative system drawn from the villages, there will be an organisation democratically controlled for economic, judicial and administrative purposes. What is more, the whole of this will be based on the life of the community.

This experiment, as it was at one time, but which is now part of our national planning and which absorbs a considerable part of our resources, has become the centre of attention in great parts of South-East Asia. We are happy to say that our administrators in this region have been in demand in other countries, and only recently we were able to send the head of our project organisation to Indonesia, where a study was being made of this particular system. I mention this because it is all very well to talk about democracy and the emergence of people to independence, but when a country has large populations, as we have, who have political power, and when that political power cannot be harnessed and channelled in such a way that the people concerned can express themselves and their aspirations can be satisfied, and when the democratic processes are not real in terms of the individual, then there is a danger that a situation may arise such as has arisen in many other parts of the world. So far as we are concerned, we intend to keep the liberty we have attained and to cultivate the fraternities we have established.

### ***Second Five-Year Plan***

Secondly, in this particular field, India enters this year on what is called the second five-year plan. I am happy to say that in doing so it is taking into account its position and its obligations to the international community. No country in the world today can, from the point of view of its international obligations, afford to neglect its economy, because it then becomes the weak link in the chain of economic progress in the world. We are making our contribution. Our heavy industry plays a primary part in this, and so do the industries in our villages.

So far, it is our good fortune that no target set in our planning has been unattained. We have set modest targets, it is true, but we have attained them. At the end of the next five-year period, we will bring into employment 12 million people. Our population will rise, but our national income will have increased by 25 per cent at a very conservative estimate. This standard, compared to European or American standards, is very low. But then, standards are comparative.

The main features of this economic planning are that it is based upon democratic conceptions, upon the enthusiasms of the people, and very largely upon our own resources. We are people who believe that we are a wealthy country. We are wealthy because we have nearly 400 million people. They are our wealth and we are not afraid of our population.

I hope you will forgive me for the intrusion of what may be called domestic affairs into this international gathering. I have done so only for the reasons that I set out at the beginning, and I leave it at that.

### *Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations*

We are now meeting in this Assembly in New York. We meet as a General Assembly for the second time this year. Our first meeting was in San Francisco. I think I am showing no disrespect to anyone, nor committing any inroad on the integrity of any fact, when I say that when, at the beginning, the idea of San Francisco was mooted, it must have been in the minds of large numbers of people that it would be largely in the way of a ceremonial celebration to mark the tenth anniversary of this Organisation, so that at least we might whistle to keep up our courage, and equally that San Francisco, instead of being a celebration, might turn itself into an inquest. It became neither of these. Much to our good fortune, instead of being either an inquest or merely a formal meeting, it heralded a new era.

The great Powers of the world, whether we approve of this position or not, are really the great factors which can make for prosperity, for peace and for war. In them are vested the great economic, military, political and other resources of the world. Happily, in each of these countries today, there are statesmen at the head of governments and of States who realise their great responsibilities. While at times, and perhaps too often, they may express their differing points of view with a degree of acrimony which, though, it is being reduced, is not desirable, there is no doubt that today we have a situation where there is an attempt at a common exploration of the path towards co-existence and world co-operation. The keynote at Geneva was to attempt to find ways and means of resolving difficulties.

San Francisco did one thing if it did not do anything else; that was to proclaim to the world that behind the four statesmen, the heads of the four great countries, who were to meet at Geneva shortly thereafter, was the goodwill of the nations of the world and the expectation of these nations that the statesmen, in spite of all the difficulties that faced them, would make a beginning and open a road towards co-operation. It was also the hope of San Francisco that in that other, and perhaps more proximate, centre of difficulty in the Far East, a similar road would be opened. We proclaimed these hopes at San Francisco. I am happy to think that we are still on that course. And while the pace of our travels may not be satisfactory to some, it is a matter of congratulation that there are no roadblocks on the way

yet.

### ***Report of the Secretary-General***

I now come to the report that has been submitted to this Assembly by the Secretary-General [A/2911]. I think it is only fit and proper that my delegation should address itself in the general debate to the report made by the Secretary-General, who is not only the chief officer of this Assembly but the head of one of the main organs set up by the Charter. I am happy to say that the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report, has submitted a survey of world affairs which covers some of the more far-reaching and important issues that must engage our attention and our minds. I will not now deal with each of the items to which he has referred because that will come in the course of the observations I am going to make.

The Secretary-General quite rightly is concerned, as many of us are concerned, about the inadequate amplitude of our Organisation. If one must put it in plainer terms, he appears to express concern here, as he has expressed it elsewhere, that so many things which ought to be done within the United Nations have perforce to be done outside the United Nations.

My delegation shares part of this regret. But, at the same time, we should like to say that the ambit of the United Nations is not merely the Organisation, but the limits and the purposes of the Charter. So that if within the limits and the purposes of the Charter, and for its promotion, there are other meetings which are conducted in a spirit of co-operation, with the necessary care to maintain contacts, or in such a way that the course of their proceedings and the development of thought, ideas and decisions does not contravene the Charter, then, if in present circumstances nothing more is possible, this is a great advance.

It appears to us inevitable, given the objective situation that exists in the world, that the great problems of the world today - and I make no apology for saying this - should be the problems that centre around the division of the world, the crucial points of which are in Germany and the Far East. It is wrong to say that Germany is divided. It is the world that is divided, and the expression of this division happens to lie in that unfortunate and unhappy country. Similarly, in the Far East there is a point of potential explosion, to which I shall refer later on.

These great problems are outside the Assembly, partly because of the conditions and the contacts created by the war, partly because peace has not been concluded, and partly because of the absence of many people who should be here among us. Naturally, these problems which concern them can only be discussed with them. The peace treaties make certain provisions and contain certain prohibitions in this matter.

Over and above that are what may be called the internal feuds in our

Organisation. The representative of Syria referred to the presence of too many groups. That is to say, we are still engaged in this game of trial and error in an effort to find out how far we can move towards our goal of universality. Our dreams lead us in that direction. Our fears and our schemes lead us - as indeed did those of the Tsar Alexander I in his day - in the direction of the balance of power and of trying to organise our forces for particular and specific ends. As in the nineteenth century, we are still in the grip of this conflict between the idea of universality- the idea of human community- and the idea of the balance of power. Therefore these problems, which are the objective factors of the world, do to a certain extent bedevil the United Nations and introduce an element of viciousness.

Therefore, I hope the Secretary-General will pardon me if I say that we have to bear this with patience and, by our endeavours, see if we cannot, without too much organisational insistence, try to bridge this gulf - that today is less than it was two years ago - between the endeavours to attain the purposes of the Charter and the place of the Organisation itself within it.

### *Agencies of the United Nations*

It now falls to me to pay the tribute of our Government and our delegation to the various agencies and organs of the United Nations for the work which they have been doing during the past year. I shall not take the time of the Assembly by covering the ground already covered by representatives who have spoken before me from this rostrum, but I should like to pay our special tribute to the Secretary-General and his Organisation. More particularly, we should, at these moments when the General Assembly meets in New York, think of those men and women who are out in the periphery of this Organisation; some of them in the field, some of them in the various sectors of the Organisation, many of them engaged in activities that are not nearly so colourful as some others, but that are certainly ameliorating the conditions of mankind, whether it be the spraying of DDT or the promotion of the anti-tuberculosis campaign, or in the various activities of the International Labour Organisation; I do not want to mention any more for fear of leaving some out. So to the Secretary-General, and to his colleagues, my delegation wishes to pay its tribute and to say that we feel that they are engaged in tasks in the common service of our world and humanity.

I should also like to take this opportunity of saying that perhaps the greatest feature of the United Nations, as possibly distinct from its predecessor, is the great psychological impact which it makes upon the masses of the people. There is not a country in the world, so far as we know, where the ideals of the United Nations, its existence, its organisation and its work are not regarded by the masses of people - wherever there is expression of opinion - as part of their own life and their own obligations. It is not as though its contributions were something of a forced levy on the governments, or as if it were something exclusively concerned with government departments, blue books, files and papers; for the first time, we have the beginnings of what might be a world public opinion behind a great world

organisation.

There is one specific matter to which I should like to refer. My delegation, along with the delegation of Uruguay, last year sponsored in the Third Committee a draft resolution to establish a Universal Children's Day. I am happy to say that the draft resolution passed the Committee unanimously, and was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly [Resolution 836(IX)]. While the progress made upon it has not been as fast or as productive of results as we had hoped it would be, it has made progress. Some twenty-two Governments have already responded, and we hope that this year the Committee will take this further, so that that part of the Charter may be realised which focuses our attention on the "succeeding generations," and so that the citizens of tomorrow, who are brought up in the ideals of the United Nations, may be more peace-minded, more world-minded, more tolerant and, what is more, live in accordance with the ideals of the Charter.

### *Review of the Charter*

There are a number of problems facing this Assembly and, as usual, we have the regular crop of items on our agenda. But, of course, each year, while the titles of the agenda may be the same, their importance varies and, if I may say so, the importance of each item may vary even in relation to each delegation and to each part of the world. That is probably the reason why we do not vote unanimously on every issue - as we voted on the President's election. Since most of the items are covered by the agenda, I do not propose to go into great detail about it, but there are some of these which are of importance on which my Government desires me to express its views. The first of these is the review of the Charter.

May I say here, with great respect, since this question seems to have loomed large in our discussions, that the idea of a review of the Charter has not come into our consciousness, and been placed on our agenda, because in this particular year any developments, either in the Organisation or in the Charter, or in the inadequacy of the Charter, have called for it. If there are inadequacies, they have been there all these years. It has arisen because in Chapter XVIII there are two articles which refer to the review of the Charter and, there appears to be considerable misunderstanding in this matter. All the Charter says, in paragraph 1 of article 109, is that "a great conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote..." under certain conditions, one of which being the agreement of seven members of the Security Council. Then it goes on to say, in paragraph 3 of the same article, that "if such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly..., the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session..." So there is nothing in this Charter which need give us any concern that this matter, if it is not attended to today, will go somewhere else. This, however, is clearly the more superficial aspect of the matter.

The position of my Government was stated by me in San Francisco. We think that the Charter can be reviewed only if there is unanimity, and if there is unanimity the main reasons for amending the Charter will disappear. In other words, without unanimity we cannot revise the Charter, and if there is unanimity the reasons for revising it will be very small.

Further, my Government is of the opinion that, in any changes which we make in the Charter, we should pay more attention to article 108 than to article 109. That is to say, we should take a pragmatic view of this and seek to make such alteration as is made in the case of all written constitutions, by amendments from time to time. We do not subscribe to the view that it is a healthy process periodically, at the end of every ten years, to throw the whole of the basis of our Organisation into the melting pot and convene what may be something like another San Francisco Conference in the present conditions of the world.

In any case, our view is that this is not the appropriate time; there are more pressing matters and, without being cynical, one could say that it is not the Charter that is wrong, it is we ourselves, and therefore we could very well devote our endeavours in the coming year to improving our loyalties in regard to the spirit and the purposes of the Charter.

We shall therefore support any move that does not seek to throw out the baby with the bath water, that does not seek to raise unnecessary controversy, that does not add more difficulty to the many difficulties which we have to solve. We have no objection to subscribing to any move that arises as a matter of general agreement and compromise but my Government is definitely opposed to the establishment of any elaborate machinery or to the taking of any overt step which demands from us a full-scale review of the Charter.

### *Admission of New Members*

The next problem that faces us is that of the admission of new Members. This, again, has been called a hardy annual. If it is a hardy annual, it reflects the situation in the world, and here my Government desires me to stress its deep concern about the fact that, after ten years of the Organisation's existence, nearly one-third of the world is kept out of it.

I think that it is important for us sometimes to throw our minds back to the time when the United Nations was conceived and its foundations laid; to the United Nations Declaration signed in Washington on 1 January 1942; to the Moscow Declaration of 30 October 1943; or even earlier, to the Atlantic Charter, signed on 14 August 1941; and to the various meetings that took place in the year 1944. It was never the idea of the founders of the United Nations or the Governments which participated that we should, in any form, become an exclusive club or a Holy Alliance. Our ideas in this matter at that time could easily have been less liberal than they were because, after all, those were the war years. The United



Nations was conceived before the enemy coalition had been defeated, but even at that time there was no idea that it should be a league of victors or a league of select people, or anything of that kind.

Thus the idea of universality has been at the basis of our organisation from the beginning. In principle, my country and my Government support the principle of universality, and the inclusion of any State that is a State - and we say "this is a State" because it is a question not of whether we like it but of the fact that it exists and is capable of performing its obligations under the Charter. If we were to include in this Organisation only those States of which we approved, and if admission were to require the approval of each of the Governments represented here, most of us would not be here at all. Therefore it is a question not of approval or disapproval, but of securing as broad a basis as possible. In other words, the United Nations ought to represent the world as it is, and try to make the world what it ought to be. If we are to make the world what it ought to be, then it is necessary for us to take into account the world as it is.

In this particular connection, there are large numbers of countries which have made application for membership over long periods, and I should like to draw the attention of the main participants to the reaching of a decision on this matter - namely, the members of the Security Council - the fact that in the course of the eight or ten years during which this matter has been before us each of the countries concerned has voted on different occasions for each of these applicants against whom objection is now raised. If we were to make a list and to say that if any country had voted for an applicant at any one time the application in question should be considered as approved, then we would probably find that practically all these applications were covered.

Our own view in this matter is rather coloured by the fact that it is necessary to secure agreement in the Security Council, and afterwards in the General Assembly, and the Indian delegation, therefore, would support any move that would speed up the process of the admission of the largest number of applicants. And we shall be prepared to approach this matter on a practical basis and to support any proposition that will assist in the admission of the largest number of new Members.

In this connection, we have an obligation - not only a pleasant obligation but also a compelling one - to draw attention particularly to the exclusion from this Organisation of our near neighbours, and we should like to refer more especially to the case of Ceylon.

Ceylon became independent at the same time as we did. Its independence has the same quality as the independence of India, Pakistan and other countries of South-East Asia. Ceylon is an important peace factor in international affairs in our area of the world. It may be remembered that at Colombo, in Ceylon, was born the Colombo Plan, thanks to the original initiative of the Australian Government. It

was in Ceylon, again, that the Colombo Conference met and took some initiative in setting in motion the processes of settlement and peace in Indo-China. It was in Colombo, also, that the five countries of South-East Asia met again, on the initiative of the Ceylon Government, for the pursuit of those purposes. Ceylon, despite its not being a Member of the United Nations, has been consistently an adherent of the principles which are basic to the Charter, and its exclusion from this Organisation is a matter of great pain and concern to us. We hope that before this session of the Assembly ends, it will be possible to convey to the people of Ceylon the fact that a change has taken place and that Ceylon will soon take its place among us.

There are other countries, and we do not desire to make any invidious distinctions; but, after all, even where the law is the same in regard to all, affiliations can vary in their intensity. Another of our nearest neighbours is Nepal, again a country which is independent - and it has been independent not only since 1947, but always.

In fact, most of these applicants are members of the United Nations system. They are members of various organisations in the United Nations orbit. They have been admitted to them by votes, and I think, therefore, that we should try to make some progress in this direction at the present session.

We are heartened by the fact that delegations representing different points of view have come forward in this Assembly and have supported the idea of the admission of a larger and larger number of new Members. Of course, the countries that are divided are in a different category. But the fact that there is the question of what is a State does not make it necessary for us to introduce another element of complexity into this matter. The main thing is that we ought to make a beginning.

Both last year, and the year before, my delegation drew the attention of this Assembly to article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter, and suggested that the Foreign Ministers of the countries which were members of the Security Council should seek to carry out the provisions of that article in private discussions. We felt that the diplomatic approach, the conference approach, might produce some results, but we regret that during the year that has elapsed since the last session no such meeting has taken place. We express the hope that, either at the meeting in Geneva or later, here, it may be possible for the Foreign Ministers of those countries which are represented on the Security Council to take into account the feelings not only of this Assembly but of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. It does no credit to the United Nations, and the Governments concerned feel very embarrassed at the idea, that for reasons which have no relation to the principles and purposes of the Charter, large number of applicants are kept out.

At the same time, we are heartened by the knowledge that there is a general desire to find a way out, and we welcome particularly the approach that has been made

by the Government of Canada. We hope that, in view of all the discussions that have gone on in the past, the work of the Committee of Good Offices - which labours continuously in this direction, although its results may not always be obvious - will lead to some success.

### *Organisation of the Secretariat*

The next point - to which I wish to refer only briefly, since my delegation will be dealing with it in the Fifth Committee - is the Secretariat and its organisation.

The first problem we have in mind is the representative character of the Secretariat. My Government makes no secret of the fact that if there were an international civil service in the world which had no national attachments at all - that is to say, not in theory but in practice - then the question of quotas and representation would not arise. But we are far away from a one-world system. We are still, in this Assembly, a gathering of sovereign Governments, each jealous of its sovereignty.

Therefore, taking these facts as they are, and while we move towards this internationalisation, it is necessary that in this principal organ of the United Nations, as established by the Charter, there should be the impact of every part of the world proportionately. I do not say that there should be, necessarily, precise mathematical proportions, but there should be the healthy and equitable impact of the various parts of the world.

I should like to remind this Assembly that most of us have national parliaments to which we are responsible. We have to answer for the position that obtains in this Organisation to our national legislatures and to public opinion. I do not want to belabour the Assembly with figures and facts, as I did last year in the Fifth Committee, but I wish to draw the attention of the Secretary-General and the Assembly, which has to deal with it in the Fifth Committee, to this matter of the organisation of the Secretariat in such a way as to enable it to penetrate the whole body of public opinion which lies behind the United Nations.

Equally, we are concerned with our problems, affecting the security, the status and the dignity of personnel, and also the responsibilities that should rest in representatives in the Secretariat from various parts of the world. As I have said, however, it is unhealthy to discuss this matter in any great detail in the General Assembly. Much progress has been made in this connection, and we are grateful to the Secretary-General. It is our duty to press this matter further.

### *Economic Matters*

My delegation would like to compliment the Secretary-General on the part of the introduction to his report which deals with economic matters. I think that I am not far wrong in saying that this is the first time that the Secretary-General's report

has given so much space and paid so much attention to precise detail, and to what may be called the strong meat of economic issues. Without glossing over the situation with sentiment about underdeveloped countries and one world, he has dealt with a large number of fiscal, economic and technical problems of very great importance.

Just as I said in the case of our community projects, we cannot build up a world community based upon tolerance, understanding and equality until we have paid adequate attention to economic matters and seen to it that economic equilibrium and economic equity are established. Here again, the appropriate committee of the Organisation will deal with these matters in detail, and therefore, I do not propose to refer to them in that way. But I would like to pay our tribute and to compliment the Secretary-General for giving so much space to the matter in his introduction. By dealing with it in a way which is not superficial, and by dealing with many problems, some of which are controversial, he has drawn the attention of the Assembly to its importance.

It is necessary at this stage to make some reference to the part played by the United Nations, and in our case by our country, in this aspect of United Nations' activity.

In the field of technical assistance, there has been much expansion, and I am happy to say that the quota of the contribution of my own Government has gone up by 33 per cent and the contribution of countries like the United States has gone up very much. During the year ending 1954, India supplied 191 experts in the field of technical assistance. We are not saying this in order to render an account of our contribution, but because my country strongly believes that the only kind of rehabilitation is rehabilitation in which people can take part with self-respect; that is to say, reconstruction in any country must come, even if aid is received from other places, on the basis of co-operation and mutual respect. In other words, poor as we are, either in resources or talent or opportunity, we ought to be willing to give amply and generously even out of our poverty. Therefore we have contributed 191 experts during this period.

Another of the organisations for economic development is the one established under the Colombo Plan. Starting from small beginnings, here is the accomplishment of an endeavour which has spread further out in area and amplitude, and also in the volume of its work. The main feature of this Colombo Plan is that it is a co-operative organisation. As far as my country is concerned, we contribute very considerably to the Colombo Plan in the way of technical assistance. It deals with our part of the world, and although originally it was confined to the States of the Commonwealth, today others have come in because the problems that it deals with, the area it deals with, makes it competent to include them, and necessary that it should. We are glad to welcome the countries of South-East Asia: Indonesia, Burma, Japan and others, which have come in. The United States has given its aid. My country would particularly like to express its

gratitude to Australia, to Canada, to New Zealand and to the United Kingdom for the great sacrifices they have made in the promotion of the work of the Colombo Plan.

There are two other items under this heading to which I would like to refer. Reference to both of them has been made by the Secretary-General in his report. One is the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development for underdeveloped countries. The position of my delegation and my Government has been very clear on this from the beginning. We think such a fund necessary and desirable, and believe that it will go a long way towards making the United Nations what it should be, bringing it home to the peoples of the world that, in addition and without regard to mutual, bilateral, and other aid that takes place in parts of the world, there should be co-operative aid through the United Nations. That is why we have supported this plan for a special fund. We are happy to note that it has been adopted by the Economic and Social Council [Resolution 583A (XX)], and we hope that some further progress will be made.

It has been said that this fund could not be started unless there were economies from disarmament. I am not going to say that that looks like blood money, but it is time to face this question a little more realistically. Are there any savings from disarmament? All Governments raise special money for the arms they want. It is not as though there was a pool of money somewhere, part of which went to arms. Arms are regarded as necessary, and therefore money is raised. It is quite true that if that strain were released, that raising of money could be done for some other purposes. But having said that, I would like to say that we ought to congratulate ourselves that although disarmament is not accomplished, there are signs, in fact there is evidence, there are actual accomplishments, in the way of the cutting down of military expenditure in certain areas.

In any case, is it not right to think that the fact that contributions have been made for economic development, may be an incentive to spending less money on arms? Whichever way you look at it, we hope that the great countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and others, will enable this fund to get on its feet, because it is one of those organisations where the small countries, the poorer countries, the less developed countries, can also make their contribution. What is more, it is not economic development that takes place here; it is the development of self-respect, of self-reliance, of the carrying of the message of the United Nations, on the basis and spirit of the Charter, to various parts of the world.

Therefore, we would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity, at this forum, to express, very strongly, our support for the immediate establishment of this fund, and to appeal to those countries that have reservations about it to take the risk of making a contribution to co-operation. I feel sure that this appeal which we are making will not fall on deaf ears.

Reference has also been made to the International Finance Corporation. Here we seem to have made some progress. My Government fully supports this organisation, and we hope that, particularly in that sector of economic development which is not State-controlled and State-owned, the International Finance Corporation will bring about not only economic development, but also a greater degree of contact and collaboration between industrial elements in different countries. In the case of the International Finance Corporation, we appear to be making a beginning, and we hope that the tenth session of the General Assembly will find ways and means of making a beginning in regard to the fund.

I should like to refer to the position of Asia in regard to economic development. Much has been said at this meeting and at San Francisco in praise, in support and in appreciation of the Asian-African Conference that met in Indonesia at Bandung. But very little attention has been paid to the considerable work that was done at the conference and the considerable amount of thinking and constructive results that have ensued in the economic and cultural fields. I will refer to some of these points in regard to the economic field so that at least they might go on record.

First of all, the Asian-African Conference recommended the early establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development and the early establishment of the International Finance Corporation, so that here is a recommendation, a request, from twenty-nine countries, most of which are members of the United Nations. They represent two-thirds of the world's population. With respect to other matters, just to show the amount of concern there is about economic questions, not in a sentimental and uninformed sense, but in a sense which relates to the specific problems that confront us, they went on to say: "The Asian-African Conference recognised the vital need to stabilise commodity trade in the region." They then went on to say that the participating countries would co-operate to stabilise international prices.

Now this has a relation to our past history. We have been in the past hewers of wood and drawers of water, and we have supplied the raw materials to the world and provided the markets for the absorption of manufactured goods. Therefore, on account of the lack of economic parity and the disequilibrium in economic conditions our commodity prices have been at the mercy of the more powerful countries. For that reason, we want to make a co-operative effort to stabilise these prices and also to make some attempt, as the Conference resolution states, to bring part of the endeavour that goes into manufacture into our own countries, by processing our raw materials.

There is another aspect of the Asian-African Conference decisions to which I should like to draw attention, because it has to do with the question of equilibrium in the world. That is that a more equitable approach should be made to the problem of world shipping. The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines from time to

time reviewed their freight rates, often to the detriment of the participating countries. Here again, we are at the mercy of the impact of this invisible trade. It is a very heavy burden on our countries and it is one of the levies on an underdeveloped area which has to depend on the import of capital goods and a considerable amount of consumer goods, in which it pays not only for the goods, but also for the services. These services of the ships and of the banks and the insurance companies, which are now concentrated to a very great extent in one part of the world, are a very heavy economic burden which is calculated further to upset the equilibrium between the developed and the underdeveloped countries.

The Asian-African Conference also made arrangements concerning the machinery of international co-operation and the exchange of information.

### *Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy*

The next point I should like to deal with is that of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Here again, since this item will come before the First Committee, it is not my intention at the present moment to make any proposals or to go into any great detail. We have first of all to express our congratulations and thanks to the Secretary-General, who took up this idea that was first mooted in the General Assembly by the genius of the President of the United States, and afterwards developed it into something very much bigger. The Secretary-General paid a great deal of attention to this problem and a conference was arranged in which seventy-three Governments participated and in which 1,428 delegates and 1,334 observers took part.<sup>32</sup> It was therefore the largest conference of its kind that had ever taken place, and although we have a long way to travel before we arrive at the establishment of an Atomic Energy Agency or the fulfilment of the other purposes for which it was intended, it was a beginning, the dimensions of the impact of which we not only cannot ignore, but on which we must congratulate ourselves.

India is particularly appreciative of the fact that our distinguished scientist, Dr Homi J. Bhabha, was invited to preside over this Conference, and I am instructed, on behalf of my Government to express my gratitude to all those concerned and to the members of this Conference who are present here today and to assure them that such services as India can render in this matter are always at their disposal.

There are two or three aspects of this Conference which have a significance far beyond the Conference itself. We are told that one of the important developments at this Conference was the removal of the veil of secrecy, that is to say, the publication of material which, on the previous day, would have been an act of treason, became an act of international service. Though these great secrets were published, the world did not come to an end. No country was invaded as a result, so that it appears that all this fuss in other fields may perhaps resolve itself if a

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<sup>32</sup> The reference is to the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held in Geneva in August 1955.

bold approach is made. I should like the great Powers concerned, in the quietness of their minds, not in public debate, to address themselves to this fact. Here were secrets which were closely guarded. The publication or communication of these secrets would have been an act of treason, visited by the death penalty in some cases. They were secrets which were regarded as not accessible to anybody else.

Two things happened. First of all, as I have said, the world did not come to an end. I do not even know how many people read them. But over and above all that, it was found that after all they were not secrets, everybody knew them. At least, one side or the other admitted they were known. Therefore, this lifting of the veil of secrecy has been something in the way of a show-down, and it helps us in other matters. It shows that perhaps if we cut Gordian knots somewhere, if we did not go round and round in vicious circles, we could make progress.

The second point to which I should like to refer is that very soon the General Assembly and the Governments concerned will have to consider the question of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We are in support of an international organisation to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy. India is devoted to this endeavour, and, the whole of our attention in regard to atomic energy development is in the direction of its peaceful uses. We do not make, nor do we desire to make, any weapons of destruction.

There are certain factors in this matter, however, upon which I am directed by my Government to lay stress. It is our bounden duty and our obligation, and in our own interest, to see to it that this agency is not based upon any circumstances which would lead to colonial exploitation. In the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, as I have said before, we were the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. We produced the cotton, the jute, and the minerals. These were processed and manufactured in other parts of the world and then dumped upon our countries where, out of the small returns for the hard work done by the people, there were markets which, on account of the vast populations, were large. Now we are vigilant in this matter and we should not make any secret of this.

From the industrial revolution represented by the great epoch which is now just ending, we are entering upon another revolution, an atomic revolution. In that atomic revolution, those of us who have emerged from colonial status have to take care that we do not permit this new agency to be of such character that the resources for this development are utilised in the context of colonial exploitation. I am not saying that anyone is viciously considering this, but we want to be very careful about it. We have to take care that they are not utilised in the context of manufacturing countries on one side and consumer countries on the other, so that once again there is a disequilibrium in economy and in economic status and, consequently, in political status.

I referred a while ago to shipping and to the invisible services. We would not want the invisible services in this new atomic age to be confined to one part of the



world. In fact, the International Atomic Energy Commission, representing a new civilisation, has to take account of the fact that there are no longer any people in the world who are willing to accept - although they may have to acquiesce in it - a colonial position.

It is view of my country, as we stated in the First Committee at the ninth session that this agency should not become an exclusive club the rules of which are laid down in secret and to which other people have to adhere. Owing to the primary position and the overwhelmingly advanced position of certain countries, this may be possible, but it would not be in the interests of atomic development and international co-operation to have caste distinctions in this matter in the beginning. I would be less than frank if I did not say that it is the view of India that the status of atomic development in India is such that India would have to come in at the early and formative stages, on a basis of equality and of self-respect. In India today the Atomic Energy Commission seeks to employ 800 scientists. There are already 400 of these in position, and there are nearly 200 other research scientists in the Institute of Fundamental Research. In our colleges and universities, no subject is more popular than physics, and therefore we have the technical assistance that is required.

We are the largest thorium-producing country in the world. Our plants process thorium. What is more, while it was thought two years ago that we had no uranium deposits, we are now in the happy position of having discovered such deposits.

Therefore, whether it is a question of resources or of scientific ability, whether it is a question of the desire to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes only or of the contribution that India has made in regard to the idea and the developments hitherto of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, this General Assembly will feel that the views I have put forward have to be seriously taken into account.

I am happy to say that both the United States representative and the United Kingdom representative gave an undertaking in the First Committee at the ninth session that we would not be faced with what they called a *fait accompli* as regards this agency. I have no doubt that the undertaking was seriously given and will be kept.

There is only one other aspect of this matter to which I should like to refer, that is, the agency's relationship to the United Nations. It is my Government's view that the atomic energy agency should have an integral relationship with the United Nations; that is to say, the agency should not be a foster child. We do not at the moment wish to go into the question of competence, and so forth. We do, however, think that this agency, which represents a central factor in the new civilisation, in the atomic era, should be very closely related to the United Nations - I do not want to use the word "allied" because of its particular significance. I have no doubt that the discussions in the First Committee and the conversations

that will take place outside the Committee will enable us to arrive at some arrangements in this respect.

I should like to say that my Government will co-operate in every way in this matter. We approach the entire problem from the point of view of a constructive endeavour, rather than from the point of view of staking claims.

### *Disarmament*

I now turn to the more controversial, and the more political, questions on the Assembly's agenda. The first of these is disarmament.

As my delegation sees it, the position is this. There was a stalemate till 1952. Then, in 1953, the Assembly accepted [Resolution 715 (VIII)], an amendment submitted by my delegation suggesting the appointment of a sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission. Since that time, progress has been made in many directions. In this respect, my delegation could not say very much more than what was said by the representative of Canada:<sup>33</sup> "We are more hopeful than at any time in the past ten years." We heartily subscribe to that statement. We are happy to feel that in the two years of the Sub-Committee's existence there has been a great deal of co-operation, many ideas have been put forward and none of these ideas are mutually exclusive. Mr Martin said: "In the course of our Sub-Committee's meetings, progress has been made towards an agreed position on this most important question of the time-table, or schedule of reductions and prohibitions." He went on to state that many proposals had been made - by the Prime Minister of France, Mr Faure, by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Eden, by the Prime Minister of Soviet Union, Mr Bulganin, and by the President of the United States, Mr Eisenhower. He added:

We think that the President's plan, as well as the other proposals made at Geneva, are not necessarily inconsistent with the proposals which have already been advanced in the Sub-Committee and on which, after long and difficult negotiations, some degree of general agreement may be in sight. None of these proposals, in our view, need be mutually exclusive. There is no reason why they might not all - modified perhaps - become steps along the road to disarmament.

I submit, with great respect, that there could be no greater proclamation of the advance of international co-operation than that expressed in those sentences. But we equally agree with Mr Martin that the longer these matters are delayed, the more difficult the problems become.

In speaking of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, I should have referred to the extracts from a statement made by Sir John Cockcroft, Director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment in the United

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<sup>33</sup> Paul Martin, Foreign Minister of Canada

Kingdom, contained in the all too brief but very lucid report on the Conference submitted by the Secretary-General. In that statement, Sir John Cockcroft dealt with the problem of making use of the breeding principle. He concluded by saying that the final goal would be to produce by fusion reactions in the light elements an inexhaustible power source for the world. This means that, although at present the secrets of nuclear power are confined to a few countries, the time will soon come when, as a result of developments in the field of atomic energy - particularly in connection with the peaceful uses - the manufacture of weapons on a large scale and in many parts of the world will become a possibility, or even probability. Hence, the more we delay, the greater the number of problems that will arise. We are happy to feel that progress has been made in this field. It is my delegation's view that, having regard to the meeting of the Foreign Ministers which is to take place in Geneva, we should say very little that will create any difficulties for the main parties concerned. For, after all, it is the atomic Powers, the great Powers, which have the arms and the men. It is those Powers which must take the lead in this matter. That does not mean that disarmament and the establishment of the conditions for world peace are their exclusive concern or their exclusive responsibility, but as things are in the world today, they are the Powers which can play a decisive part in the question. My Government wishes them every success in the attempts that they will make in Geneva in the course of their talks. We hope that they will take into account what Mr Martin has said: namely, that all the proposals that have been submitted could become steps along the road to disarmament.

Reference has been made to the proposal submitted by President Eisenhower at Geneva for the exchange of military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection. I think that it must be a matter of relief to all of us that the most important other party concerned - namely, the Soviet Union - has also expressed, through its Prime Minister, the view that there is no objection in principle to President Eisenhower's proposal, but that the question is how it should be implemented. Here, again, Mr Martin provides the answer. He says: "My Government has expressed its great interest in this plan, a plan put forward by the President of the United States for the exchange of military blueprints and for mutual aerial inspection. To us that plan is a gesture of faith and imagination typical of a great man and of his country." Of course, Mr Martin's lack of objections to the proposal for aerial inspection can apply only to inspection over Canada, because obviously his objections can only apply to his own country.

Thus we seem to have made a considerable advance in the matter of disarmament. This is, however, a serious question, and I think it would be improper for me not to refer to some of our concerns.

We wish to state here and now that the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission is not an autonomous body; it is a working committee. The Sub-Committee's terms of reference are contained in General Assembly Resolution 808A (IX). I should like to quote from that resolution as follows:

*The General Assembly*

...

1. *Concludes* that a further effort should be made to reach agreement on comprehensive and co-ordinated proposals...

The Assembly will remember that, both in private and public we spent a great deal of time in finding the words “comprehensive and co-ordinated” -

to be embodied in a draft international disarmament convention providing for:

- (a) The regulation, limitation and major reduction of all conventional armaments:
- (b) The total prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction of every type, together with the conversion of existing stocks of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes;
- (c) The establishment of effective international control, through a control organ with rights, powers and functions adequate to guarantee the effective observance of the agreed reductions of all armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction...

Those are the marching orders, the terms of reference, of the Sub-Committee.

I think it is necessary to state that, so far as my Government is concerned, we stand fully committed - as a Government and as a people - to the total prohibition of atomic weapons, and we shall continue to press for that in this Assembly. We do not believe in the idea of using atomic weapons as a deterrent to war, or in the idea that they should be used in the case of so-called aggression to establish peace in the world. There must be effective control, otherwise prohibition becomes valueless. But I believe that it is not a practical approach to let this matter run in a vicious circle. We stand fully committed on this question and we do not change from this position. So far as we are concerned, atomic weapons must stand totally prohibited.

I would submit that the Disarmament Commission is bound by the existing resolution unless and until it is changed. So far there is nothing in the official records to show that there is anything to suggest that the principles laid down in this resolution are not those which guide the Commission. However, there have been many public statements from diverse quarters which cause some concern.

Without meaning any offence, I would say - representing a country that is not an atomic Power, that does not believe in the balance-of-power doctrine, that does

not believe that preparation for war creates peace or that war creates peace - that even if the Soviet Union and the United States were to agree that they should have atomic weapons, we would not think that that would be good for the world.

We do not believe that there is more safety in two hydrogen bombs than there is in one. Therefore there is only one thing to do with the atomic weapon, and that is to throw it away.

### *Colonial Questions*

I shall now deal with what are called colonial questions. Here again, the Secretary-General to a considerable extent comes to our rescue. I am very happy to read the following statement from the Secretary-General's report:

The peoples of Asia today, of Africa tomorrow, are moving towards a new relationship with what history calls the West. The World Organisation is the place where this emerging new relationship in world affairs can most creatively be forged.

It is because we believe that the peoples of Asia and Africa are awake, that we believe that many of them can stand on their own feet as free nations, that we believe that these problems can best be resolved in the United Nations, that we bring these problems here.

This gives me the opportunity of expressing my very deep regret that our colleagues from France are not present at this Assembly.<sup>34</sup> Since they are not present here, my voice will not reach them here. However, I hope that it will reach them indirectly.

I want to assure them that, so far as my Government is concerned, the bringing of these questions here, one question or the other - to us all of them are in the same category - is not in the least degree intended as a slight to the French Government. Furthermore, as I stated in speaking on the Algerian item, my Government and people have the highest respect for the traditions and for the great humanism which France can claim. We deeply regret the absence here of the French delegation. We understand the conditions which bring this about, and we hope that it will be possible for the French Government to review its position and to let us have the benefit of its co-operation.

I want to repeat that it has never been the purpose of my Government and that it is not the purpose of my Government - what is more, we would not agree to any other view - to support any position which requires the intervention of the United Nations in the domestic affairs of other people. Our contention is that

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<sup>34</sup> On 30 September 1955, when the General Assembly decided to include "the question of Algeria" in its agenda, the representative of France announced that his delegation would cease to attend meetings of the Assembly.

consideration for the purpose of reconciliation does not constitute intervention. I am sure that, so far as we are concerned, the Government of France will appreciate the fact that during the past three or four years our relations with it, particularly in these matters, have been concerned with finding ways and means of settling difficulties rather than of creating them.

I have taken this opportunity of making a further explanation in this connection in the hope that it will reach the French Government. I feel sure that I speak for a great many of my colleagues when I say that we are sincerely sorry that a decision of this Assembly - not one taken by Africans and Asians only but one taken by a majority of the Assembly - should have had this result. We hope that, with the assurances of our friendship, of our great admiration for the French people and for their noble traditions, the French Government will find it possible to take its place with us very soon.

### *Goa*

In connection with the colonial problem, there is one part of the world to which I should like to draw particular attention. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the European nations marched eastward. They started to look for lands whose whereabouts they did not know - by way of Pacific, the Atlantic or the Indian Ocean. Some of them came to our part of the world. A gentleman named Vasco da Gama landed in my home-town in 1498, and, with the hospitality characteristic of our people at that time and now, the rulers and the people of Calicut entertained him. He repaid them by capturing some of the population and taking them to Portugal, certainly not for altruistic purposes.

A period followed in which European countries established their empires in India: the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. Thanks to the rivalries of the various empires of the time, they established themselves in one way or another for certain periods, but finally the British established themselves, not necessarily by conquest alone but by various other forms of development, as the major ruling Power in India.

There were, however, small parts of India which remained in the hands of others - survivals - almost like the appendix in the human system. One of these territories is a place called Goa, in the west of India. This place plays an important role in the public opinion of India today.

I am not raising this question before the General Assembly. However, since it is a matter of international concern, I want to point out that it would be a great pity if the members of the international community were to disregard our restraint and fortitude in this matter. Our Government, in the face of strong public feeling, has disavowed and prohibited by its authority all acts of violence and intrusion. We are behaving in this matter with extraordinary restraint and with a desire at all times to bring about a settlement by peaceful means. It would be a great pity if,

merely because one party was willing to act in that particular manner, no attention were paid to it by those who are in a position to do so.

It would be fantastic to think that a free and independent people like the people of India, who have come to an agreement with the British Government to establish their freedom, would permit another foreign Power to occupy a part of their territory as a colonial Power.

Therefore, while I have no desire to go into the merits of this question here, I should like people to take account of the fact that it would be a great mistake not to recognise our adherence to the principles of the Charter, especially when it is exercised by our Government under conditions of extreme difficulties.

### *Cyprus*

There are two other parts of the world to which I shall refer. One is Cyprus.

Our position with regard to Cyprus is that the Cypriot nation is entitled to its independence in the same way as we are. Independence in the Commonwealth system - which is usually referred to as the Statute of Westminster - means that it is for the independent nation to exercise its discretion as regards its future. We have no doubt that the position which we adopted in the Assembly is the correct one, because it enables the parties concerned, namely, the representatives of the Cypriot nation and of the British Government, to enter into negotiations so that the independence of these people might be established.

But in this case, as in others, we hope and firmly believe that it will be possible to bring this about without violence on either side. Violence only creates more problems than it solves. The future of Cyprus, to us, is a concern, on the one hand, of the ruling authority, which has divested itself of power in the context of co-operation, and of an independent Cypriot nation.

Looking back on the history of the past fifty or sixty years and looking at what is happening in Africa where British dominion prevails, I have little doubt that, with restraint and wisdom, a solution along these lines will be found.

### *Africa*

Those who have come from former colonial countries in Asia and Africa have been charged with not having a correct appreciation of the advances which have been made in regard to colonial rule. The Secretary-General referred to Africa. Africa is an area of 30 million square kilometres, out of which it appears that the French have 10 million square kilometres, the British have somewhat over 4 million square kilometres, and the Portuguese have about 2 million square kilometres, the conditions of which are such that even colonialism would be ashamed of them. Belgium has 2,343,000 and the Union of South Africa just over

800,000 square kilometres. That makes very nearly 20 million square kilometres, leaving only the countries of Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Liberia and perhaps in ten years' time, part of Somaliland, to be called African or independent.

The conditions in all these territories are not the same: they vary. But when we talk about the peoples of Asia and Africa, we have to think of the peoples who are there and the present facts and the present trend of the world. I hope that the influence of the more liberal elements in all the countries, the impact of modern civilisation and the desire to establish reconciliation and a solution of problems by peaceful methods, will lead to progress in these areas. We hope that the example set by some and the progress of Trust Territories as in Samoa, on the one hand and, I hope, in British Togoland in the future, will be of some assistance to colonial Powers in recognising that the best way of establishing and maintaining a relationship is by the recognition of the rights and liberties of people and by establishing co-operation.

In this connection, I should like to say that great progress has been made in certain parts of Africa, as in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, where, probably, in a matter of a few months or years, these countries, totally African, will become independent territories. We were happy to read, only two days ago, that in Zanzibar, a small protectorate, similar advance was being made. We are, however, apprehensive about the developments in Central Africa. I prefer to say little more about this because the people concerned are not represented here; we must meet these troubles as they arise.

And I think it is appropriate, especially for a person like myself and for my delegation, to pay a tribute to the large numbers of administrators, French, British and Belgian, who have remained in Africa and who, irrespective of the system and purposes and politics, have spent a great part of their lives - I am speaking now of administrators, missionaries and other workers - in the service of the people. I should like particularly to mention in this connection the name of Sir Edward Twining, the Governor of Tanganyika, who stands out as a great apostle of the working out of the principles of the Charter in establishing a multi-racial community in his own territory, and for implementing the purposes of the Trusteeship Agreement. I wish to mention Sir Charles Arden Clarke, who is the Governor of the Gold Coast and who has assisted the territory towards self-government as against other forces that may be operating. I should also like to refer to two friends of mine - Sir Alexander Grantham, of Hong Kong, who, I understand, will soon visit China and perhaps make a contribution in some way, and Sir Andrew Cohen, of Uganda. It may come as a surprise to the Assembly that I mention these names, but I do so because there is no other place in which they are spoken of and because these are the men who, in difficult conditions, are seeking to implement the purposes we talk about.

*Security in Europe*



The two main centres of difficulty in international affairs are Europe and Asia. With regard to Europe, I impose upon myself the injunction that we should not say anything here which would not assist in the progress likely to be made in Geneva when the Foreign Ministers meet. But the view and the position the Government of India takes in this matter has to be stated.

First of all, I want to state before this Assembly that security and peace and the solution of problems in Europe is as much an Asian concern as the solution of problems in Asia is a European concern. We can no longer take the position that these European or Asian problems are not world problems. What is more, as I said, in Europe it is not Germany that is divided; it is the division of the world that is proclaimed by the line in Germany. Therefore, if a solution of this problem is desired, we have to look at the larger problem, and it is that point of view that we should like to express.

We should also like to say that, so far as the German people themselves are concerned, this is not their first attempt at establishing unity. Germany was established as a united country by a series of attempts from 1830 onwards. We express our hope that perhaps the German people may have a greater say in this matter. It is not a question of one side or the other recognising one government or one authority or the other. These authorities are factually there, and since they both belong to the same country - they are both composed of Germans - then, without any derogation of the responsibilities the great Powers may carry in this matter, we hope it may be possible to pay greater attention to efforts to bring the two parties together so that they may themselves erase some of the distinctions and demarcations that have been made.

References have been made to the problem of security. This security concerns us because two world wars have arisen from the lack of security in this area. They were not European wars; they were world wars. We all paid the price for them and continue to pay it by their economic, social and other impacts, and therefore the problem of European security is a problem of Indian, Asian and world security. We should therefore like to say that in this problem of security there is only one form of security that is secure, and that is where the people secured are part of the security system. It is not possible to offer security from the outside; this cannot establish security. I am happy to say that this position seems to have been taken up by everybody concerned here, and we therefore wish the Foreign Ministers who will meet in Geneva every success, and we hope that in the spirit this Assembly has functioned so far, they will be able to take this problem a little further. We hope that no slogan will be established which may prevent its solution.

### *SEATO*

I now come nearer to my own part of the world. We would have made no reference at this meeting, because it was not particularly necessary, to what is

called the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Organisation, but since statements have been made here our failure to do so might be misunderstood. It is not our desire to raise a controversy around them, but I think it is necessary for the purpose of the record to restate our position. The South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Organisation takes into protection areas which include our own country. It is not an overt infringement of our sovereignty yet. The organisation consists of eight Powers, three of which are Asian. We are happy that its ramifications and activities are somewhat limited. We do not see it as making a great contribution towards stability in the area; stability is more likely to be achieved by the growth of neighbourliness, by a sense of non-interference and by world co-operation through the instrumentality of the United Nations. As I said, I regret to have to introduce this topic into the discussion, but inasmuch as it has been mentioned, my obligation in this matter is to state our view for the purpose of the record, clarity and precision.

### *Korea*

One of the other problems is the problem of Korea. My delegation has introduced an agenda item on this matter, and here I should like to express our gratitude to the representative of Brazil, from whom I heard for the first time in this Assembly that his Government, subject to certain conditions was prepared to come to our rescue and assist us in solving this problem. This item will therefore remain on the agenda and we will watch the developments because, after all, conditions, even if they are technical, have to be met; otherwise, the problem will not be resolved. We are entitled to bring this matter before the United Nations, which has paid little attention to it apart from the Secretary-General's frequent correspondence, in which he has said that it is a matter on which the United Nations must make a decision. The Government of India has cared for these people, who incidentally are not prisoners of war but ex-prisoners of war, and we therefore should leave this item on the agenda at the present time and see how matters develop. That does not diminish our appreciation of the repeated efforts of various parties, of the Secretary-General and foreign Governments, and now of the Government of Brazil, for making the offer which it has made.

In regard to the larger problem of Korea, again we would like to wait till the discussion in the First Committee, to ascertain the attitude of all the parties concerned. But allow me to say that, so far as my Government is concerned, we think the accomplishment of the primary objective of the United Nations in Korea, namely unification, is possible. We believe that it is possible only by the Korean people. We are happy to say that on both sides - the United States, for example has withdrawn the greater part of its forces, with only two divisions there, and the Chinese Government only last week withdrew a further six divisions - the great apparatus of war gathered from outside is gradually being moved away. Under these conditions, the two sides ought to be encouraged to enter upon talks; while no sudden and spectacular results will take place, solutions are possible.

It is our considered view and our informed judgement - and I stress the words "informed judgement" - that there are no insurmountable objections in principle to organising elections under international control in Korea. If we were to approach this problem without undue haste, but also without undue delay, it would be possible to get those objections removed. It is a great mistake to think that Korea is just a problem which is not giving too much trouble and therefore should be left alone. It is part of the running sore in Asia. It is part of the difficulties that exist. I hope, therefore, that both in committee and outside, we shall approach this problem in a spirit of moderation and of constructive endeavour.

### *Indo-China*

The next spot in the Far East in which my country is concerned is Indo-China. As a result of the Geneva agreement of the summer of 1954, Canada, Poland and India were requested to become members of an International Commission, of which India is Chairman. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of our Government to the Governments of Canada and Poland and their respective personnel in Indo-China for the extraordinary amount of co-operation and co-ordination that has existed in this Commission. It has been truly an exercise in international service. Whilst there have been differences now and then, there have been very rare occasions when the Commission has been forced to vote on issues.

I should not wish to say very much about Indo-China, because there are problems there which are of a delicate character and for which solutions are being sought. I should like, however, to say that the future of peace in this area depends upon the adherence to and the implementation, both in the letter and in the spirit, of the Geneva agreement. The Geneva agreement is a complex document, but its basis is non-interference in these territories, the respect of their sovereignty, the establishment of a political settlement on a democratic basis and the termination of the functions of the Commission as a result of that political settlement.

As the Secretary-General says with regret, this matter does not come directly within the competence of the United Nations but it is an international problem the untoward development of which can lead to difficulties. There are difficulties in this area, but we hope that, with the devotion which the two Presidents of the Conference, Mr Macmillan and Mr Molotov, give to this, with the amount of support that has been forthcoming within the Commission from Canada and Poland and from us, and, what is more, the co-operation that the Government of France has given in the implementation of these agreements, it will be possible to reap the rewards of patient effort.

In this connection, I should like to express my gratitude to the Foreign Minister of France, who said:

My country, with its unfailing respect for treaties, intends to carry out all its obligations to the letter; this naturally applies to the obligations which it undertook last year at Geneva, at the time of the Conference on Indo-China.

I have no doubt that is so.

### *Japan*

We are also concerned that the negotiations now going on between the Soviet Government and Japan should come to an early conclusion, so that Japan will take its rightful place in the world and in the Asian community. We have every reason to think that this will be the case, and our good wishes go with those who are now struggling with these problems. So far as we understand the position, though there have been delays, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan would make possible greater co-operation in Asia and lend greater strength to the United Nations, and better relations with other countries - our relations with Japan are very good - would be advanced.

### *China*

Now we come to the last, and most important, part of Asia in the present conflict, that is, China. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that the real problem in regard to China is one that concerns two great countries, that is China and the United States.

It is both the endeavour and the desire of my Government to do what it can to assist in a *rapprochement* and understanding between these two countries. I want to say at once that India offers no mediation in this matter. We are not mediators, and mediation between two great countries, sovereign nations with great power - economic, political and military - behind them, is not appropriate. But we are in the happy position that neither the United States nor China suspects our motives. Our relations with them are not merely diplomatically correct, but of a friendly character. We do not say we understand either of those countries fully, or that they understand us fully, but it has been possible in the last two years to make some progress, beginning with the Conference in the summer of 1954 in Geneva, when Mr Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of China, spent a considerable time at Geneva.

This is again an example of the fact that the most complex political problems become more amenable to treatment if there are contacts of this character. Now this progress has been maintained somewhat, and there have been conversations between the Government of India and the Chinese in New Delhi, in Bandung and in Peking. There have been equally, contacts between the United States and Chinese representatives, and I want to make it quite clear that we speak for

neither of them. On the whole, the result of this has been, as from the beginning of this year, that we moved to the position that direct talks between the two Governments became accepted as a possibility. That was in January 1955.

I think I should say here that the initiative of the United States Government in offering facilities for the return home of a number of Chinese students in this country, which was announced in the early part of this year, was of considerable assistance. It broke the ice. This was followed by the public proclamation by Mr Chou En-lai in Bandung that he was prepared to engage in direct talks. Then followed the conversations in Peking. While these conversations were not concerned directly with the problem of American fliers, they were concerned with the relaxation of tension. It would not be appropriate for me to go into very great detail about private conversations between the respective Governments, but it may be said here that both the United States and China have made their contributions to the relaxation of tension.

On 19 May 1955, in Peking, it was decided that, as an earnest of their desire to contribute to the relaxation of tension, the Chinese would release four of these men. This was announced simultaneously in Peking and New Delhi on 30 May. We also knew and understood at that time that other releases would follow with the increasing relaxation of the tensions between the two countries. In all this, the talks between Government of India and the representatives of other Governments in Washington, Ottawa, Moscow and London, have been of very great assistance.

Direct talks have now been started, but I think it would be wrong to think that the dragging out of things was a solution in itself. The very fact that two Ambassadors of the United States and China have been sitting in Geneva for several months now and are gradually making progress is of some importance.

This problem of prisoners is both a political and a psychological one. It is not something that has begun just now. May I say here that since the establishment of what is called the People's Republic of China in Peking, 1,500 United States citizens have returned to this country. But during the last two or three years tension mounted. There was a freezing of the position. Now, in the last few days, a number of them have been released. For what it is worth, I should like to express my view that there is no reason to think that all the releases will not be effected. But that will be only a part of the problem.

If this can be pursued and developed on the lines that one hopes, it should have the effect of relaxation of restrictions in trade and more particularly in the very complex and grave problem of the coastal areas of China. Then I think it will be possible to bring about the reconciliation of these two countries by their own volition and initiative on the basis of a peaceful approach and settlement.

It is the view of my Government that the Chinese Government is willing and anxious that the problem of Formosa should be settled by peaceful methods.

Peking has proclaimed its desire to approach it in this way and, to embark on negotiations to this end.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not say that the position in that area is, in all conscience, potentially grave. We must hope that the present conversations that are going on in Geneva will lead to direct meetings at a different level so that some of these outstanding problems may be looked at and faced.

There is, we found, in Peking, just as we found in Washington, behind all the difficulties the desire to establish peaceful settlement. We found that there was not in China what might be called an anti-American feeling. There is a desire to belong to the world community. At Bandung, the Chinese were the foremost to express their adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. They made a distinction, as I said on a previous occasion, between the decisions of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter.

I should like to leave these matters at this stage in this way because they are very largely matters of diplomatic negotiation, and I have said enough to indicate, I think, that during the last twelve to fifteen months much activity has taken place. We hope that the visits to China by the nationals of other countries, by those who recognise China and even by those who do not recognise China, will assist China to understand the world and the world to understand China.

Whether we like it or not, here we have a country of 600 million people. Without them, our organisation would not be complete. I think it is part of our world interest to seek areas of agreement in this matter and to find a solution.

### *India's Approach to International Affairs*

At Bandung, the main political decisions were taken on what is called world co-operation. But before I deal with the Bandung decisions, I should like to devote a few moments to India's own position in international affairs.

India does not belong to the great Power blocs. We are referred to sometimes as "neutrals," "uncommitted areas," and this and that and the other. I think it is necessary in this international gathering for us to state our position. We stand pledged to carry out the principles and purposes of the Charter. We think it is in our interests and in the interests of the world. We believe the policies that we follow - namely, respecting the sovereignty and integrity of other countries, not being predetermined in our relations and pursuing what may be called the path of collective peace and not relying on armed groupings - are consistent with the purposes of the United Nations and calculated to advance them.

It is in pursuit of this end that, during the last two years, the visits of various statesmen and heads of Government to New Delhi, the visit of my Prime Minister to the Soviet Union and other countries, and very close contacts between the

United States and ourselves, were made. These, and our position in the Commonwealth, have all assisted us in promoting the objective of what is now called by the comparatively ugly word "co-existence." In any municipal or civil community, we call this "toleration."

Here may I repeat what has been said before, that toleration is but the first step to understanding. We have found that the promotion of neighbourliness, agreements on non-aggression and mutual respect are ways of promoting co-operation. It may be asked: is your system likely to succeed? Can you rely on it? With great respect, we are entitled to ask: have the other systems succeeded? Can anybody turn round to us and say that the doctrine of the balance of power is more likely to help us, or to succeed - that doctrine which is the legacy of Metternich, of Castlereagh and of Talleyrand, which wrecked the principle of universalism and culminated in the war of 1914, and which to this day is making its incursions into international affairs? I am reminded of the statement of a great Frenchman, Rousseau, who said that the strongest is never strong enough to be always master unless he transfers strength into right and obedience into duty.

The policy of our country is to extend these areas of friendship. We are told that we are able to do this because of the shield of protection extended by the armed Powers. That may or may not be so. But we are patiently following this path. I beg to submit that it is not only not inconsistent with and not contrary to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, but calculated to further them.

We are happy that there is greater appreciation of this approach, which is not intended to be an exclusive approach. It is not our intention to be a part of a peace area, or a third bloc, or to tell the world how to establish peace. In our circumstances, in the light of our history and in the great traditions of the man who made our national independence possible we think it is always necessary to talk to one's opponent and to seek the basis of reconciliation and negotiation. Even after conflict, negotiation becomes necessary. We have been greatly heartened in the last two years by the advance made in these directions. We have found that the responses to them in many parts of the world among the common peoples are great. We hope that the success of this principle at Bandung will make some impression on this Assembly.

### ***Bandung Conference***

Since there have been so many statements about the Bandung Conference in this place, I should like to point out that perhaps its greatest importance is that it was not based upon any racial principle. We deeply regret that the Federation of Central Africa, which was invited to the Conference, did not attend. The Asian-African Conference was not cast in the mould of agitation. It was merely an endeavour on the part of a certain group of countries to ensure that their problems and their approach to world problems might be better understood.

I shall now read out the principles to which we pledged ourselves at Bandung and which, I submit, are based upon the Charter of the United Nations:

Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards one another, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and the equality of all nations, large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

(And here I want to interpose and say that the words “in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations” are vitally important, because they refer to article 51, where collective organisation comes in, in case of attack.)

6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers.  
  
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

These were the principles of world co-operation that twenty-nine nations agreed



to; twenty-nine nations not all belonging to one political persuasion, not all having the same economic organisation at home; nations which included members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which included the People's Government of China, and also the countries of South-East Asia, such as ours, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and Ceylon.

### ***Renounce War as an Instrument of National Policy***

I have referred briefly to the various topics on our agenda and also to our own policy at home in regard to world affairs. I should like to conclude by saying that we can congratulate ourselves that, on the whole we seem not only to be set on the road towards a solution of our problems, but also to have been able to establish an attitude and an approach that makes the solution of these problems possible. I do not say it so that it should be misunderstood in any sense, but I do say that even the language which we have heard in the General Assembly this year has been of a character which warrants the hope that peace reigns more in the hearts of men today than it did before. On 28 September 1953 my delegation posed this question to the General Assembly: Would it be possible for us in debates to abandon the luxury of epithets and superlatives? Could we, for example, give up using such words as "imperialist," "war-monger," "satellite," in describing anyone else? Could we not generally introduce an atmosphere of parliamentary discussion? Would it be possible to create in this Assembly a degree of human relationship where private discussions are possible, or more than they are here and now?

Now, we have gained very much in this way. We, as a country, have also gained in our modest efforts to advance understanding among our neighbours and among other countries far and wide. Various representatives, in New Delhi, of great nations, have made contributions towards this. I should have said a while ago that I should like to express our appreciation of the references made by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to India in regard to China. I think that this is also an appropriate occasion - since no other occasion may arise - to say how much the representative of the United States in New Delhi, an old colleague of ours, Mr John Sherman Cooper, has assisted, behind the scenes and very silently, in fostering all the new alignments - I shall not say alignments, but new approaches, the new atmosphere - that have been made possible.

I have referred to disarmament. We have stated our position in regard to atomic weapons. Disarmament is necessary, it slows down the pace towards war, but it will take time, even with the best of efforts. Therefore we should like this Assembly to consider the two suggestions made by the Government of India to the Disarmament Commission.

One is that, pending the establishment of disarmament agreements, there should be a halt in the armaments race, some kind of truce on whatever basis, whether it be on the basis suggested by the Prime Minister of France or on some other basis.

The delegation of India submitted a draft resolution to this effect at the ninth session. The General Assembly unanimously resolved to refer it to the Disarmament Commission [Resolution 808B (IX)]. We have seen the resolution printed as part of the documents of the United Nations. We have no knowledge what consideration was given to it. We may hope that perhaps the suggestion made by Mr Pinay<sup>35</sup> has some relation to it, but whatever it is, this is one of the suggestions which we should like to have considered.

Secondly, we should like the Powers concerned to take into serious consideration the suspension of the explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs. We shall refer in the First Committee to such information as we have on the effects of these explosions, and also to the items which request the dissemination of information about them. However, since the Geneva Conference has lifted the veil of secrecy, since it is known to humanity that the Powers concerned are now possessed of instruments sufficiently destructive to bring about all the terror they can - that is to say, if the policy is one, as Sir Winston Churchill said, of peace by mutual terror” - is it not possible to call a halt - as a contribution towards disarmament, as some assurance to the peoples of the world that those who have the power are prepared to take the risks of peace as they are to take the risks of war - to call a halt to these experiments pending the establishment of a disarmament agreement?

As we said at San Francisco, our people and our Government believe in disarmament only as a means to an end. It is a means that shares the character of the end, as all means should do. But in the next decade disarmament alone will not be enough. I shall read out a statement of Sir John Cockcroft:

Advance in the atomic age will be of such a character that any disarmament or any ban by itself of instruments would not be sufficient because it would be possible very easily to convert the peace-time developments to war-time purposes.

Therefore we ought to address ourselves in the next decade to our main purpose, and - if we have said it once we are prepared to say it one hundred times if necessary - there is only one way before the world, and that is for nations to renounce war as an instrument of policy. This Organisation now has to address itself - as a longer-term project - to the idea of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. Disarmament or limitation of armaments is a good thing; it is an advance on present conditions; but it is not the establishment of peace. We can establish peace only when nations have decided to abandon war. This will be possible - when these weapons of mass destruction and of terror are removed - once confidence is established and once it is possible for us, in this Assembly, for example, to say, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, that error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. If we are able to trust to reason and not to passion, it will be possible to do this.

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<sup>35</sup> Antoine Pinay, French delegate to the tenth session of the General Assembly

So, finally, let us realise that, in the face of these great problems, it is our business to listen to the voice of destiny. History is replete with examples of the truth that the solution of problems by means that are contrary to ends always results in tragedy. That was the fate of the Congress of Vienna. That was the fate of the League of Nations. One cannot reconcile dreams with schemes. If we must have schemes, we will be schemers. If we are going in pursuit of an ideal, then we should not be obsessed by the thought of the poet who, in the mid-war years, reflected the temper of that period of great despondency and cynicism when he said: "In this great hour of destiny they stand each with disputes, jealousies and sorrows." But instead should we say, like the bard who belonged to the age of the Renaissance and of constructive endeavour, that "we must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures."

And our ventures - the venture of peace, the venture of world community - we may not lose. This is our charge and our obligation.

#### **IV. FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS LARGELY DEPENDS ON OURSELVES<sup>36</sup>**

... We celebrate in India this week what is called the Buddha Jayanti, that is, the birth of the Lord Buddha, which really is the date when he reached in his life his fulfilment. Now in that tradition, it is that day that is regarded as the birth of Buddha, as in the Christian tradition the Resurrection has its place.

In our land today are gathered people from far off Japan, a Buddhist country within its own form, people from China governed by a Communist government, people from Thailand, people from other parts of East Asia and our very near and dear neighbours of Ceylon and Nepal. All these are gathered together in our land today, not in festivity, but to recall to the world the great message of the son of our soil who, 2,500 years ago, preached the principles of tolerance, of mutual respect and of living together and proclaimed to the world that the only way of toleration was to find the middle way, that is to say, that no one had the complete monopoly of good or evil. It was necessary to find ways of adjusting and ways of accommodation; this was not a counsel of the practical as it is called, but an ethical conception which has been handed down to our people.

We are not today in formal terms a Buddhist country, nor was Buddhism a religion when it came to India, but these great teachings were absorbed in our life and our culture, and it remains the home of the great founder of these teachings which spread over the centuries to far-off Asia, where in those areas our country at no time conducted either conquest or depredation, and the only missionaries that went out either to Japan or to China or to Ceylon or to what is now called South-East Asia, or to the far corners of the then Western world, were these men who took the message of love and compassion. We say that in no spirit of national liberalism, because we are conscious that we are but the poor inheritors - that is to say, that our capacity to live up to this inheritance is very poor. We are conscious of that, but at the same time we think it is useful to proclaim to the world that, in the midst of the strife and the shadows that cast their length over us, there is this recalling of this great tradition where there is no intolerance, no attempt to proselytise, there is no attempt to impose a view by the one who gave the great edict to the world.

In this Assembly, again, we join with a number of speakers who have come to this rostrum before to welcome to our fold nineteen new Members.<sup>37</sup> We are naturally

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<sup>36</sup> Statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 6 December 1956

<sup>37</sup> The following new members were admitted to the United Nations at that session: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Portugal, Romania, Spain, the Sudan, Tunisia.

happy that many of them come from under-represented parts of the world, namely, Asia and Africa. Again I hope the Assembly will forgive us if we think a little more intimately of our close and dear neighbours, Nepal and Ceylon, which, for a long time, through no fault of their own making, were kept out of the counsels of this gathering.

I am sure the Assembly will agree with us in these sentiments, that the entry of these new Members has strengthened our life and in fact has not lengthened the proceedings of the Assembly, as was once feared. We look forward to their intimate association with us in every way, in fact, that is the wrong way of putting it, because there are neither old Members nor new Members once they are here. But there are two omissions of which we are very conscious; one is that great country of Japan which, but for its brief episode of aggression during the last war, is a country which has the right to claim to make a great contribution to human civilisation. In any case, the establishment of the Far East here, the representation of Asia, would not be complete without Japan joining our ranks. Practically all other - what I call - ex-enemy countries are now Members of the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations and even the proclamation of 1942 contemplated their joining us. Therefore, we hope it will not be long before Japan takes its place side by side with us.

The other is that progressive and very brave little people of the small country of Outer Mongolia. In arguing for their admission at the tenth session of the General Assembly, before the Ad Hoc Political Committee, my delegation referred to our contacts with them and tried to dispel as far as we could the idea that Outer Mongolia was a phantom that did not exist as a sovereign State. Here is a country in the fastness of the Gobi desert, where out of a barren and inhospitable soil their own people are building today the beginnings of modern civilisation, with industry, with hygiene and sanitation and education. Fortunately, the visitors to that country who have no predisposition in their favour have returned to report of the progress that this little republic has made. It is a sovereign State lying in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Union and of China, and a small country even more entitled to have its voice heard.

My Government has an accredited ambassador in Outer Mongolia, and an ambassador from Outer Mongolia lives in New Delhi. We believe that that State is as entitled as anyone else to take its place here, and we deeply regret that the use of the veto in the Security Council has prevented its admission.<sup>38</sup> We hope that the influence of the other permanent members will be used this time to blot this out so that the United Nations will become truly universal.

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<sup>38</sup> At the 10th session of the General Assembly in 1955 an overwhelming majority of UN members had recommended the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations. A veto by the Republic of China (or Taiwan), which then occupied the seat of China, frustrated the attempt.

We meet this year in conditions which we did not expect. It is nearly eighteen months ago that we gathered in San Francisco on the tenth anniversary of the United Nations. The gathering which had no agenda and at which we did not particularly conform to any rules of procedure, as it was not intended to transact any business, since the occasion was one of commemoration, appeared to us, as to many other delegations, as the sending forth of a clarion call for a new face on the United Nations. Speaker after speaker spoke about the outlawry of war and of how ten years of failures and debacles and checks and frustrations should lie behind and we all thought, at San Francisco, with the Geneva Conference in the offing, that a new era was about to begin for the United Nations - although we were not romantic about it. In fact, many thought that, at San Francisco once again, we would begin to write a new Chapter. I would not say that these hopes have been completely frustrated, but events in the last few months have been of mixed character.

My Government desires me to say that the great changes that have been taking place in the Soviet Union in the last eighteen months are, in its opinion, changes calculated to assist in the progress of humanity and in the enlargement of human liberty. It has now been stated that in the years before, there was considerable suppression of such liberty, and virtually a hypocrisy enthroned in that country. We would like to see the expansion of this trend not only in the Soviet Union, but also in all other areas in which the Soviet Union has influence or with which it has relationships, and we would not ourselves do anything to thwart that progress. It is our view that, in this Assembly, we ought to take this matter not merely as a development of internal consequence, because what takes place inside a great and powerful country is of very great importance to the rest of the world.

There have been other developments of a very important character. There has been much greater communication between the countries of Asia; our own capital is full of distinguished visitors, delegations, and people from all parts of the world. There has been a great deal of communication established between countries which had not formerly sent visitors to each other. Our relations with our own Commonwealth have drawn nearer in spite of the tragic events of the last two months. And I want to say here and now - which I shall repeat later - that our country does not take the view that because there has been an error of very great magnitude, which still stands to be remedied, we shall throw the baby out with the bath-water.

But this is the brighter side of the situation. Against that we see today what appears to be a return to the "cold war" mentality, a return even in the United Nations to recriminations, a rebirth of the whole phenomenon of fear and, generally, instead of the lowering of tension that had been noticed, an increase of tension. We had hoped that when, unfortunately, this session of the Assembly was postponed until November 1956, it would give the world a longer time in order to assist in the process of the lowering of tensions, but we met here this time in the shadow of two grave crises, to which I shall refer in a moment.

The United Nations in the last year has great achievements to its credit. In previous years my delegation has tried to convey to the Assembly the work of the United Nations in our own country, largely because a great deal of this constructive work is never spoken about and, further, because we are an example of an underdeveloped country, an example of a large country in a far-off part of the world. However, I am the last speaker in this wide debate, and it is not my intention at this time to go into the activities of the various organisations that have been functioning - some of which have headquarters in our land - but merely to refer to two or three great developments in the world.

The members of the United Nations and, indeed, the world - have reason to congratulate themselves and to feel happy that, during the twelve months that have gone by, three great nations have achieved their independence. I would mention, first, Tunisia and Morocco. In regard to another part of the world, I cannot say that, formally, it has reached independence, but I am entirely confident of the independence that is to come in what is now British West Africa, or the territory which will be called Ghana in the future. Thus, in the African continent, there are three new sovereign States - two of which are already members, and one which, no doubt, will be admitted to membership before long.

We are also glad to welcome the establishment of the International Finance Corporation. In the economic field, the activity of the United Nations is so little known to the outside world, and in the Assembly we give so little attention to it on account of the way our organisation is built up, these matters are being considered in another place.

### ***Development in India***

Now I refer for a moment, as briefly as I can, as has been the practice in the past, to our domestic situation, because the conditions of a country like ours, in an undeveloped part of the world, the emergence of its democratic and parliamentary institutions and the way they are functioning, and its economic development, are matters of international importance. This is not an invitation to anyone to interfere in the affairs of our country, but merely a wish to point out that the conditions which prevail have a great deal to do with the development of freedom as a whole and with the establishment of stability in our part of the world.

We have passed successfully the period of our first five-year economic planning, and now enter into the second phase. In that second phase we are faced, as other countries have been faced, with that factor to which the Secretary-General refers in his report namely, the balance between agricultural production and industrial production. The second five-year plan contemplates what the Western countries, particularly the United States, would regard as a small volume of expenditure, which runs into nearly \$5 thousand million in five years.

The fact that our agricultural production is not keeping pace - it is perhaps the lowest in the world - and that, therefore, it is not enabling our people to reap the rewards of independence, has been borne in upon our Government and our community so that, from this year onwards, India plans to step up its agricultural production by 35 per cent - 35 per cent in a country where modern methods of agriculture are difficult of introduction, partly because of physical and social circumstances, which take time to remedy, and even more because of the fact that, apart from the blocking of the Suez Canal, the procurement of the necessary capital goods and the provision of that great capital in all economic development, namely, time, are not with us.

Our population increases at the rate of 4 million a year, which is about 1.5 per cent; so that, although the *pro rata* increase is small compared to other countries, our aggregates are much larger. Therefore this land of ours has each year to find the food to feed these new mouths, and so our economy must take into account this balance in agricultural and industrial production.

Our country has made great progress in what is called community development, to which the Secretary-General draws pointed attention in his report. Out of the 600,000 villages of India, 130,000 are covered by what has been called an experiment, but what is now part of our administrative and political system, whereby the villages have come into an entire, integral relationship with the central and state Governments and in social, political and economic organisation. This part of our development has attracted the attention of the United Nations, and is to a very considerable extent now being studied by other South-East Asian countries, and we hope that in the next five years all the 600,000 villages of India, where 80 per cent of its population lives, will be covered in this way.

We have at the present moment in India the meetings of the United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation where seventy-seven nations and nearly 800 representatives are gathered in a conference of one of the principal organs of the United Nations. A country like ours, with its backward technique compared to the Western countries, has found it difficult to cope with this, but we considered that it was the right thing to do in the circumstances, and it was of very great value to us, because these visits and these conferences, and the discussions that take place in our part of the world, provide us with that degree of education and open the windows in our own house; for we are not so foolish, I hope, as to believe that we do not require a great deal of education and enlightenment from other parts of the world. These men and women from every continent who are now in our national capital are not only our guests, but also, to a very, very great extent, they are our helpers, and by their visit have made a great contribution.

We are also happy to state that, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the director of one of its principal agencies, namely, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, has now been selected from the Asian continent. It is particularly appropriate that agriculture, which has been our occupation over five



millennia, should find a representative for its direction from our part of the world. We should therefore like to express our appreciation to all the countries which have made this possible, and more particularly the United States, which had a candidate in the field and then withdrew him in order to enable an Asian country to take the post.

I should now like to point out to the Assembly the attitude of my Government on the various items and the various problems that we are to consider, not in any great detail, but in so far as they represent the foremost things that are in our minds.

### *Algeria*

The Assembly will pardon us if we attach a great deal of importance to what are called colonial questions. The most important of these - and I hope no one will take offence by my grading them in this way - is that of Algeria, because of its international importance and of the problems of war and peace with which it is connected and its general stubbornness.

Algeria is part of the North African continent and belongs to all its people. And war goes on in that continent in the same way as war went on for eight years in Indo-China. We mean no offence to the French people, certainly, and not even to the French Government, when we say that we regard the situation in Algeria, ever since the suppression of the national movements by force - and that is a long time - as a colonial war.

We regret - and I do not propose to deal with any other aspect of the problem to which I am going to refer - that the membership of colonial countries in what is called the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation gives them the economic, the political and the military strength to make their striking power against colonial peoples more potent. I do not for a moment suggest that NATO wages war in Algeria. But the weapons NATO supplies to its members or makes available to them, the economic resources, the skill and the expertise that comes to their disposal, enables them to release a very considerable part of their own strength for these purposes.

In Algeria, so far as our information goes - and I am subject to correction - there are nearly half a million French troops. I believe a good many of them are members of the Foreign Legion. These troops are engaged in military operations aimed at suppressing the desire for freedom of a people.

My Government desires me to say that our objective for Algeria is the same as has been our objective for ourselves; that is, the independence of that territory. We recognise that administrative arrangements ought to be established, on a basis of free discussion and free unity, for a relationship with its former rulers, so that both, afterwards, could become equal members of the world community. It is our

experience, as indeed it is of our past rulers, that this association of free union out of free will is profitable to both sides. What is more, it is a small contribution in this distracted world of national strife.

Our relations with the United Kingdom in this respect stand as an outstanding example to other people in the sense that we have no quarrels with them. There are more British nationals in India today than when they were occupying our country. They are welcome. They have the same rights, apart from electoral rights, as our peoples. We do not discriminate against them, in connection either with their skill or with their capital. We do not discriminate against them on grounds of race as we were discriminated against, and I believe it is possible in other colonial areas at the present moment - we refer to Algeria - that if the French Government in its wisdom, found it possible to bring to a close this chapter of violence and bloodshed, and if the Algerians, in their magnanimity found it possible also to realise that violence was not the way to progress and therefore were willing in conditions of independence to seek friendship and co-operation, it would be good for both countries, and indeed for the world.

### *Cyprus*

We have another problem where the phenomenon is of a slightly different character. It is an island in the Mediterranean called Cyprus, about which we have heard a great deal. This year the item comes on the agenda by the common consent of the two parties which in this Assembly - I repeat and definitely say "in this Assembly" - have been mainly concerned with this problem, namely, the United Kingdom and Greece. But in our respectful view, the people who are mainly concerned with this problem are the people of Cyprus.

I want to state here and now our approach to this problem. It is the solution of any situation involving violence, a situation which may lead to the widening of a conflict which may gradually develop into even more unbearable proportions. It is easy to say that there are difficulties, that there are adjustments that are not possible, and to find a hundred reasons why a thing cannot be done. The task of statesmanship in which the United Kingdom has not been totally lacking in its long history, lies in finding a solution to this very difficult situation where there is a multilateral society in a territory in which the United Kingdom Government regards the establishment of its powers as necessary for its strategic requirements.

This is a contention with which we do not agree. We must find a method whereby the Cypriot people will be ensured their independence, a method whereby the international community will ensure the Cypriot people against any attempt to swallow them up.

There are other multilateral communities whose populations have their motherlands in other parts of the world. If they are all to be absorbed by the place whence their ancestors came, then I suppose my country would have to go back to

Central Asia. We could not do that. Therefore, in this problem of Cyprus, my delegation finds itself in extreme difficulty in just saying "yes" or "no." We are glad it is going to be discussed, but we shall take our stand on the idea of an independent country of Cyprus.

Cyprus has a population of half a million people. Iceland, which is a very distinguished and valued member of this Organisation, has a population of 150,000 people. If a country of 150,000 people, also an island - probably in more inhospitable seas - can be a sovereign State, we do not see why the hardworking and industrious Cypriots, of Greek and Turkish and other origin, who, if they accept the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, can make a contribution to their own economy, their well-being and their cultural advancement, should be denied their sovereignty.

### ***West Irian***

Then we have another difficult problem in these colonial areas, the problem of West Irian. The position of our delegation is well known on this matter. West Irian comes before this Assembly only because of the action taken by the Netherlands Government in recent years.

Internationally speaking, West Irian is Indonesia; West Irian is as much Indonesia as Java is Indonesia. In the circumstance in which Indonesia emerged into freedom, in which both Australia and my own country had played some part, and where the Indonesians and the Dutch displayed a great deal of common sense and compromise, this matter was left on the desk for the time being. Therefore it is not as though a new country in the sense of a sovereign State has arisen. In other words, to us, the solution of the problem of West Irian is merely the completion of the independence of Indonesia.

### ***Goa***

We, ourselves, have very few colonial problems. There is a small part of our country which is still under colonial occupation by the Portuguese Government, who were the earlier settlers in our country. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, afterwards by the French and then by the British, which was the international fashion of those days. The French and the British having fallen out - though the French had better troops, the British were better diplomats, I suppose - the British established themselves in India. At that time, the Portuguese ruler occupied a part of India, although it had not been given to him by way of a lease from our people and was still a part of our sovereign territory. The British were not particularly concerned about driving them away. After all, you must expect empires, after the conditions of settlement, to hang together, because if they do not hang together they tend to hang separately.

So Goa remains as another pain in our neck, as a kind of unpleasant pimple in our territory. The population of Goa is in ferment, much cruelty goes on and its natural leaders are either in prison in Goa or have been deported to Portugal. I say here that this Indian people will never become Portuguese, any more than the Algerians will become French.

That is the only problem we have. But we want to assure this Assembly that we do not and we shall not approach this problem in terms of violence. We attained our independence from the most powerful empire the world has ever known with only very small episodes of violence. But of course it must be said that on the one side was the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, which I hope we have inherited to a certain extent, and on the other side a liberal democracy with parliamentary opinion at home. I am afraid we cannot say the same thing in this particular case.

It is not our intention, however, to bring this problem here. There is one aspect of it before the International Court of Justice, and therefore I have no desire to go further into the matter. But I want particularly my Asian friends to realise that we regard this as a straightforward colonial problem. And if I may say so, the only way to look at a colony for all civilised people is in the words of a famous American, Abraham Lincoln, who said: "As I would not be a slave so I would not be a master. This expresses my meaning of democracy."

So when we hear about the free world, when we hear about democracy, no one who is in possession of a colony or who imposes the rule of his country on another can claim that he has reached perfection or even the necessary modicum of democratic government. We used to hear about democratic imperialism in the old day. There can be no more democratic imperialism than there can be a vegetarian tiger; it is a contradiction in terms.

We are happy in the development that took place in our own country, and in spite of the deadlock that now prevails, in spite of the stalemate that exists between the Portuguese Government and ourselves, where we have severed diplomatic relations and, to a very considerable extent economic relations, we are not without hope that wisdom will dawn and that we will be able to come to arrangements whereby, even as France did after seven years of patient negotiation, there will be the removal of this last vestige of colonialism from our country.

### *South Africa*

In the course of this debate, largely because my delegation has come in towards the end, very many references have been made to our various deeds or misdeeds, more than to almost anyone else as I see from the records. I should not like to refer to all of them, because we shall have plenty of opportunity in committee when we are discussing these items to refer to them as relevant. But there are two matters to which I should like to make a brief reference.

One is the question of our sister State in the Commonwealth, the Union of South Africa. I want to say as sincerely as I can that my Government and my delegation would deeply regret any action taken by any member of this Organisation, however much we may be opposed to it on any issue, which is a challenge to the Organisation as a whole or in any way makes that Member feel that it has no place here. Therefore the statement of the representative of the Union of South Africa is not one that gives us any kind of pleasure or glee.<sup>39</sup>

We hope that the Union Government will reconsider this matter. Here we all come in for criticism - Heaven knows we do. I want to answer just two things. Mr Louw,<sup>40</sup> with whom I am happy to be in good personal relations, told this Assembly - and I hesitate to say this because he is not here, but that is no making of mine - that India has pursued a path of vindictiveness in these matters.

I want to ask this Assembly to read through the records of the debate. It is quite true, that we might have had lapses, because the people of Indian origin have suffered very severely, not only physically but in their self-respect and dignity, under the conditions prevailing. I will not go into the details of the subject. All I want to point out is that if India was vindictive, so was practically every other member of this Assembly. My staff has very kindly dug up the figures for me. I find that from the first session of the Assembly to the eleventh, on five occasions South Africa alone voted against the consideration of this item. In the first, second and third sessions of the Assembly, when Mr Smuts<sup>41</sup> led the delegation, no formal vote was taken - that is to say, no formal objection was raised to the consideration of this item. The same thing happened at the fifth session. From the sixth to the tenth sessions of the Assembly, one vote was recorded against the consideration of the item - the vote of South Africa itself.

I should like to say that we do not discount this one vote, because it is the most valuable vote. If I may say so, we could do without some of the others. The vote we want is the vote of South Africa, and my country is not without hope that in the years to come South Africa will itself ask for the consideration of this item or make a report of its own in terms of the United Nations Charter. That is the approach we make to this.

This year, South Africa has been joined, much to our regret, by the delegation of Italy, the country of Mazzini which, but for the brief interval of Mussolini and

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<sup>39</sup> On 24 October 1955 during the discussion in the Ad Hoc Political Committee on the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policy of apartheid, the representative of the Union of South Africa recalled that his Government had always challenged the right of the General Assembly to deal with this matter which was essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Union. He further stated that his delegation would not participate in or be present during any discussion of the item but reserved the right to take part in the vote on any draft resolution which might be submitted on the question.

<sup>40</sup> Eric Louw, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of South Africa

<sup>41</sup> Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

mustard gas, has been a beacon of liberty and inspiration to us. We are on the most friendly terms with the Italian Government and the Italian people both in the economic, political and cultural fields. We deeply regret this one exception, although we do not for a moment question the reasons or the sincerity of the Italian Government in being against us in this matter.

The items are on the agenda, and so far as my delegation is concerned we shall pursue them with an even greater degree of restraint than we have exercised in the past, because the South African delegation - if it maintains its ultimatum to the Assembly and adheres to its communications to the Assembly - will not be present, and I believe in that event, since we are on the other side, as is most of the Assembly, we have a special responsibility to look after its interests there. While the case is being considered *ex parte*, we shall show no vindictiveness, because what we want is the settlement of this problem, for reasons which we shall make clear, which are more than national reasons, because this question touches on one of the three great and outstanding difficulties of our modern world.

### ***Allegations by Pakistan***

Our neighbours from Pakistan also made reference to India in regard to Kashmir. Now Kashmir is still on the agenda of the Security Council. We put it there. We came here with a complaint of aggression. I have no desire, therefore, to go into great detail about it. I had the pleasure of hearing the distinguished lady, who was a countrywoman of ours until ten years ago, for whom we have very great affection and regard, speak to us; and I can only echo her sentiments: we want to see the end of aggression in Kashmir.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan has made certain references to our military expenditure. This is a matter of some concern to us, because we are discussing problems of disarmament, the attitude of countries in regard to military expenditure and things of that kind. There are two sets of figures available, one the figures of the budget of Government of India, and the other the figures collected by the United Nations. They do not vary in substance; they are calculated upon a different basis, and, at the risk of boring the Assembly with figures, I think it is necessary for us to state this, because the Foreign Minister of Pakistan told us that 70 per cent of the national budget of Pakistan was devoted to military expenditure and that the same was the case in India. I do not question the right of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to speak of his country; I have no objection to his speaking about us when the facts are right.

First of all, with regard to Pakistan, this 70 per cent is not the real figure, since it does not take into account the large volume of foreign military aid arising from Pakistan's military alliance with the United States, or whatever other amounts may result from its other military alliances. But assuming that it is 70 per cent I would like that to be compared with our figures.

The total revenue budget of India for the year 1956 to 1957 is 5,500 million rupees, which works out at \$1,100 million. Our defence expenditure for that period is \$408 million, or 37.6 per cent of our budget, which is just over half of the 70 per cent that was mentioned.

But I think I shall be very unfair to the Government of India and in part to myself, therefore, if I leave it at that. These figures do not represent the real picture, because the budget I gave was the revenue budget, without taking into account capital expenditure. If you take the whole budget of India, including our capital expenditure it comes to \$1,400 million for the year 1956 to 1957, and the total defence expenditure, both current and capital, is \$434 million, making 18.6 per cent of our total budget.

These figures are available in the United Nations and anybody can check them. That is to say, if we take the capital expenditure on the nation-building side, as well as the capital expenditure on the replenishment of the army, navy and air force, then you will get the figure of 18.6 percent. But if you say that we are trying to distort these figures or present them to our advantage, you can take the other ones, that is to say the merely current expenditure on both sides, without capital expenditure. But do not forget that this so-called capital expenditure is part of our national planning budget, and includes education and various community projects on which the Government of India spends somewhere around \$300 million a year.

Therefore, the figures which have been given are entirely wrong and likely to carry a mistaken impression. It is all the more galling to us, because we are very stern advocates of the lowering of military expenditure and of disarmament, and in that connection I would like to read out the figures for the previous years.

Before 1939, the proportion of military expenditure was 33 per cent; in the year 1946 to 1947, that is, when we took over in the last year of British administration, military expenditure was 46 per cent; in the year 1949-1950, it came down to 29 per cent, and each year it has gone down a little so that we have now, in the year 1956-1957, reached the present figure of 18.6 per cent of our capital and current expenditure, or as I said before, 37.6 per cent on the other basis.

I mention this because we do not like to be presented to the world as a country that is armed to the teeth and is starving our people in order that we may acquire or keep weapons. Ours is perhaps one of the few countries of the world where from 1957 onwards military expenditure has gone down in spite of the fact that military equipment, the greater part of which has to be secured from other countries, is increasing in cost.

All I desire to say now about Kashmir is that a third of the territory is unlawfully, against the decision of the United Nations, occupied by Pakistan forces. In the

interests of peace we have kept behind the cease-fire line - there are incidents now and then but nothing very serious, there are United Nations Observers there and I think the problem with regard to Kashmir is the vacation of this aggression. The fact that part of India is now under foreign occupation - although it is under the occupation of a neighbour with whom we want to remain on very good terms - is still not very agreeable to us. I think I will leave it there.

### *Disarmament*

There are some other items on the agenda of this session about which my delegation is very seriously concerned - and this is true above all of the item on disarmament.

We are happy to see that both in the statement made yesterday by the representative of Canada, and in the statement made this morning by Sir Pierson Dixon,<sup>42</sup> there is an indication - despite the scepticism involved - of a general desire to consider all proposals that have been brought forward. I understand that that is also the position of the United States and the Soviet Union. The fact, however, remains that for eleven years we have talked about disarmament and yet, each year, the world's armaments either stay at the same level or pile up to greater heights.

It is time that the General Assembly should approach this problem in a spirit other than that of merely finding some verbal adjustment between the propositions put forward by each side. My Government fully agrees that the kind of paper disarmament which can lead only to what has been called surprise attacks, or to other difficulties, is to be avoided; such a paper disarmament would not be a secure agreement. It should not, however, be beyond the wisdom of statesmen to find ways and means of establishing the necessary machinery.

After eighteen months of delay, the Disarmament Commission invited my Government to present its views to the Commission. Reference to this fact is made in the Secretary-General's report. The approach that we now take to this problem is the following: We should all welcome it if the United States and the Soviet Union, which are the countries mainly concerned in this matter, could come to some agreement by diplomatic negotiation and as a result of the common realisation - which we are convinced exists - that the present situation can lead to catastrophic world tragedies. If, however, an agreement cannot be arrived at in that large, overall way, we should at least make some kind of beginning. The proposals submitted to the Disarmament Commission by the Government of India [DC/98] were not designed to be, nor are they in fact, a scheme for large-scale disarmament. Rather, those proposals represent an attempt to reverse the current of armament and to respond to that large volume of public opinion which does not want the armaments race in the world to continue.

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<sup>42</sup> Sir Pierson Dixon, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations



We hope at the appropriate time to discover whether there are other approaches by the Great Powers which are mainly concerned, in the sense that they are the States which are capable of delivering the goods. We hope that it will be possible this year for the Soviet Union and the United States to offer to the Assembly some agreement. There are, of course, three other members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, but it is my Government's view that the solution of these large problems really depends upon direct agreements between those who can deliver the goods. All of us may make our contributions in many ways. We may offer our vigilance, our criticisms and our constructive approaches. Unless, however, those who have the power to implement our resolutions are willing to implement them, they remain paper resolutions.

We should like to see a position in which the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission would not be divided into two camps. We should like to see the other three members of that Sub-Committee make their individual approaches - and, here, my country more particularly looks to Canada, which is a new entrant into this field and is in somewhat different circumstances, to make a new approach to this problem. Perhaps the present deadlock could be broken in that way.

### ***SUNFED***

The Second Committee of the Assembly has before it the problem of the underdeveloped countries. Later in this statement, I propose, if I have time, to deal with this subject at greater length. We hope that this session of the General Assembly will make a further advance in establishing the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. In that connection, however, my Government desires it to be stated categorically that the establishment of the Fund would not in any way interfere with the bilateral agreements existing between countries. These agreements are the results of bilateral relations and special necessities. They will certainly continue, and they should continue.

### ***Freedom of the Seas***

My Government is also concerned about the discussion being held in the Sixth Committee on the freedom of the seas. We think that it is necessary that the world community should establish the principle of the freedom of the seas and the air, in such a way that less powerful nations in the world may be afforded that freedom. We do not believe that any nation has the power to search or arrest ships on the high seas. We do not think that any country should pollute either the seas or the air through the explosion of weapons or the emptying of fuel - atomic or otherwise - which could contaminate these natural resources. We do not think one country - or, in this case, one administration - has the right to shoot up merchant ships, as British ships are being shot up in the Straits of Formosa. In our view, the situation in which ships are searched on the open seas - and this applies even to searches for arms - should be remedied.

### *Korea*

The Assembly's agenda also contains an item which has now become a hardy perennial - that is, the problem of Korea. I desire to say very little on this subject, except that, if it were possible to find a solution, or to take a step towards a solution, Korea could take its place here in the United Nations. We feel sure that the United States, which has the main responsibility in this matter as the head of the United Nations Command, and which has wide influence in this Assembly, would be able to respond to some suggestions aimed at making a beginning in this direction. We agree that, if the Korean problem is to be solved, both parties concerned must recognise that they have to live together.

### *China*

In the Far East, the main problem is that of China. In my delegation's view, the question of what the General Assembly should or can do about the problem of China is still pending before the Assembly. We have given notice of our intention to present a draft resolution with regard to procedures already adopted. We hope that the President, when he is free from the troubles of the general debate and the subjects dealt with by the emergency special sessions, will bring this question up before the General Committee.

I do want to say this with regard to China. The time has come when this matter should receive less impassioned consideration. There are some 582 million people in China, and their voice must be heard. What is more, whether we like it or not, the co-operation of China is necessary in the consideration of economic and political problems, and the question of disarmament.

In the vote which was taken by the Assembly on the question of the inclusion in the agenda of an item on Chinese representation, twenty-four members voted in favour of the inscription of the item. Those members represent 1,036 million people in the world. The members which voted against the inscription of the item represent 585 million people in the world. I am not for a moment suggesting that the legal or organisational representation in the United Nations should be in terms of population, with so many votes for so many people. I am suggesting nothing of the kind. We are here as sovereign States, large or small, with equal status and equal power. In an issue of this kind, however, everyone has to take into account that the vote to which I have referred represented two-thirds of the world's population: 582 million in China and 1,036 million in other places.

The negotiations in Geneva have, fortunately, not been terminated but they have yielded very meagre results. At the time when I came to this session of the Assembly, Mr Johnson and Mr Wang, representing the United States Government and the Chinese Government respectively, had held their eighty-sixth meeting and had repeated, I believe for the forty-sixth time, the same things; I do not know whether anything happened at the eighty-seventh meeting.

There are ten American prisoners in China. I do not hesitate to say that the Chinese Government would make a great contribution to the lowering of tension and the alteration of public opinion in this country and in the countries of some of its close friends - and I would say that, although we do not share the Chinese Government's opinion on this particular subject, we regard ourselves as its close friends - if, in its wisdom and, if one wishes to put it this way, out of its magnanimity, it would release these prisoners, it would thereby clear the way for the consideration of other difficult problems without this barrier.

It would also mean that the reciprocal problem, which China claims, of Chinese nationals in the United States, could also receive consideration, even though the United States Government - and I think that it is only fair to say this - has stated categorically that it has no desire to retain any Chinese national in the United States. But the Chinese Government has its own views about this and its own interpretation of it, and these things could be considered.

I wish, then, that my voice would carry further than this room and that, in the short time before us, during which other problems will come up for consideration between leading statesmen of Asia and this country, it might be possible to hear of the release of those ten remaining prisoners so that this psychological, emotional and political barrier would not exist in the solution of this problem.

### ***Indo-China***

In Indo-China there has been vast improvement. We have here two of the Indo-Chinese States concerned in the Geneva agreement admitted as member States - Laos and Cambodia. There have been outstanding difficulties between the Kingdom of Laos and another party, called Pathet Lao, for a long, long time. After months or almost years of patient negotiation, in which the Laotian Government has displayed wisdom and statesmanship, and in which the others have shown forbearance at times, I believe that we have now come to a situation where there has been marked progress in this connection, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of the Government of India not only to those two parties but also to the Governments of Canada and Poland which have made very great contributions in resolving the situation.

In the rest of Indo-China, however, partition remains, and we deeply regret that the Government of South Vietnam, in spite of all the pressures or, rather all the persuasions - in which we are not the only parties, and in which the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have made appeals to it - has not yet recognised the conditions under which the agreement at Geneva was reached. But the International Commission for Supervision and Control, which is composed of Poland, Canada and ourselves, is patiently plying its way, so that there is no outbreak of hostilities in the place, and the cease-fire line is being maintained. We believe that the future of Vietnam rests in free elections in the

country, internationally supervised and held under conditions of secret ballot and free speech. That should not be impossible, and we would like to hope that the vast influence of the Western countries with South Vietnam, and the influence of China and others with the North, would be used in this direction.

### *Aggression against Egypt*

Now we come to the more urgent problems before us - the two great shadows that have been cast on this Assembly. The first is the question of Egypt, and here it is possible for me to make my observations shorter than they would otherwise have been, because we have been discussing this for a very long time. However, it is essential for my Government to write into the record certain matters, and we want to do that without introducing any bitterness, and with a feeling at the back of our minds that, whatever the Egyptians or the Anglo-French side may think about it, the past has to go into the background some day, and the sooner the better. For those reasons we have no desire to add to the complications, but it is necessary for us to say that the causes of the Anglo-French invasion and its origins should not be forgotten by this Assembly.

The Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was prepared for several months, because when the London Conference met there were vast concentrations of Anglo-French forces in neighbouring areas. Our Government was told that this was for the purpose of security, and we accepted that statement. It was the very same forces which formed part of the invading armies. I have not the record of the proceedings in the French National Assembly, but both in the British Parliament and in this Assembly various reasons have been given for this attack. In the days of the London Conference, the threat to security arose with regard to the development of the Suez Canal.

When the attack actually was launched we were told that it was in order to separate the other invader of Egypt, namely, Israel from Egypt so that world war might not begin. Then we were told by Mr Pineau<sup>43</sup> that the purpose of the attack was to destroy the Egyptian military potential. That is a matter for which there is no provision in the Charter - for one country to go and destroy the military potential of another. In fact, I think that that is the way wars are made. So that this way of disarmament of one country by the attack of another is not provided for.

The third ground that had been put forward was that the attack was made in order to prevent Soviet intrusion into this area and the extension of the conflict on a large scale. My Government firmly believes that nothing should be done to enlarge the area of conflict in Egypt or anywhere else, and it expressed itself publicly on these matters when, after the cease-fire, there were newspaper reports of Soviet volunteers going into Egypt. Thus, while legally it is largely a matter between Egypt and the Soviet Union, we hoped and expressed the view that, the cease-fire having been obtained, nothing would be done to enlarge the area of the

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<sup>43</sup> Christian Paul Francis Pineau, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

conflict. But I say, with great respect, that this holy duty of containing the Soviets in Egypt, where they do not exist, had all the appearances of an after-thought. Of course, everybody is entitled to have an after-thought; but we are also entitled to examine its relation to the facts as they exist.

And now we are told what had been denied in the beginning - that this attack has something to do with obtaining the necessary conditions with regard to the Suez Canal. If that is the position, then I think that the invasion sheds all characteristics of any other type of action. That is to say that since what had been attempted in the London Conference and afterwards incorporated in certain resolutions - which themselves were compromises - was not obtainable in that way, an attempt was made to obtain them by a war.

My Government is happy to note that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the United Kingdom has announced in his Parliament that British troops are about to be withdrawn, and I believe that we have all also seen the communications by the Governments of France and the United Kingdom relating to withdrawal of those troops. We hope that these withdrawals will take place without delay, as promised, and we like to believe that plans are being made for that purpose. But that takes us into the consideration of the United Nations Emergency Force.

My Government wants to place it on record that the United Nations Emergency Force for Egypt is not the kind of collective force organ contemplated by the Charter. It is not a kind of nucleus of a future force, but an *ad hoc* arrangement which the Assembly fostered - primarily on the initiative of Canada, which afterwards was taken up by everybody else - for the specific purpose of supervising the cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt. That is its function, and it is on those grounds that my country has agreed to participate in it.

We also want to place on record our view that no foreign forces - either forces of the invading armies or forces sent for any other purpose - can be on the territory of a sovereign country except with its consent. We have communicated to the Secretary-General our view that, as far as our understanding and our agreement goes, the Emergency Force is not a kind of force to hold the ring for the Suez Canal, but that its function is as I have stated it before.

There are various other matters in connection with this Force to which I referred a while ago, but there is one thing on which I should like to lay stress. It is that this is the beginning of a heterogeneous force drawn from different countries and from different parts of the world with different political and even military traditions. It is essential, therefore, that the direction of the Force should also represent those different points of view, so that there may be no political complications arising in the matter thereafter.

## *Suez Canal*

So far as the Suez Canal is concerned, my Government thinks that there should be no delay in the clearing of the Canal - the Egyptian Government has happily asked the United Nations to undertake this task, and arrangements are in hand - because the clearing of the Canal and the restoration of traffic through it is a matter of great importance to the world at large.

So far as the other problems are concerned, and even so far as the clearing of the Canal is concerned, therefore, a factor that would assist in this matter is speedy evacuation. If Britain and France in this particular matter are in a state of war with Egypt, then the solution of the problems arising in this connection calls for the binding up of the wounds and for the creation of a set of circumstances in which the past can be forgotten and, on the part of Egypt, forgiven.

We have supported all procedures adopted by the Assembly to speed the clearing of the Canal, and we shall continue to do so.

So far as the settlement of the Suez Canal question, so called, is concerned, it is a problem that has arisen from the attitude taken by certain countries in regard to the nationalisation undertaken by Egypt, on which we have already expressed our views. We do not believe that what are called the eighteen-Power proposals, or any other proposals made prior to the war, are a basis at the present moment on which to proceed with the matter. I think that what we should do is to try to restore the Canal to use and that the Egyptian Government, in its wisdom, and others, should recognise, first of all, the obligations under the 1888 Convention<sup>44</sup> to maintain freedom of navigation, and also the interest of the users - by which I refer not to any vested interest but to the benefits that the users may derive and therefore the conditions that are necessary for this purpose. These have been set out in various documents at various times.

My Government hoped at one time that this could be settled on the basis of co-operation. It is no secret that if that idea had been pursued - that is, that the future of the Suez Canal should be seen in terms of co-operation and not of imposition - there would have been a settlement long ago.

## *Hungary*

The other problem I want to discuss is the problem of Hungary. I have stated and restated the views of my Government on this question. We believe that a grave responsibility rests on the Soviet Government to bring about a change of affairs in Hungary. Irrespective of all the arguments that may be put forward, the fact is that when a people is not in co-operation with a Government, when the Government at

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<sup>44</sup> Convention respecting the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, signed at Constantinople on 29 October 1888

best is in a state of perpetual tension and is not able to make the economic or the social machinery of a country function, when there has been grave tragedy of the kind that has happened in Hungary, it is the bounden duty of a great Power that is involved in the matter - even if all the arguments that have been advanced were correct - to use its initiative, to use its wisdom, to use its forbearance and everything else, to alter this situation.

We believe in the right of the Hungarian people to have the form of Government they desire. We want to see foreign forces withdrawn from every country. We certainly object to the use of foreign forces for internal purposes. Our sympathy with the wounded and the killed and the suffering in Hungary, and with those people who had to leave their homes, has already been expressed by our Government, and we have taken steps, in so far as it lies within our capacity, to give them assistance. We will support any attempt in this Assembly to bring about a change in the situation.

In this connection, I should like to say that it is our view that the Soviet Union would make a great contribution towards peace initiatives, towards the solution of the problem of disarmament, towards the lowering of tension in the world, towards preventing the renewal of the cold war, towards maintaining and promoting the feelings of understanding that have developed, certainly in our part of the world, in regard to the Soviet Union, and towards enabling its own forces of liberalisation to go forward - irrespective of whatever legal arguments may be raised - if it would use its undoubted influence in this question to ask the Hungarian Government to invite the Secretary-General to go to Hungary without delay.

It is not a question of what the Secretary-General can find out. It is not a question of what an observer can find out. I do not believe they can find out any more than 500 or 600 people who have already been there from other countries. But it is a question of making a contribution to the relief of tension and of paying some attention to the expression of opinion overwhelmingly made in this Assembly.

Therefore, while we have not been prepared to subscribe to certain formulations, we want to make it clear, as we have indeed made it clear to the Soviet Government, that it is our view about this matter that the Soviet Union bears a great responsibility and that there is a duty incumbent upon it as one of the great Powers, as a permanent member of the Security Council, as a Power of the greatest influence and authority in that area, and, what is more, as a Power that surely realises that if there were continued difficulties in the powder-keg of Central Europe, if there were developments of a character which meant the use of greater military force, it could lead to a conflagration.

Therefore there are times when even extreme legal considerations should be put on one side, the necessary reservations made, and the consideration shown to this

Assembly of responding to the suggestions and the proposals made the other day by the Secretary-General [A/3403].

It is our hope that the expression of views being conveyed to the Soviet Government and the Hungarian Government in this matter will find a response in that quarter. It will, in the long run, contribute to the shortening of the sufferings of the Hungarian people, irrespective of political views; it will enhance the reputation of both countries in the comity of nations, in spite of the bitterness that has been created; and, it will enable this Assembly and the great nations of the world, to address themselves to other problems without having this problem intrude itself as a barrier.

Sir Pierson Dixon referred to the conditions in Port Said. I am glad he did so. My Government has been very concerned about it, as indeed his Government knows. But we have not raised the question in this Assembly in a public way because the priority in this matter must be the withdrawal of forces and the prevention of the renewal of war. Quite obviously, there are differences in the points of view and the estimates of the Egyptian side and the invading side in this matter.

We take the same view on this question as we did on the Hungarian question. We are not prepared to endorse either of those positions but we think that there is an overwhelming case, an imperative case, for inquiry. Therefore, this Assembly should now proceed as soon as possible to find out the extent of damage, how it was caused, and what can be done about it. This is not by way of an inquest, in order to stir up trouble, but so that these statements and counter-statements should not go unchallenged and that the people who have suffered, the people whose homes have been broken up and who have lost their nearest and dearest, should be provided for in some manner, and those matters should be taken into consideration.

Furthermore, we agree that all this propaganda of war, from whatever country it comes - and psychological warfare is the beginning of other kinds of warfare - should come to an end and the binding up of the wounds as between the two parties should take place.

I have made no reference to the other aggressor against Egypt. It is a much larger problem - and the view of my Government at the present moment is that first things should come first. While a solution of this problem must be found, the Assembly should address itself more to the machinery that will prevent conflict in the future, accepting the present armistice line as the basis on which these things can be done. Therefore we have no desire to enter upon any speculation on these matters.

*United Nations Secretariat*



I should like now to make a reference to the United Nations Organisation. The emergency special sessions of the General Assembly, and even the normal work of the General Assembly, has placed an enormous burden on the staff of this Organisation. Tributes have been paid to the Secretary-General for his skill, for his perseverance and for his devotion to this task, and also for the great knowledge and ability that he has displayed. My delegation has already expressed its views on this subject, but iris something which will stand reiteration. We wish him success in the further tasks which he may have to undertake. But it is not inappropriate, indeed it is necessary at this time, that we should think of the large numbers of people who have worked all kinds of hours and made the work of the emergency special sessions of the Assembly possible.

We shall refer in the Fifth Committee to the question of the United Nations Organisation in the sense of its administration. Representatives have no doubt read the paragraph in the Secretary-General's report which relates to this matter. We think the time has come for serious consideration to be given to adjusting the administration of the Assembly to its newer purposes.

We believe also that greater attention should be paid by the General Assembly itself to the conditions and the general state of morale of the people who work for us. The Secretary-General has taken the initiative in this matter, and has pointed out that, in the newer political responsibilities that we have undertaken, other considerations and other methods may have to be tried out.

### ***The Problem of Race***

The main problems which face us in this world of ours today reside in the danger of a conflict between East and West, by which I mean our East and West, that is, the world of the Orient and the world of the Occident.

My country does not regard the world as divided between great racial groups. It is quite true that there are racial concentrations in various areas and that there are mixtures of races in certain continents. But nothing could do greater harm to this planet and to human society than the outbreak of war or of a conflict on racial grounds.

In that seething cauldron of Africa, the greater part of its 200 million people do not live in conditions which correspond to human dignity, It is necessary that steps should be taken so that a more serious situation does not arise.

The position of India in this matter is not that it does not belong to the Orient, for there is nowhere else that it does belong. But we believe that the division of the world on the grounds of race, complexion or creed is likely to lead to ultimate annihilation. In this Assembly, therefore, we have to take very good care that we do not divide ourselves in this way.

Reference has often been made to the Asian-African group of countries. I can only speak for my delegation, but I am sure that others will speak in the same way. So far as I know, these countries have never attempted, and indeed it is clear from the proceedings of the Bandung Conference, to set themselves up as a racial group. I would appeal, in particular, to the new European members, that care should be taken so that we do not divide ourselves in this session.

This kind of racial conflict can come about unless the problems in Africa are solved, unless colonialism there comes to an end and unless the situation which exists in the southern part of the continent comes to an end, a situation in which, I repeat, human beings in modern times live in conditions which correspond to slavery.

Slavery does not mean ownership by the payment of money, slavery means the disregard of the human personality, where the human being is a chattel. The fact that people are not sold in slave markets does not alter the conditions of those people.

I ask anyone to look at the laws and the conditions that prevail in the copper mines in the south, and to look at the conditions of the Negro, particularly in the African areas, and at the conditions of civil liberty that obtain in great parts of East Africa, where forced labour prevails. I invite anyone to read the report of the United Nations on the conditions of forced labour [E/32431].

The situation there will become more serious unless steps are taken quickly, as steps have been taken in British West Africa and as steps, I hope, will be taken in other parts of East Africa. Unless we try to reach a position where a multilateral society is established, this great problem, which is one of the three great problems that challenge the world today, will defeat us.

### ***Economic Problems***

The next great concern of the world is its economic conditions. In the under-developed countries of the world, the standards of life of the people and the average national income are going down rather than up. While that is the primary responsibility of those countries, we have to create a situation in which commodity prices can be stabilised so as to check inflation and to allow the building up of these areas to something like the level which exists in other countries.

The tragedy that has taken place in Egypt and the blocking of the Suez Canal have been very adverse factors in this matter. I believe that, for a country like ours, economic and industrial progress will now be retarded over a period of several years, because not only the costs but the time will be considerably more. That is another reason why the clearing of the Suez Canal and its use for world trade should become possible by the establishment of conditions of peace.

### *From Balance of Power to Universalism*

We hear references to ideological conflicts. We have never taken the view that these conflicts are merely conflicts of ideology. They arise from what is, in our view, the fallacious idea that the peace of the world can rest on the balance of power. The balance of power is merely an attempt to balance oneself; it is not an equilibrium.

We must get over the idea of making military pacts all round and of piling up arms, one against the other. On the one hand, Western Europe is armed to the teeth in one way, and, on the other hand, the so-called Warsaw countries have another pact.

What is more, we now have various nuisance pacts in our area, which only serve to dismember the unity of peoples and to take the apparatus of war into regions where it is possible for the peoples concerned to build up their economies without being involved in these conflicts. That is not to say that they could lead a sheltered existence.

In all these matters it is my duty to tell the Assembly that the view of our Government is that the relations between the countries must continue to be based on the principles of the Charter, and that we should not seek to make exceptions in the case of some, to allow some people to assume powers of sanction and security, to allow the interpretation that either the Warsaw Pact or the other regional military agreements are agreements under article 51 of the Charter, because they are not. We believe that any attempts to attack or any attack of a member of the United Nations is the common concern of everybody else. Therefore, as we said in San Francisco, we must move from this era of the balance of power to an era of universalism.

We are happy to think that in the countries of Asia, and certainly in our country, there has been greater contact with other parts of the world. With the Western world also, my Government and country stand in relations where we are able to understand to a certain extent the differences of outlook, and it is our desire to promote this understanding.

In connection with the Egyptian question, it would be an understatement to say that the United States, by the stand which it took on the whole of the issue and by the way in which the republics of Latin America and the European countries rallied to the issue of finding a settlement by obtaining a cease-fire, has created a great deal of confidence and a feeling of assurance in the powers of the Assembly. But I would be wrong if I did not point out that we must carefully warn ourselves that the security functions of the United Nations do not willy-nilly and forever shift to the Assembly. There are dangers inherent in this, and it is for us to consider them carefully.

We are happy to think that between the United States and ourselves the relations of co-operation and friendship will be promoted further by the visit of our Prime Minister to the President of the United States in a few days, at which time I hope our Prime Minister will have the opportunity of meeting large numbers of delegations in the United Nations itself.

We are also deeply beholden as a country to the members of the Colombo Plan, which in the last five years have expended something like \$4,000 million in the development of the countries of South-East Asia in the main. Canada particularly has taken an important part in the provision of an atomic reactor in India. India has made more advance in this respect than any other country in that part of the world, and in the circumstances now prevailing, where our food supplies are short, the United States has come forward, on the basis we have arranged with it, of a business character, to furnish the necessary food supplies, part of them at any rate from its surpluses.

Our economic development has been assisted by drawing on the technical and material resources of the Western world as well as of Eastern Europe. For example, in our attempts to discover oil deposits in India, Soviet engineers are working in India. The same applies to certain parts of our heavy industry. But in none of this is there any sacrifice of our sovereignty or in any way the mortgaging of our independence for a mess of economic pottage.

This is the general outline which I would like to place before the Assembly. We want to say here that in spite of the shadows that darken this world, if our efforts are directed towards the practical implementation of the provisions of the Charter, and if we are able to cast our votes with a full consideration of the issues, without predetermination, without taking sides, but guided by the reality of events, we shall strengthen this Organisation and create greater confidence in everybody.

I referred in the beginning to the fact that in our country today the anniversary of the Buddha, 2,500 years ago, was being observed. Religious leaders in the past have given maxims about devotion and dedication. But the thought I would like to leave for myself at the end of these observations is that the future of the United Nations largely depends upon ourselves. As was said by this great man — and he did not regard himself as a god — “Not even a god can change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself.” And the only person who can vanquish a man is man himself.

*[Mr Garin, representative of Portugal, and Begum Ikram Ullah, leader of the delegation of Pakistan, then made statements in reply to Mr Krishna Menon. The following is his statement in reply to them.]*

***Kashmir***

I made references in my observations to two problems. One was necessitated by the references made by the representative of Pakistan to Kashmir, a problem of which the Security Council has been seized and, if communications made to the Secretary-General have any validity, it should be considered there. I have no intention of giving a dress rehearsal of what I am going to say in the Security Council, but I should like to remind the representative of Pakistan that, whatever may be said, we have great affection for her and for her people, and we still regard them as part of the same family.

I think that it would be useful, if it were possible, for the representative of Pakistan to read some of the Security Council papers in connection with the Kashmir question. The complaint of aggression is an Indian complaint. Aggression, which the Sixth Committee is trying to define, is not easily defined in some cases, but in this case there is no particular problem because - who were the first invading armies in Kashmir? That is a very simple question. The first invading armies came from Pakistan, over Pakistan territory. The then Prime Minister, both orally and in writing, assured our people that Pakistan had nothing to do with it, but that of course, it was very difficult for them to refuse oil and fuel, and so on, to their co-religionists, and that it was not a thing which Pakistan could control very easily. The admission of the presence of the Pakistan army in Kashmir was made only when the United Nations Commission discovered it there in June of the following year.

Reference has been made to accession. I think that it was a once distinguished citizen of India, a veteran nationalist, the late Mr Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, as he is regarded by the Pakistanis, who advocated with great fierceness and, if I may say so, with great legal correctness, the theory - not the theory, but the fact now - that the accession of an independent State was a matter for the ruler of the State because these States were feudal: they had no parliaments, they had no legislature, and sovereign authority was vested in the ruler. Under a parliamentary regime as in Canada or the United Kingdom, the sovereign accedes in law, but in fact Parliament does. But some accession in law is in the hands of the sovereign. It is not a matter of hair-splitting in law.

When the British decided to leave India, there were 560 States ruled by Indian princes and chieftains and various feudal lords. The arrangement made in March 1945 in regard to this was that these States must accede to one or other of the successor States, and it was for the State to do the acceding. We did not canvass this accession. In fact, the first agreement that there should be no accession was between Pakistan and Kashmir, until Pakistan broke it and decided to take the law into its own hands and to allow these irregulars to come in a strength of 30,000 or so. They sacked the cities, abducted the women and committed many atrocities, until the ruler of Kashmir, realising his folly in not completing accession, offered accession, which we had an obligation - not only a right, but indeed an obligation - to accept. And it then became our duty to drive the invader out of the country. Then the Indian army went in, repelled the invasion and - some of our

countrymen think, rather unwisely - stopped the invading army at the present cease-fire line, in order to stop bloodshed. If it had been our desire to settle this by arms, we would have adopted other courses.

This was ten years ago. People had greater hopes in the efficacy of the United Nations. Representatives of Pakistan came over here and complained of aggression, and since then we have been saying that we are quite prepared to consider various means by which this matter could be settled. As I said a while ago, one has to find a middle way. Those things have been going on for a very long time, and a country cannot be kept in suspense in this way for more than a reasonable period.

Thus, the aggression was not on our side. The Pakistan armies are on the other side, and, if the representative of Pakistan will read the documents, she will discover that it is part of the injunction of the United Nations that there should be no Pakistan forces on the other side. The agreement on the cease-fire was that they must disband and disarm. They have neither disbanded nor disarmed ....

Reference has been made to our aggressive intentions, and I am very sorry that this has come from the representative of Pakistan who, so far as I know, comes from East Bengal, which is surrounded by Indian territory. An aggressive country would do something else about it, but we are not an aggressive country.

Large numbers of people, 4 million, under conditions that prevail - in the beginning, of course, there was an exodus both ways - are flowing into our territory. Land has gone to Pakistan, but where are the people? It is a pity that two neighbours should have to wash their dirty linen here. I did not ask for it. I had hoped, and my delegation had hoped, that the Pakistan delegation would not raise the question, knowing very well that these matters are being discussed between our Governments, knowing very well that we have not moved one little finger in spite of the continuous war propaganda in Pakistan - where every newspaper and leading statesman calls for a holy war, where responsible persons in the Press have said that the purpose of the military alliance with the United States is in order to arm them to invade us. We have not gone into an armaments race, because it is Pakistan alone that is in it - well, they are two countries side by side. We do not think that is the case with the United States, because the United States has assured us that the purpose of the military alliance is other than an attack on us. But of course weapons that fire only in one direction have not been made. We accept that position. But in any case, we could not arm against the United States; we have no desire to do so. So there it is.

So the aggression is on their side. The discussion, except in so far as was permitted in the beginning, in my humble submission is not really within the competence of this Assembly. It was within my competence to reply, because attacks had been made and misstatements had been made about our armed strength, which is all part of the general story. But we have hopes, in spite of all

this, that some day - and the sooner the better - Pakistan will agree with us that there shall be no war between our two countries, whatever our differences. This offer remains open, and I believe the newer generations of Pakistan will come to that agreement. Our prosperity lies in theirs, and *vice versa*. We have no desire to quarrel with them; indeed we do not. We have a certain amount of probing on our frontiers, which our armed police takes care of, and we refrain from retaliation...

### **Goa**

With regard to Goa, the question is asked: what is a colony? Definitions are sometimes difficult, but concrete examples are comparatively easy, and the example of a colony is Goa. Our country was, in one period of decadence, occupied by various Western Powers. I told you before that the Portuguese came, the Dutch came, the French came and the British came. In the end, for whatever the reasons maybe, the British got the largest slice. They established their domination, and we became part of the British Empire legally for a period of ninety years. The Portuguese conquest was not dislodged by the British, because it was not inconvenient to them. If it had been inconvenient to them, the British would have pushed them out. Perhaps if our way of approach had been different, we would have pushed them out.

The representative of Portugal, who lived in Delhi for a long time - and he was treated very well - comes here and tells us about our aggression. Does this Assembly believe that we could not push out the authority by force from that little tiny bit of India if we wanted to do so? Is that not conclusive evidence that we are trying to settle this matter peacefully? I want to say that, if it took a hundred years, we are not going to permit a foreigner to occupy our territory...

It happens that my country is invaded and not any other. Therefore the position is that Goa is a colony. We are not using force against them. I cannot commit Governments to the future. The very fact that there is no violence used against them is evidence of our position. The only reason we said this here was because we were referring to the general problem of colonial empire, and it would be very wrong for us to pick on France as one colonial country or the British position on Cyprus, and not refer to what is on our own continent.

## V. HUMAN SURVIVAL - THE OVERRIDING PROBLEM<sup>45</sup>

... This general debate, while cynics may speak of it as a long run of speeches, has a significance which should not be overlooked. This is perhaps the occasion when representatives are somewhat disanchored from the necessity of voting according to political alignments, but are free to express themselves. There are delegations like mine who sometimes think that if the votes were all like the speeches, the Assembly would be rather different. But at any rate, there is this idea that we all come here with different points of view, we tolerate each other, we try to understand each other.

While sometimes the language used may not be all that would have been correct in the Victorian age, we still conduct our procedures in this Assembly in such a way that the views of different delegations, and the approach that is made by nations and by large regional continental areas of the world, make their impact upon our common desires. We are not a World Parliament nor are we a World Government of any kind. Any decision that is made here is by way of recommendation, which goes back to our sovereign Governments, to our parliaments, or otherwise. But the impact of public opinion and the speakers who represent here the millions of people all over the world - with significant omissions though, to which I shall refer later - have a tremendous influence upon the progress of humanity as a whole.

My country is one of those which shares very much the view the Secretary-General expresses in the introduction to his annual report, that the United Nations should neither be romantically regarded as a panacea, as the centre for resolving every dispute, or as having the answers to every problem, nor should it be regarded as an institution that has failed to perform its functions. Each year the United Nations blossoms out in a different way. Opportunities for different ways of solution come about. We are particularly happy to note that the Secretary-General refers to the functions of the United Nations as a realm of open diplomacy. I wish the time would come when the Secretary-General could make the physical conveniences and facilities of this place more conducive to conference and not merely to speaking and counter-speaking.

My delegation appears on this rostrum today in the context of twelve years of United Nations existence and, so far as our country is concerned, ten years as an independent nation. We are an old country but a new nation. Against that background, one approaches the United Nations not as from a vacuum but in terms of the success and the failures of its predecessors, going back to the Middle

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<sup>45</sup> Statement in the general debate at the General Assembly on 8 October 1957



Ages and, more recently, to the failure of the League of Nations. The United Nations was founded, while war was raging, by those who could see further than the events of that time in order that peace might reign in this world and that this comity of nations might not be a Holy Alliance of good nations and of bad nations, but a universal society where the differences between sovereign countries, with their different historical backgrounds and civilisations, might be expressed in such a way that their diversities would make them a common richness.

Some of those expectations, as must be the case in all new organisations, especially those based partly on idealism and partly on the imperative necessity of survival, have suffered some setbacks. But still, our position is one which, while we may not be complacent, gives us hope and certainly calls for greater endeavour.

In the last two years, the area of freedom has widened in the world and so has the membership of the United Nations. We have here now eighty-two countries of the world, and while either representation or membership is significant in certain omissions, we still represent a very considerable part of the world and a great many of us are conscious of our omissions. The United Nations, if its purposes had to be recited in simple terms - which may not always be accurate - is the Organisation for world peace and co-operation. The very words of the Charter open with the exhortation to rid the world of the scourge of war so that this planet may not be again plunged into confusion, as has been the case twice in this century. It also uses in the beginning, the words "We the peoples of the United Nations."

While it is true that the Credentials Committee may examine our credentials, and while there may be differences between the economic and political composition of our various States and in our procedures, the fact does remain that today, irrespective of the forms of Government all over the world, the people are the significant and ultimate factor in decision. It is the view of my delegation that, while there is an increasing realisation of the impact of world public opinion on all our Governments and on us collectively, there is not enough profit. One of the main distinctions between the predecessor of the United Nations and the United Nations itself is that the countries of the world do not regard the United Nations as just an organisation outside themselves, to whom some specialists are sent in order to sit on session, after which they can forget about it.

As the Secretary-General well knows, and as I said the other day, when he came to our country and wandered in a village where he was not supposed to be going, he was asked all about the United Nations, including his salary. There is so much desire on the part of the people to know about it, and there is great expectation, and this great expectation is one that we, who represent Governments either singly or collectively, may not ignore, because ultimately it is the voice of the peoples of the world that must decide. Whether we call them by one name or

another, so far as our forms of Government are concerned, there never can be any authority established anywhere in the world which ultimately would not yield to the impact of the people.

It will be my task, in so far as I have time, to refer back to the achievements of the United Nations. I take the liberty, but I make no apology at this time, of referring to the ten years of our own life as an independent nation. This is not to blot out the period of history that has gone before us, whether it be from the time of 1919 when we became an original member of the League of Nations, or the 7,000 years that preceded that date. But these ten years are the only period that we as a people have known as a democratic, independent nation State; and if we refer to this, it is not because this rostrum should be used for the propaganda of national Governments, but in order that attention may be drawn to the vast experiments, or projects, that have taken place in the amelioration of the conditions of people in underdeveloped areas and the bridging of the gap resulting from the recession, or rather stagnation of development, existing during the period of imperial rule.

What happens in countries like ours, not India alone, is of world significance, because we have come today to a state of affairs where it is not possible to have prosperity in one place and misery somewhere else. Just as we say that war somewhere would become war everywhere, similarly, epidemics, famines and lower standards of life, bad conditions of labour and social unrest, are as infectious as the rest of the epidemics in the world.

### ***Democratic Process in India***

When we became an independent country, without being addicted to any ideology, we took over in our own minds the political and the economic consequences of independence. There is so much said in these halls about colonial rule, national independence, the sovereignty of nations, the much abused words "self-determination of peoples" and so on. But none of these has any meaning to the masses of the people of any country unless they are translated into terms of political facilities to express themselves, autonomy - *swaraj*, as we would call it in our country - satisfaction of hunger, provision of shelter, proper sanitation and organisation of leisure. These are the social minima that must obtain in our civilised age.

We in our country took the plunge six or seven years ago when we not only accepted but proclaimed and embodied in our Constitution and political life the idea that the independence of our country must be the independence of all the peoples. What the West then regarded as an experiment is now part of our national life.

A few months ago, 121 million people registered their opinion as to who should constitute the Parliament of India. On our electoral rolls today are 193,429,004 people. That number is larger than the population of the United States. I am quite

prepared to admit that one Indian may be far inferior to one American. But just as we are larger in quantity, our electorate is larger than the population of any country that is represented here.

We take legitimate pride in the fact that this democratic exercise has proceeded peacefully. Whether our political parties be of one type or another, whether they be Liberal. Constitutional. Congress, Communist, Socialist or all the other things there are - and we have fourteen parties in opposition to the Government, and what opposition! - not one of them has complained about the stifling of opinion or the rigging of elections. It is quite true that a great number of my colleagues have had their elections challenged by petitions, which is part of the constitutional process, and so long as there are clever lawyers in many countries there will be long procedures in this direction.

So for the second time in the last ten years millions and millions of people - men and women - without distinction of class, creed or colour, have gone to the polls and elected the Government of the day in peaceful circumstances without having to call in the troops or the police or anything of that kind and, what is more, with the issues being fully explained. I know the issues had to be explained. I myself had to campaign for only a short period of time because the United Nations takes a great deal of one's time.

It is not possible in a country like ours to get away by saying "I am a good man." You have to say why you are, and the people decide for themselves. This is a political aspect of our country. If it were confined to our national Parliament, where the representatives sit far away in our central metropolis in New Delhi, that in itself would not be a great advance in democracy. For the first time since the death of the village republics some 2,000 or 1,500 years ago, our country has gone back again to the conception of village democracy. So whether it be on the executive or the judicial side or even in respect to financial powers, today 200,000 villages in India are covered by our community project schemes, where six years ago there were only fifty. By 1960, all India, with 600,000 villages will give an example regarding the majority of the ordinary people who live on the fruits of the soil - they are mainly engaged in agriculture. These areas today are organised not so much by Government officials as, to a very large extent, by voluntary organisations. Even the expenditure funds of up to 65 per cent come from the people themselves.

I refer to this because, as the Secretary-General well knows, the United Nations has taken an interest in this project and is trying to discover how much it would suit other countries similarly placed, and not in an identical set of circumstances. We are always willing to offer such assistance and to derive such information and inspiration as we can from other people.

In a few years time, therefore, democracy will not be confined to our Parliament or our State legislatures. It will not be confined to those whose names figure in the

headlines of newspapers, but will go down to every village in India where men and women even today are in tens of thousands of organisations which are fully democratic, where they express their views and govern the area. We have some village communities in our part of India where the whole of the village assembly is composed of women. It may not be a good thing, but there it is.

### *Economic Planning*

We come now to our economic planning. We realise that no form of independence has any meaning unless it can bring to the populations freedom from starvation, from hunger or the threat of hunger, and such conditions as are required for a reasonable way of life. Of course, these conditions change. The better they become, the better people want them. There are some outstanding differences between countries like ours and those Western countries, including the United States, which have accomplished vast industrial achievements. We started with a political revolution and our industrial revolution follows. In Western communities, the industrial revolution came in and the people who became part of the industrial development demanded more political power. Therefore we have less time. We have more people who make calls upon us - that is, on the country.

The satisfaction of the aspirations of the people in terms of what they need cannot be put off on grounds of dearth of foreign exchange or inflation or this or that. Populations are impatient, and rightly so. A democracy that is not impatient will soon cease to be and deteriorate into a very rigid society.

Therefore, having had this political revolution beforehand - whether in the village, the State, the municipality, the parliament, the chambers of commerce or the trade unions - everyone was making demands on the resources of the country, and it was essential that attention should be paid to economic planning. In 1950, we started in a very modest way. It was certainly modest when you compare it to the astronomical figures that you hear in the United States. The total outlay for our economic projects in the first five years came to \$5,325 million. Of course, we did not pay it out in dollars, but this is the calculation. Of that sum, I am happy to think that we spent 23 per cent - over \$1,200 million - on social services.

But it is not enough to spend money whether we have it or not. We must also look at the results. The results are not as good as we would like them to be. But the national income of India increased by 17.5 per cent during that period and the per capita income increased by 10.5 per cent.

Our main problem has always been the problem of food. We are a very densely populated country. We are not like Australia, a whole continent inhabited by 10 million people. The average density of our population, taking the mountains and the seas and the rivers and everything else into account, is about 350 per square mile. There are 376 million people in 1,200,000 square miles of our territory.

What is more, we are beset by the problem of refugees flowing from a neighbouring country into ours.

Food is our most important problem because, if we do not have it, then it must be imported. And for some strange reason, foreign food is always paid for in dollars, and dollars are a rare commodity. So far, we are short of food grains. However, we have made progress to the extent of increasing their production by about 20 per cent in the last six years. So if our people work hard enough and if nature is kind, which it is not, the condition will greatly improve.

Not a year passes in our country, however, without either a flood or an earthquake or a cyclone or a drought of some kind. There is too much water in one place and too little in another. There are friends of ours, like the Foreign Minister of Australia, who says that we ought to learn soon to break the clouds and pour the water out. But I do not know what one part of India would think if we burst the clouds there and the other part did not have it. That is to be seen. At any rate, these natural calamities visit us year after year. This year, for example, in Kashmir, 747,000 people saw their villages go under water as a result of sudden flood.

Food production, however, has gone up, but people are eating more. Are we to say that they should not eat more? There have been produced 11 million tons of food. Similarly, our industrial production has gone up in a meagre way of about 22 per cent or so, and the production of capital goods has increased by 70 per cent. Consumer goods, which should be kept down for various reasons, have also gone up by one-third.

India today produces - and most people regard this a very strange surprise - a large quantity of electric power, but it is not as much as we require. In five years the quantity of electric power has doubled. We have brought under cultivation, owing to the scarcity of food, 16 million additional acres of land, which is watered by the rivers that normally flow into the sea. That is why we sometimes feel very sad that on this particular problem political considerations should come in and that we should have difficulties.

I am relating these points not in order to be complacent or to take the time of the meeting with what are, after all, national projects and national achievements. However, we consider that these are of very great importance in the area, particularly in South-East Asia and in other parts of Western Asia.

At the same time, social services have been developed. Owing to the existence of democratic institutions, a great deal of our social services, while they do not compare to social security measures either in Western Europe, in the United States or in other parts of the world, are largely met by voluntary contributions, with the Government, which represents the community, providing the initiative and the inspiration in many cases.

This is the balance sheet as it was at the beginning of last year. Then we went into what is called the second five-year plan. These plans do not mean that individuals are not allowed to develop private enterprise in India. In fact, we could not hope to achieve progress unless the development of every section of the population could take place. During the next five-year plan, our objective is to increase our national income, to expand industrialisation, to increase employment opportunities and to reduce inequalities. For all this, our people must bear heavy burdens.

India today is the most heavily taxed country in the world. If you earn money, you pay income taxes; if you spend money, you pay expenditure taxes; if you save money, you pay taxes on wealth; if you leave money, you pay an estate duty on inheritance. By the time everything is over, the people realise that the burdens on them are very great, but they have to carry these burdens in order that the future may be better than the present.

I do not want to go into any great detail about this, except to point out that this is a positive side. But we are also beset with problems, problems to which the Secretary-General makes reference in the economic section of his annual report. So far as the highly advanced industrial countries are concerned, adverse balance of trade does not affect them so much. But if the underdeveloped countries are really to get out of the rut of colonialism, then it is necessary that they should not be merely the producers of the raw materials supplied to the advanced industrial countries, taking in return what they can ill afford - the capital goods and the consumer goods of those countries. That is our big problem. We are faced today with an expanding economy; and our difficulties arise from our having to find the resources, particularly in the way of exports to the highly developed countries, for a higher standard of life, for which we have to pay by the produce that comes out of agriculture.

Until we are able to correct this balance, we shall not get out of the relationship of economic imperialism; that is to say, until our countries are able to balance their economies to a considerable extent, we cannot hope to make much progress.

In the advancement which we have made, there has also been the feature of international co-operation. While we have friendly relations with every country in the world, it is true that we are in the unhappy position in which our relations with our nearest neighbour could be better. But we would not say that so far as we are concerned either the desire or the anxiety to make them better is lacking. With every country in the world we have friendly relations, economic and political, and, more particularly, countries like the United States, the Soviet Union, New Zealand, Canada, Australia, Japan and Norway have come to our aid in various forms, whether through the United Nations or through bilateral agreements. A large amount of assistance, both in kind and in money, has come into India.

It would be a mistake to think that the economic development of our country, or of any country, should not depend mainly upon the efforts of its own people. In such a case it would have no real foundations and it would wither away. Therefore, when we speak in this Assembly about assistance to underdeveloped countries, it must be on the basis of the economy of those countries and it must not be tied in with political relations. Aid that goes to a country which does not make its own efforts will not, in the long run, produce fruitful results.

I should like to take this opportunity, in case I do not get any other, of offering our thanks and expressing our gratitude to all the countries which I have mentioned, large and small. Even a country like the President's<sup>46</sup> which - I hope he will not mind my saying - is a small one, has come to the assistance of India in a measure much larger than its resources would indicate and in a much larger proportion than other countries. We are immensely grateful for that.

### *India's Relations with Countries in the Region*

Our greatest problem, however, is the problem of time. Unless we are able to make progress in the given time, the conflict between social aspirations and social satisfactions will become an even bigger problem, and this is a situation which a democracy has to face. We are determined to carry out our political and economic development on the basis of the sovereignty of our people. We intend to cultivate and maintain relations with all peoples, adhering firmly to the idea that friendship with one does not exclude friendship with another; in fact, it only extends the area of friendship.

With regard to foreign relations, more particularly with our neighbours, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand - I hope I have not omitted any - they are not only good but have become closer each day. Australia to us becomes more and more a part of the Australasian continent. This has many significant aspects; it may be a contributory and a remedial factor in the racial conflicts which exist in the world. In many senses countries like ours are partly Western and partly Eastern by historic and economic circumstances, and we hope that in this way it will contribute in some measure to the purposes of the United Nations.

We have two problems in our area. One is part of an unfinished job, namely, the complete liquidation of colonialism in our country. Thanks to the wisdom of the British and French statesmen, two of the Western Powers which had been in occupation of our country have either fully or mostly relinquished the whole of that. We believe that, with the patience which we have shown in this matter, the completion of our negotiations with France, which have been based upon mutual respect and understanding, will soon come about in every respect. But there is still a part of our country under colonial rule under the Portuguese empire. Here, as elsewhere, as in the whole of India, if we decided to have our liberation from one of the most powerful empires of modern times, that of Great Britain, by peaceful

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<sup>46</sup> The President of the General Assembly was Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand.

methods, we shall continue to do that in other places also. But until the whole of our motherland is free from foreign occupation, we could not regard our independence as complete.

We have not brought these matters before the United Nations because it is not our purpose to load the agenda with more subjects and merely to bring here problems which might perhaps be resolved in other ways. We have little doubt that the peoples who are interested in these territories will assert their freedom in the same way as we have done.

With our nearest neighbour we try as hard as we can to build up closer economic, political and cultural relations. There are large numbers of people flowing into India from our dear neighbouring country. Some come for a holiday, and they do not return, so that this leaves us a problem of refugees in which, I would point out, our country has had no assistance from anybody else. Since independence, 500,000 people, very nearly, have come into West Bengal, and the Government of India has been responsible for expenditures of up to \$630 million in housing and in the provision of relief for the vast numbers of refugees that have flowed into India. West Bengal is such a crowded part of the world, and into our populations come those who are pushed out for various reasons, so that this refugee problem is really of international concern. It would be a very wrong thing to say that one country must have the land and that the other must have the people.

This continuing exodus from the other side does not make for friendly relations but strains our economy, and, what is more, we do not see the end of it. As I have said, it has cost us \$630 million in the last six years, and for a country like ours, where the per capita income is 225 rupees a year - between \$50 and \$60 - that is a vast amount of money to spend. In Calcutta one can see any day human beings who have been driven out of their homelands and cut from their roots and their moorings, with nowhere to go and nowhere to look. And while we are an independent and free Government, and while we do the best we can, there are limits to our capacity and to our resources. Having regard to the vast burdens that already rest on the international community in connection with refugees from different parts of the world, we have not yet invoked aid, but the time will come when this will become a very vast international problem.

At the same time, we are happy to think that the area of freedom is growing in the world, and only the other day we had the opportunity of welcoming a sister State of ours from the Commonwealth to the United Nations as an independent nation. I would be failing in my duty if I did not express - as, indeed, it is a privilege and a pleasure to do - our gratification and sense of pride at the fact that in all those areas which were the colonial empires of Britain there has been a rapid advance towards independence since we became independent. We used to say in those days that Britain really wanted freedom from its empire, and we started the march to freedom. Today in Malaya, as the result of wisdom and patience on both sides, there has been a reconciliation.



Whatever may be the difficulties of the future or of different communities, there has been an adjustment of monarchy to a republic and a quick march forward to the assumption of power. We hope that the remaining vestiges of empire in Asia will disappear, whether it be in India, far off in the Pacific or in that vast continent of Africa where millions of people still live in conditions that are inhuman and where forced labour is the order of the day. It is a disgrace to all of us that human beings in any part of the world should live in those conditions, and they should come to an end.

### *Colonial Problems*

We look to the time when the wisdom of France will resolve the problems that are attendant on some of its vast possessions in Africa, and there are many signs that French public opinion reacts favourably in these matters.

In this connection, it is my duty to state on behalf of my Government that, irrespective of the irritations we may create and irrespective of the fact that some may argue that the presence of such a large number of ex-colonial countries upsets the balance of this Assembly, we shall for ever, like our friends from Ghana, stand four-square and solidly by the side of those people who have been left on the road in the march towards independence. That is a duty we shall not forswear at any time. But that does not mean that we shall ever try to interfere with other Governments or have recourse to methods which were not our own in securing our own liberation.

There have come before us two or three great colonial problems - that of Algeria, that of Cyprus and that of West Irian. Since we shall have the occasion to do so in the First Committee, this is not the time to deal with those problems in detail, but I should like to say a few words here and now with regard to the one which is the most crucial in that it is attended by violence and a great deal of loss of life and slaughter all round, namely, the problem of Algeria.

We have great sympathy for the difficulties of France in this matter, derived largely from historical circumstances, but great nations must rise above difficulties and no difficulties can be pleaded in bar of human freedom. The Government of India stands firmly upon the conception that every person in the territory of Algeria - whatever the colour of his skin, whatever his racial stock and whatever his religion - is an Algerian, and that therefore there cannot be an independence that excludes those vast numbers of Frenchmen who have made Algeria their home.

Nationalism is territorial, and - if I may be pardoned and if I am not regarded as taking any liberties - I would like to say particularly to the Western countries that the force of nationalism today is, perhaps, the strongest force in the world, with the exception in many countries of religion. It would be a great mistake to ignore

the power of nationalism because it is not directed into the channels of constructive endeavour. Where the peoples who hunger to be free are soon liberated and are faced with the grave economic problems of their own countries, so that they are preoccupied with them, then we would have unrest in the world. We would promote racial quarrels; we would promote divisions, even among friends, as happens in the case of Greece and the United Kingdom just now.

This era of colonialism no more belongs to us than does the palaeolithic age; it belongs to an age that has passed behind. This is not to argue against the beneficence, the wisdom and the hard labour put in by administrators in the past. It is not to minimise the difficulties of metropolitan countries. But none of those difficulties can stand in the way of the natural aspirations of the peoples not to be foreigners in their own countries. We have lived through this, and we not only understand it but feel it every time.

We believe that the extension of these areas of freedom is an asset to the community. Who would say that the new countries, fifteen or twenty of them, that have joined this United Nations, with their millions of people who but a generation ago were under bondage, are not an asset to the international community? Every time we disfranchise a people, every time we make a people non-functional, we are depriving the world community of what they could contribute. It is quite true that they bring problems, but they bring their contributions also.

So, I hope that this Assembly - without rancour but with a sense of the practical, an appreciation of the fundamental rights of peoples and an admission and recognition of the territorial character of nationalist movements - will realise that countries are not problems to their peoples. Countries are their homelands; they are the places where they are born and where their bodies are buried or burned when they die. Unless we look at this question in this way we shall not make much progress. Our own country, within the ways that are open to it, makes its own contribution.

### ***Groups in the United Nations and the World***

In this connection, reference has been made by one or two delegations to a fact which I might as well mention here. It concerns the existence of groups within the United Nations. I believe that it was the Secretary-General who said that it was not the United Nations that had created the renaissance of Asia. The United Nations did not perform a creative act in bringing about the independence of those countries. Only those countries that have become independent are here. I entirely agree with the representative of France in thinking that "groupism" is a very bad thing in community life, whether in a country or in the world as a whole. It would develop the disease which the Greeks used to call stasis - in this case a rancorous, prejudicial form of war. We on our side have no desire to cut this Assembly into groups.

I hope that the representative of France, with the logical mind of his people, will carry this further and not form military groups in the world. After all, if groups are bad for the United Nations, groups are equally bad for the world, and if we want a free and united world and a world of peoples it is better that we do not divide it into compartments by narrow domestic walls, where it is the impediment of the flow of knowledge and information, and of the contact of man with man or mind with mind, that creates the impediments to traffic between nations.

I suppose the reference here is largely to the groups of countries that have been here. For years, ever since the Organisation was formed, there have been meetings of groups. They are not blocs in any sense; their policies are different, their military alignments are different, they do not all vote together; but when it comes to a question of an attack on the national liberty of a country they, in common with other countries like the United States or the Soviet Union, which do not belong to these groups, as was seen last year, band together. It is true that it is a good thing for countries which are near to each other or like-minded or have similar backgrounds or histories to be able to get together, and it may contribute to those factors to which the Secretary-General refers in his report of the United Nations as a scene of diplomacy or of mutual understanding as between nations.

Our Government and our country will never be a party to creating continental regionalisms. In this connection, I will particularly say to the President, who comes from that part of the world, that at the Bandung Conference one of the main insistences was that, while it represented a resurgence of Asia and Africa, we should not subscribe in any form to a continental regionalism. Therefore, with great respect, I should like to agree with the representatives of the Netherlands and of France who referred to these groups and who are as one with us in recognising their good functioning and being against the bad in it. I take the liberty of asking both of them - nations that are characterised by their sense of logic - to pursue this a little further and to say that this groupism is a bad thing whether it be in our national parliaments - where you do not get any stable Government if there are too many groups, as some countries know to their cost - or whether it is applied to the whole world, so this Assembly does not become a gathering of good nations and bad nations; it does not become a collection of one Holy Alliance against another Holy Alliance, but makes something of the Charter where it becomes a centre for harmonising interests.

### *Progress on the Suez Canal*

In this twelfth year of the United Nations, while there are still many unfinished tasks, we may congratulate ourselves on the resolving of, or at least on the developments that have taken place in regard to the problem we discussed arising from the invasion of Egypt last year. We are happy to think that the Government of Egypt, of its own free will, has made itself a party to international commitments whereby it reiterates and fully accepts the Constantinople Con-

vention of 1888 and subjects itself, in so far as the Convention is concerned, to the authority of the International Court of Justice to which it is not a party, not having signed the optional clause. I believe that one of the historic documents of the year is what is called the unilateral declaration by the Government of Egypt where, with great ingenuity, it has created a situation where it has made itself part of an international commitment and introduced the sanctity and authority of the United Nations in the enforcement of laws.

I am also happy to feel and my Government is happy to feel that, while some problems, like paying for the various expenses incurred in connection with the Suez Canal, the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force, the settling of various accounts with regard to the nationalisation or other incidents arising from the events that took place last year, still remain, progress is being made in this direction without in any way trespassing upon the free will of Egypt or of the other countries concerned.

It is our view that there is an enormous desire on the part of the peoples concerned to let the past be buried and to proceed in an era of co-operation. It is not our experience that there is a nursing of grievances in these lands but that there is a stretching forward to the new. It is not because we poorer peoples are any more high-minded or idealistic; our interests lead that way. We could not live by nursing past grievances; neither individuals nor countries can look in two directions at the same time. Either you look forward and march on or you look backward and nurse your glories and grievances, and this leads to a deterioration. Thus we are happy to think that in all these matters, both financial and other, some progress is being made.

The great Powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom and others would do well to recognise quite fully the changes that are taking place, taking into account the national aspirations of peoples and the pride of peoples in doing things themselves - the Egyptians are very proud of running the Suez Canal and at no time has it been mechanically run as well as it is now, carrying heavier traffic than at any time before. Once more I should like to pay my tribute to the Egyptian Government for the great patience and wisdom it has shown in not saying, "The Canal is ours; you can pay and go," but making a free, open-handed declaration to the peoples of the world which, by the announcement of its international instrument and by registration with the United Nations, under the procedures of the Court, has created a bond which is very different, so far as we are concerned, from what was expressed by the representative of New Zealand.

We think it is a good settlement which will lead to further settlements. I am convinced that, given good will, the co-operation between the users of the Canal and the Suez Canal Authority will grow. I feel sure that the income from the Canal will largely go into the development of the Canal because not only the

countries that use it, but also Egypt, through whose land the Canal flows and whose waters belong to it, need it more than anything else.

### ***United Nations Fund for Economic Development***

Our main concern in this twelfth year of our existence in the United Nations is with regard to those problems to which the Secretary-General has again referred in the section of his report dealing with economic and social questions, that is, the problem of the development of the underdeveloped countries. This is not a question of providing charity for those who are helpless, but a common-sense question of establishing a world equilibrium. You cannot have a political equilibrium if there is not economic equilibrium. There has been a considerable amount of aid from other countries to underdeveloped countries. After all, this is a new idea. It is only since the Second World War that countries have come forward and given out of their hard-earned wealth, having to fight their national legislatures and to convince them - and after all, no one pays income taxes cheerfully. I am told; I do not pay any, they collect it before I get any money. So much of this aid has flowed into these places and the various countries concerned in this matter are to be congratulated.

In this connection, I should like to congratulate the President's country - and in fact all the countries of the United Nations, bar one or two which I hope will soon join the rest - which has been engaged in promoting the special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. We have had discussions about this year after year, and we are in the happy position that the Economic and Social Council has recommended the inauguration of this Fund.

We hope that the United States with its characteristic generosity and foresight will come forward and speed up this process and be able to appreciate the fact more fully that multilateral aid of this kind does not displace bilateral aid, any more than our membership of the United Nations in any way vitiates our ties, shall we say, with the Commonwealth or our friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the United States, Nepal or whatever country it may be. We hope that in the years before us this development of co-operative enterprises between nations, where nations both large and small, rich and poor, will contribute to each other's development, will receive the implementation of the General Assembly and that a beginning will be made.

### ***International Administrative Service***

We are also glad to notice in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report a reference to an international administrative service. I think no greater contribution could be made than by drawing from various nations the talents of their people to the services of the countries which want them. We are one of those countries where, in a haphazard way or by bilateral arrangements, large numbers of people in our area come in, expert professional people of various kinds. But the

time has come, it appears to me, for the Secretary-General's idea to afford permanent recruitment facilities of this character where people will be hallmarked as being fit for this purpose, While they would still be nationals of their countries, they may serve others in the interests of humanity. That will take place and side by side with it the more international character of our Organisation and its servants will also emerge.

### ***United Nations Emergency Force***

Having said this, it would be wrong for us to sit back and think that everything is going well and that there are no problems. When we met last time, we were faced with two of the biggest problems that we had ever had, and the Assembly was very much preoccupied by them.

In the course of the speeches before the Assembly, reference has been made to the problem of the Middle East. In this connection, I should like to say that my country carries a heavy responsibility, both financial and otherwise, in affording on the armistice line the kind of facilities and services which the United Nations called upon it to provide.<sup>47</sup>

We are, as I said, a new nation with a very small armed force entirely conditioned and conceived for the defence of our frontiers, without any apparatus for operations abroad. But, as a result of the call of the United Nations and also because we know that it would be a contribution towards bringing about peace, a battalion of the Indian army stands guard on this armistice line in order to prevent any skirmishes and to further the cause of peace. While it is a great sacrifice for the countries concerned, particularly countries like ourselves and the small Scandinavian countries whose resources are not commensurate with the tasks they have to perform, I feel that we are doing something which is very much in furtherance of the Charter.

We do not subscribe to the view that this Emergency Force should be regarded as a pilot project or an embryonic international force of the future. That is a problem by itself, and some development can come about, should come about and will come about when the great Powers have resolved their problems among themselves. This Force was conceived and improvised for a specific purpose. It is not working according to the plan of the Charter, it is not responsible to the Security Council - it is very difficult to find out to whom it is responsible - but at any rate the troops are there, they stopped the fighting. I hope the Secretary-General will not ask me to send more troops; we do not have any.

The Emergency Force hasn't merely kept the peace in that part of the world, but its members have performed a very great international operation in bringing about friendship between the peoples where they are and themselves. We have not had

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<sup>47</sup> India contributed a contingent of troops to the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt.

one single incident of an anti-social character in regard to our troops in the Gaza areas.

### ***Situation in the Middle East***

It has been said that the Middle East is a problem with possibilities of tumult, of catastrophe and of conflict. I have no desire to venture into this problem because much talking about it does not get it very far. But, committed as we are in many ways, it is necessary for us to express our position so that neither the United Nations nor our Arab friends will have any misunderstanding of our position.

We do not regard the Middle East as a problem. It is composed of the countries and of the peoples that inhabit them. We do not believe in countries being backward in various ways. That is to look at it from the point of view of another country. What the Middle East requires is economic development and comparative peace.

If the nations of the world would agree not to strew their arms everywhere, especially without the recipients having to pay for them, then I think we should have greater peace in the world.

It is our conviction that Syria, for instance, has no intention whatsoever of becoming involved in the "cold war." The Syrians, like ourselves, are a people who want to be left free to build their own lives; we hope that, if they are allowed to do so, they will make a greater contribution to the extension of peace areas in the world, where countries are not committed beforehand and are not standing as seconds in a duel. Our position with regard to these areas is that their sovereignty should be respected and that there should be no interference by other people. A degree of neighbourliness should be shown, so that if they require defence materials for their own defences they, as national sovereign countries, may make their own choice; but we hope that none of them will so starve their peoples as to load themselves with arms while the population suffers. But, of course, it is an internal matter.

Therefore our position is: respect for the sovereignty of these countries, non-interference in their affairs, a degree of reciprocity in their relationship, and recognition that a small country is as conscious of its dignity and of its position and independence as the mightiest country in the world. In fact, smaller countries are even more conscious of their positions than powerful countries which can afford to forget them.

### ***Problem of Germany***

Then we have the outstanding problem which, though we come from Asia, is as much our problem as anyone else's, because it is a world problem - that of Germany. The Government of India hopes that peaceful and diplomatic solutions

will enable the world to close the chapter of the war and enable the German people to take their place in this Assembly.

Those solutions have to be peaceful and they have to be democratic. We have to give up the idea of victor and vanquished in this matter. What is more, any solution of that kind should carry with itself the removal of any fears that may be entertained by either side, in view of the last seventy years of German history. If it were possible for those people who are most concerned, namely, the German people, if it were possible for the countries of the Soviet Union which have diplomatic representation in both East and West Germany to make contributions to their unity, if it were possible for the United States with its great idealism and great economic power to realise, even more than it has done, that the present continuance of the state of war - because there is no peace - is preventing that great country with its vast industrial potential, a country which now has trade relations with almost every country in the world, including China, that would be a move in the right direction.

In our opinion, it is a great mistake to be wedded to doctrines that have been recited so often instead of seeking the path of peaceful and democratic solutions. No solution is possible where opinions strongly held, either by majorities or by minorities, can be totally ignored. In other words, solutions have to be agreed solutions and not imposed ones.

### ***Projection of "Cold War" to Underdeveloped Sreas***

This takes us to the other big problem that confronts us, and that is the projection of the "cold war" apparatus in our areas. We have always recognised the right of any sovereign country to do what it likes with its riches, with its arms, or whatever it is, but equally we claim the right to express our opinions about them. We cannot say: "this should not be done; it cannot be done." We can only say what its consequences are. The distribution of arms all over the world without the recipients having to pay for them is one of the main causes of friction in the world.

In the old days, in the inter-war years particularly, people who were in public affairs used to refer to those dealing in the arms traffic in the world as "merchants of death." At least, in those days, countries that wanted arms had to pay for them. But nowadays, with political alignments of various kinds, these military alignments stand in the way of the United Nations. This should be the great pact of nations. As a result of the events of last year, thanks to the initiative taken by the United States, which we all joined, we proved to the world that aggression cannot pay and will not work. What is more, it proved negatively that no pacts of any kind have any value.

With respect to the Middle East, it would be unrealistic for us not to recognise the force of Arab nationalism. Therefore, while we have no desire to make any



further protests about these pact areas - we are a people who believe that the extension of the peace areas in the world of nations which are comparatively backward, whose arms are not adequate even for their own defence, simply bringing them into a scheme where they, in the long run, will become hewers of wood and drawers of water, and their territory would be theatres of war - we believe that is not the way to promote peace. We are not at the present moment saying anything about the alliances between military countries. But the drawing in of vast areas where economic progress should take place unhindered by this business - and where economic aid, as I shall point out in a short time, is tied to other things - is not at all a helpful factor.

I have made reference to the assistance given by various countries in regard to the financing of economic development. In this connection I would refer to a document which has just come into my hands on this subject [E/3047]. In this document there is no reference to any particular country. All the countries are given, whether it be the United States, the Soviet Union, Belgium or Norway. But it is interesting to notice, for example, table XXVII contained in this document, in which the aggregate amounts of money, in kind or otherwise, that have gone into the various countries, are listed.

What do we find? India has a population of 376 million, and the total amount of aid that went into India during the three years of 1954, 1955 and 1956 was \$245 million. That works out at 70 cents per head of the population. As compared with that, the aggregate amount of loans that went into Pakistan, shall we say, was \$309 million, making \$3.9 per head of the population. Or we can take a country like Jordan, where the assistance given amounted to \$80 per head of the population.

I do not grudge these peoples this money, all I am saying is that, when we tie up economic questions with political considerations, we get that kind of distorted result. On the other hand, it is a good thing for countries that the amount of foreign aid they receive, while it must be adequate for getting them over certain humps, should not be such as to take away from them their sense of self-reliance.

I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to this document because it contains an enormous amount of information about the way that assistance is given to underdeveloped areas, and it contains all the facts and figures. It was prepared by the Economic and Social Council as a result of the request made last year by the General Assembly.

### ***Far East***

The other outstanding problems are the problems of the Far East. My country, together with Canada and Poland, is engaged in Indo-China. This, again, is not a task we sought, but we found ourselves there. In 1954, thanks largely to the initiative of the United Kingdom Prime Minister of that time, large-scale war was

averted in that area, and on 11 August 1954, for the first time since the invasion of China by Japan twenty-five years earlier, the guns were silenced. Since then, attempts have been made to try to settle the problem. A representative of India is chairman of the Commission that deals with the matter. The best we can say about it is that no further conflicts are taking place, but I believe that, given goodwill on all sides and the recognition that these countries must be allowed to live under their own conditions of sovereignty, it is possible to obtain solutions.

Over there in the last eighteen months our people have been trained diplomatically and otherwise in order to carry out their tasks. While this is not directly and organisationally a United Nations problem, we think that a settlement of the problem of Indo-China, in which three countries in conditions of unity will settle down as democratic nations, would be to our advantage. So far as the Government of India is concerned, so long as it can perform any duties and it is wanted, or, at least, it is not pushed out, it will continue to do so.

Korea still remains sundered. Thanks to the initiative of the United Nations in 1952, war came to an end, but Korea is still an unhappy land awaiting its freedom. Our views on this question have been expressed in the First Committee; they remain the same.

A few days ago, in asking the General Assembly to inscribe the item concerning Chinese representation on the agenda, we referred to the problems of the Far East. It would not be doing a service to the General Assembly if we did not point out that it is not possible for this Assembly to perform its functions and that it could never become a United Nations when 600 million people who have a constituted Government are excluded from its competence and its purview. In addition, there are many outstanding problems of disarmament and the development of nuclear energy for industrial purposes which cannot be solved without the co-operation of these vast numbers of people.

I have no desire to go into this question of representation, but I should say that we have found that the industrial and economic advances that have taken place there are of some value to us from the lessons they give. In a similar way, the Chinese come to see how we control floods or run factories, or whatever it maybe. So this mutual exchange takes place, and we are happy that in spite of political disabilities, some sixty-eight countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany, have entered into trade relations with China. We hope again that world public opinion will soon develop to the extent where we will be able to take a realistic view of the situation and while in no way subscribing to the form of Government or affording approval, we can do what is necessary under the terms of the Charter.

### ***Problem of Human Survival***

These are the main problems that confront us regionally. But really the problem that is before the United Nations is the problem of human survival, and if this Assembly did nothing beyond making some small advance to halt the race in armaments, if it did something to reverse the engines of war, we would have deserved well of ourselves and of humanity. In this connection, I do not share the view of the representative of New Zealand, who said:

The Assembly is now faced with a choice. It is a choice between deceptively simple proposals whose purpose is propaganda, and more complex proposals genuinely intended to bring about a solution.

Our task is not to allot blame or praise. Our task is to find ways of reconciliation. The world cannot be destroyed by halves; if it is going to be destroyed, it will be destroyed as a whole. War somewhere means everywhere. It is necessary for us to approach this problem with a degree of independence of mind and also taking into account the consequences of our lack of action in this matter. I make no apology for appealing to the delegations concerned to remember that this disarmament question, whether it be suspension of test explosions or making an advance on the main issue or on the other issue of the machinery, is a matter which concerns each nation individually. It is not a question of alignments or commitments; it is a question of world survival.

In addition, we have as a human race a great legacy going back, as far as we know, to the palaeolithic ages. Are we to see all this destroyed because we cannot get over our small prejudices, or are we to make our lives so onerous and difficult by leading to inflations in various countries, by creating this kind of war neurosis in which every country lives under the threat of an explosion somewhere else? Even more, are we to resort to these engines of destruction, the consequences of which, as I shall point out in a moment, are not even known to the people, though they are known to be very bad, and therefore take upon ourselves the responsibility of making a holocaust not only for the present time, but of making this world into a barren desert, or, rather, not a barren desert, since no one knows what it would be? It may be that one of the reasons people wish to travel to the moon is because they think they cannot live here.

Therefore, in our submission, the problem of disarmament should be approached more from the point of view stated by the representative of Japan, who said:

It is equally the problem of all member States, and indeed the unending concern of all mankind. Measures to solve this problem cannot and should not be dictated by the tactical and strategic considerations of the Great Powers concerned.

We are happy to have this emphatic declaration from a sister country in Asia, which has come under the direct impact of radiation. The people and Government

of Japan, from their own experience and from a humanitarian motivation, attach great importance to the suspension of nuclear test explosions.

I should like to say, on this problem of disarmament, which is the problem before us, that it would be entirely wrong for any of us to be greatly burdened by the difficulties that have arisen, by the deadlocks that face us, or even by party and political alignments, because here, more than anywhere else, we speak for the present and future generations. We speak in the name of the human legacy of the past, and therefore we as a country to every single nation here, not in order to be against anybody, not in order to be in any other group, not to secure a voting victory, or anything of that kind.

We all know, as the Secretary-General points out in the introduction to his report, that voting victories are of a limited value. The only true agreements are those that have behind them the enormous volume of public opinion in the world, and, as I said in the case of South Africa, the one vote we want is the vote of South Africa.

Therefore it is necessary that the smaller countries, so-called, should rise to the fullness of their sovereign stature and proclaim the conscience of mankind. It is not that other people do not respond, but they are weighted down by their own difficulties and responsibilities. Those of us who have no bombs to destroy, those of us who have no bases in other countries, those of us who have no concern lest someone should attack us, whether in the name of the Warsaw Pact or of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the opportunity is presented to us to add our moral strength, so that the voice of the small man may be a collective and effective voice. We are accountable to ourselves, and we should all ask ourselves whether we have voted on the right side and for the right cause, and I am sure that there can be no two answers to that question.

### *Cessation of Nuclear Tests*

There are three aspects of this proposal. The first deals with the cessation of thermonuclear tests. I am sure the General Assembly will not look upon this as a hardy annual. In 1954, in the Parliament of India, we appealed to the world for the suspension of those tests. Our proposals were well received at that time; indeed, we thought we had very wide support, including the support of the United Kingdom during some six months. In June of last year the Government of India presented its views before the Disarmament Commission, and I am happy to say that the views we presented appeared to be welcomed and we were told that they would be considered. What happened afterwards is not known.

These nuclear tests have gone on from 1945 to 1957; during this twelve-year period there have been 127 nuclear explosions in the world, 86 by the United States, 22 by the Soviet Union and 19 by the United Kingdom. These already constitute a serious danger to humanity.

The representative of the United Kingdom, Mr Lloyd,<sup>48</sup> told us that the suspension of nuclear tests was not disarmament. I fully subscribe to that. It is true that just because we suspend the tests we do not get disarmament, but I shall ask Mr Lloyd to bear that in mind, so that when the tests have been suspended he will proceed to the next step. However, you cannot on that basis argue that there should be no suspension, which we say would be an initial step in the process of disarmament. It would be a step away from nuclear weapons and from the idea of mass destruction, a step towards the laying aside of arms.

There are various other reasons. It was said some years ago that there were only two countries in the world which had those weapons and that therefore it would probably be easier to come to some arrangement. Now there are three countries, and next year there may be four, five or six. The area of potential destruction is being extended, and the problem of control is becoming more and more difficult.

Therefore we want to submit to this General Assembly that there should be some method of suspending these tests, because after all, if after a period of suspension no progress at all was made in the lowering of tensions - and we agree with the representative of Ireland that what is required is a change of outlook and feeling in the world - it would be possible to resume them. We cannot, of course, deal merely with sentiment; we have to go into operational matters which have a bearing upon it.

There is a vast degree of agreement on these matters, and I think it would be wrong of the General Assembly not to pay its tribute to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission which has worked laboriously for some time, though without much success as far as results are concerned. As the representative of Lebanon has said, not a gun, not a bomb nor any other instrument has been thrown away. But the Sub-Committee did make very great progress; the very fact that the countries which have unfortunately divided themselves into two camps were able to sit down together and discuss these matters was in itself a great progress.

I propose to deal briefly with three aspects of this question. It is the intention of my delegation to submit to the General Assembly a suggestion to the effect that each of the countries now capable of carrying out test explosions should inform the Secretary-General of its willingness to suspend them. No time limit should be specified, because that would amount to licensing them.

We recognise the apprehension that is felt in some quarters about non-detectability and about evasion, and we are willing to admit that there is an arguable case on those grounds, though we do not accept it ourselves. Our advice leads us to the conclusion that it is possible to detect explosions and to avoid

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<sup>48</sup> Selwyn Lloyd, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom and leader of the United Kingdom delegation to the General Assembly.

evasions; scientific advance is so great today that it would be very wrong for anyone to say that science cannot do this or that if it is faced with the task.

It is our view, since such doubts are entertained, that the whole problem of the suspension of nuclear tests and the prevention of evasions is closely linked with the subject of inspection and control, which should be carried out by a body of people who would be selected in equal numbers from those holding differing points of view, who should then invite other countries which are not nearly so committed on this matter, so that the whole problem could be looked at technically in that way.

We do not see how a suggestion of this kind can be regarded as anything but reasonable. The time has come, if disarmament is to be achieved at all, in view of the present state of distrust in the world, to realise that it is not possible to achieve it without the machinery of inspection and control. If we are to go on continually arguing whether we should disarm first and inspect afterwards or inspect first and disarm afterwards we are not likely to get anywhere, but if it is possible to throw the whole of this matter and the purely practical proposals connected with it into the hands of competent people, experts in this case or perhaps political leaders in other cases, for there are those who have not taken sides in this matter, it is possible that other ideas will be produced which will make inspection possible.

This was the way we found success in other matters, in Korea, in Indo-China, even in Egypt, therefore if there were some sort of machinery for opening a middle way we might eventually achieve the suspension of nuclear explosions. On the other hand, if you are going to go on saying that because one side proposes suspension and the other does not, and therefore the matter should not be pursued, we shall not get anywhere.

I have referred to the number of explosions. I also wish to take this opportunity, even though it may be slightly anticipating the discussion in the First Committee, to say that nations and peoples should be careful about being led astray by what we regard as fallacious arguments about the kinds of bombs that will humanely kill people or will not kill them at all.

We are told about clean bombs. This is not the time to argue it scientifically, but what are these clean bombs? Clean bombs are fusion weapons detonated in the air, in the stratosphere or somewhere, at very great heights, and therefore, they do not make for secondary radiation because they do not churn up the earth. But how are they triggered? By fission bombs of the Hiroshima type, and even those triggering bombs are four-and-a-half times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. Where does this radiation go? Any idea of a clean bomb is like the idea of humane slaughter - it does not exist. There can be no kind of clean destruction - it is like telling someone "I would like to slit your honourable throat". While this idea may be honestly put forward, it is something that will lead into a plain lie. A clean bomb is a bomb that still releases radiation four-and-a-half times greater

than the Hiroshima bomb. (I think I am right about it, that was a 10-megaton bomb, and therefore there is no question of its being harmless.)

Here I think the best authorities are the scientists of the United States; in no country has there been so much study about these matters, and fortunately for us there is freedom of information which makes the results available.

Before the United States Congress, in June of this year, evidence was given by geneticists. What did they say? Here is a quotation from the report:

Their general conclusion was that any amount of radiation could damage reproductive cells, thus causing mutations in the hereditary pattern. In genetics, they warned, there is no such thing as a safe dose of radiation. They suggested that they might have underestimated previously the genetic damage caused by radiation.

Professor Crow of the University of Wisconsin, who was the first witness, said:

We can be sure that several hundreds of thousands or tens of thousands, or perhaps more persons will be diseased or deformed or will die prematurely or be otherwise impaired as a consequence of fall-out if the present rates of testing continue.

I am not going to read all this material because it can be read somewhere else. But it is important for us to realise that an appeal was made in this country by no fewer than 2,173 atomic scientists, who have told us the following:

We, the American scientists whose names are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now.

Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations.

So long as these weapons are in the hands of only three Powers, an agreement for their control is feasible. If testing continues, and the possession of these weapons spreads to additional Governments, the danger of outbreak of a cataclysmic nuclear war through the reckless action of some irresponsible national leader will be greatly increased.

An International Agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs now could serve as a first step toward a more general disarmament and the

ultimate effective abolition of nuclear weapons, averting the possibility of a nuclear war that would be a catastrophe to all humanity...

There is a great deal of evidence in this way. We fully subscribe to the idea behind the Belgian suggestion that more information should be made available through the Assembly channels, provided this idea of affording information does not act as a measure of delay in finding solutions. There is no doubt that we have now enough information, whether it be from the Federation of American Scientists or from any other part of the world. The scientists say that "rapid advances in international political arrangements are necessary if disaster is to be avoided." The test ban could be monitored by a United Nations monitoring agency.

Here I would like to state - and I shall elaborate on this in the First Committee - that in our country, while we do not make and have no intention of making destructive weapons, there has been a considerable advance in atomic science. Hundreds of scientists are working in this field; there are reactors made in India with Canadian assistance, and various uranium metal processing plants, and so on. Our feeling is that unless there is control now, unless this thing is given up now, the time will come when materials that exist in ordinary plants will, irrespective of all agreements, be used for other purposes. The scientists go on to say:

The long record of failure in disarmament negotiations has left the world weary of pious talk on this subject and sceptical of the possibility of ultimate control. We now need this positive and constructive step of arms limitation...

Therefore, the first thing that we would like to ask for is that there should be suspension of nuclear tests, and we offer as a constructive suggestion the idea that there must be some provision against the misuse of such suspension by others. If this can be discussed, even in the Disarmament Commission, we are bound to advance towards solutions. And if this Assembly did nothing else except decide on or recommend the suspension of these tests, it would have taken a remarkable step towards reversing the course of armaments.

### ***India's Proposals on Disarmament***

The second thing that we ask is this. At the present time, there is a conflict between those who say that no more nuclear fuel should be used for making arms, and others who say: yes, no more nuclear fuel, but no more use of arms. As far as the United Nations is concerned, as early as 1946, it was laid down that our aim was the prohibition of these arms [Resolution 41(I)]. There is only one thing to do with weapons of mass destruction and that is not to have them. I think it is possible, given the freedom of coming together, given a plateau of agreement - on which the parties seem to meet, but again they have been torn asunder by



clouds of suspicions - given a very large area of agreement, to set up a scientific and technical commission to recommend to the Disarmament Commission an adequate system of inspection arrangements in all the territories where this is necessary.

From our study of this problem, we think it is possible. We will never get anywhere by what President Eisenhower has called the two atomic colossi speaking against each other and glaring at one another. But if it were possible to have common inspection, neither of these great and powerful countries could be expected to submit to an inspection in which they did not take part. No one suggests that they should take part as the principal parties, but there would be something to keep them together.

I think that a great many problems can be solved by arrangements of this kind. Therefore, we would suggest, when the time comes, setting up of a commission for this purpose, composed of equal numbers of representatives of the two differing views, and the representatives of other States. We do not subscribe to the idea of appointing an arbiter in this matter; one might be chosen by agreement between the two sides. The commission could deal with questions such as the time from which the future production of fissionable material in all countries would be available only for peaceful purposes; and undertaking to refrain from the use of thermonuclear bombs; the dismantling of stocks for other purposes.

The third aspect of disarmament, on which we have submitted a draft resolution before the First Committee, is that there should be some change in the composition of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee. That Sub-Committee was set up on the initiative of the Indian delegation in 1953, and the hope at that time was that the five countries composing it, all competent and capable and sincere in their devotion to peace, would be able to work round the table and not in two camps. But as it happened - and it has received much publicity - it has become largely the reflection of two points of view. Nevertheless, the progress they have made is a very considerable contribution which can be utilised hereafter.

We would like at this point to say that on 16 July 1945, the Americans exploded at Alamogordo in New Mexico the first nuclear bomb before the Hiroshima bomb. The atomic age had begun. On 4 October 1957, the Soviet scientists sent out a satellite into what is called interspace. Now the interplanetary age has begun.

### ***Appeal to the Nations of the World***

From 1945 to 1957, humanity, the nations, and the Governments, while they struggled with these matters, made no progress and gave no recognition that we are dealing with a different problem from what we faced before. Great as suspicions may be, there can be no more pregnant danger than the actual

consequences themselves. It is for us to reconcile these two matters. Humanity's intelligence, its inventiveness, its capacity for adaptation, all of this has advanced, but human wisdom has not kept pace. The imaginativeness of mankind, the consideration of the future of posterity, or the value of our inheritance, this is the conflict that faces us. Unless mankind is able to reconcile technical advance with humanity and wisdom, there will be people who have no vision, and those who have no vision must perish.

We think that we should take account of what has happened not in terms of fear, not in terms of saving face, not in terms of national pride, but recognising that we have begun a new interplanetary epoch. Just as we threw away the opportunities of control because of our difficulties in eliminating the consequences of atomic discoveries, there is no doubt that science, while it is beneficial to mankind, on the one hand, is equally capable of doing much harm.

This is the time, then, to come to an agreement so that there will be a sharing of knowledge where knowledge is free and where humanity is not divided by domestic walls. That is the only reasoning that we can follow and we, as a small, weak, and, if you like, an inexperienced nation, appeal to the atomic colossi, as they are called by President Eisenhower, to deal with this matter in this way. The time has come to recognise the changes that are taking place and to move towards each other on this plateau of agreement that has already been reached.

Those of you who have carefully read the debates of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission will find that there has been considerable agreement. I think it is only right to pay a tribute to the great contribution made by Mr Harold Stassen not by any formula, but by the atmosphere of optimism he has brought with him. Nothing can be done without faith in the objective, and at present, if you think you are not likely to get agreement, then there will be no agreement. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the difficulties that exist, and that is why we have made this political suggestion.

Speaking before this Assembly four years ago, the President of the United States said in regard to surprise attacks and consequences:

But for me to say the defence capabilities of the United States are such that they could inflict terrible losses upon an aggressor, for me to say that the retaliation capabilities of the United States are so great that such an aggressor's land would be laid waste, all this, while fact, is not the true expression of the purpose and the hopes of the United States.

And I would add, the United Nations.

To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely

across a trembling world. (That is what has happened in the Disarmament Commission up to now.)

To stop there would be to accept helplessly the probability of civilisation destroyed, the annihilation of the irreplaceable heritage of mankind handed down to us from generation to generation, and the condemnation of mankind to begin all over again the age-old struggle upward from savagery towards decency, and right, and justice. Surely no sane member of the human race could discover victory in such desolation. Could anyone wish his name to be coupled by history with such human degradation and destruction? Occasional pages of history do record the faces of the 'great destroyers,' but the whole book of history reveals mankind's never ending quest for peace and mankind's God-given capacity to build.

If I may say so with respect, this is an excellent contribution to human knowledge, which could not have been better phrased.

Before I leave this rostrum, I wish to repeat once again that when the time comes to take some step towards disarmament, we appeal for consideration for any proposal irrespective of the source from which it may come or of the fact that it does not come from the great Powers, with which we constantly keep in consultation and for whose wisdom and experience we have great respect. We think that this is not a matter that concerns only a small group; it concerns the whole of humanity.

Today, it is possible to stop these explosions. We may be told that some explosions have taken place inside a mountain and there is no way of detecting them. The answer is that in every country some burglars escape, but we do not abolish policemen for that reason. There may be an evasion somewhere. By and large, we would stop this evil. We would proclaim to the world that we no longer believe in the thermonuclear gospel. We believe in co-operation. Once there is suspension of these explosions, co-operation becomes inevitable and the knowledge that is at the disposal of any one nation should be at the disposal of the other. The barriers that we have built not only in trade but in science and understanding between races and peoples will begin to disappear.

I make a fervent appeal to the representatives here that we should not depart from this Assembly without proclaiming to the world that the nations of the world, large and small, are conscious of a rising feeling in the world, and let us not forget this. Parliament after parliament and people after people all the world over are faced with the same situation. We have been told that millions of human beings to be born and other forms of life will undergo mutations. Unknown diseases will creep over the earth. The civilisation we know will be destroyed. But no Government, no people, will take the right decision merely because of the fear of the consequences. We have a duty by our legacy. We have a duty by the present generation. The Foreign Minister of Belgium said that the present generation was

not responsible for the evils around the world. Nobody says it is. But the present generation will be responsible for the destruction that will be wrought on the world if it does not cry halt.

*[Dr Vasco Vieira Garin, representative of Portugal, then took the floor in exercise of the right of reply to Mr Krishna Menon, and claimed that Goa was an integral part of the Portuguese nation and that there was not any trace of colonialism in Goa. Mr Menon said the following in rejoinder.]*

## **Goa**

Goa is the last remnant of imperialism on our continent; it is probably Portugal's last remnant of imperialism anywhere in Asia. But like everywhere else where human beings are determined to be free, even the dictatorship of Portugal will fall before the onslaught of freedom. However, we have no desire whatsoever to use the wrong methods for the right ends. We leave that to Portugal. Today there are rotting in those jails so-called citizens of Portugal under conditions of torture, and men and women have been shot dead by these people.

The representative of Portugal speaks about Portugal receiving nothing out of it. There are a great many parts of empires where there are no immediate gains and where, either out of a false sense of prestige or by force of habit, they are retained there. For us it is a social nuisance, being the last smuggling centre. It is possible that if India were to exercise the kind of function or power to which the representative of Portugal referred, Goa would long ago have been outside Portuguese rule. However, if it was possible for us to liberate 300 million of our people with the mightiest empire of our times on the other side, though with a much liberal form of Government, I admit, there still is such a thing as a human heart. Even dictators have hearts. The populations of Portugal have hearts. We are content to leave this in the hands of those who inhabit that part of our country. As for Indian imperialism, well, he ought to know something about imperialism. I have only lived under it.

The position of Goa is not a subject that we have brought up before the United Nations. It can only be dealt with in the general problem of colonialism. Whether it exists in our country or elsewhere, we shall always raise it and we shall demand information under article 73 of the Charter. I hope that some day the International Court of Justice will pronounce whether Portugal has the obligation to give this information. Portugal's action constitutes a violation of the Charter. There are only two countries in the General Assembly that violate the Charter in regard to human freedom, the Union of South Africa and Portugal, by refusing to give information or to come under trusteeship agreements.

## VI. DISARMAMENT, REPRESENTATION OF CHINA AND ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION<sup>49</sup>

The general debate is usually an occasion for surveying the events of the last year and dealing with the many problems which may strike a delegation as being particularly important. Some seventy-two speakers have preceded me, and they have taken about fifty hours of the Assembly's time. It is therefore not to be expected that I shall have very much new to say. My delegation has had the benefit of a survey of world affairs from the different points or view of different continents and different so-called ideologies and also of those who prefer to remain outside the conflict of ideologies. In all these speeches, in addition to the expression of great concern about the present state of the world, which is not unusual in expressions of opinion from this platform, there has been an emphasis on the outstanding importance of the problem of disarmament, concern about the exclusion of China from the United Nations, and an unusual but welcome stress on economic affairs.

It has been our privilege to benefit from these speeches that have preceded ours, and we would like to take this opportunity of echoing what has been said here by many delegations in the way of an affirmation of their loyalty to the United Nations and to the Charter and its principles and to the determination of our Government to implement those principles to the best of our ability and understanding.

It is usual on these occasions to refer to conditions prevailing in one's own country, and that is not done because of any national egoism. In the case of a country like ours, in part representing the new resurgent Asia, we do so not in the sense of having any priority of representation over anyone else but merely by way of providing a fair example of that new Asia. Therefore, if I take the time of the Assembly on a few matters of detail, I feel sure that the Assembly will forgive me.

### *The Widening Gap*

In this connection, the statement made by our Prime Minister a few hours ago in New Delhi, at a meeting of delegates of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation, appears to us to be relevant, because in this Assembly, especially having regard to the incidents of the last two or three years, it would not be out of place at all to quote these words which, in our humble view, are an expression of the sentiments of the peoples of Asia. Our Prime Minister asked the

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<sup>49</sup> Statement in the general debate at the General Assembly on 7 October 1958

delegates to bear in mind the fact that millions in Asia and other underdeveloped countries “are no longer going to keep quiet, and they want the better things of life.” He went on to say: “Normally, you have in the past been surrounded by Europe or America. It is good, therefore, that for a change you should feel the environment of Asia and all other things that pertain to a part of Asia.”

Mr Nehru said that he did not mean to argue that Asia was one solid bloc. He said that there were differences: that there were problems of West Asia, that there was great tension and danger at present in the Far East of Asia, and that there were also the problems of South Asia. “They are different,” he said, “but the main connecting link is that there is tremendous ferment in Asia, whether West, East or South. It is an important factor to remember.”

He said that there was now a vast difference in living standards, and all that goes with it, between the highly industrialised countries and communities and the non-industrialised ones. He went on to say:

What is even more significant is that the gap is ever increasing - it is not being bridged but it is ever increasing. The pace of progress, through development of science and technology, is tremendous where they have been developed, while other countries, like India, struggled hard just to keep themselves going. For us (for all Asia and for Africa in part) it is a struggle for survival. It is a life and death struggle for the nation as a whole, for the 400 million people. I want you to feel this human element. We have to look upon it from the point of view of resources and money and all that. But even more important is the tremendous ferment going on in the minds of hundreds of millions of people in Asia.

For Asia is and will continue to be in an explosive state because the recent changes during the last few years have unleashed a giant, political changes and the like have unleashed a giant tied up for 150 years or more. It has been unleashed not entirely, but considerably, and naturally it does not propose to behave as if it were leashed either in a political domain or in an economic domain.

The Prime Minister pointed out that, if the Conference had met in New Delhi 300 years ago, the terms of economic relations would have appeared different. The thoughts of that vast continent are rooted in the conditions of the people, and it is not easy for those who live outside or who do not have intimate contact with it to realise the reactions and responses to various appeals that are made here or to realise generally how we function in the context of newly-liberated areas.

Therefore, as I said a while ago, if one may refer briefly to conditions that exist, it is also because we represent in many ways the conflicts of ideas and ideologies that take place here. To us, it is not the conflict of ideologies that seems to be real; it is the conflict between the “haves” and the “have-nots.” It is these economic

divisions that tend to drive the world into conflict, even though the day of classic imperialism is proclaimed to have passed.

### *Planning in India*

We live in conditions of a planned economy, and we make no apologies for it. Without that planning, it would not have been possible for us to bend our energies and our meagre resources and to keep our head above water in this world. In that economy, a degree of balance between the old country, with its hundreds and thousands of villages, and the needs of modern production, including our defence, becomes important.

Also, we are attached to a way of thinking where we like to make experiments for ourselves and not take orders hereafter from any people, and to the method of trial and error even though often it becomes expensive. Added to that is the necessity of being able to keep pace with changes in the context of a parliamentary democracy and by way of consent. All this added together makes in our country a set of circumstances which provides for the world a great deal of opportunity for study and observation.

Each year we have drawn attention to the vast changes that occur in the villages of India. There are some 600,000 of these, and today 272,000 of them have come under village self-government - under what is called the Community Projects Scheme, which I am glad to think has attracted the attention of the technical side of the United Nations. By these small-scale efforts of villages, somewhere about 2.72 million acres of land have been reclaimed and another 4.9 million acres brought under small irrigation schemes. These figures do not refer to the larger schemes at all. I mention this in particular because in countries like ours, however much one may read about great industrial advances and achievements, the bulk of our people lives in these villages and is dependent upon agriculture. Equally, in the conditions of planned economy, where we are trying to avoid the dangers and the diseases of a scramble for property and power and at the same time of attempting to beat people all into the same pattern, there lies a co-operation that has become very important. Although we are rather late in the field in this particular matter, in the last few months and years some 60,000 co-operative societies - of which over a thousand are of the industrial type - have come into existence. Over and above that, it is not possible in modern conditions, if we are to maintain stability in our country, to do without the maintenance of democracy to the lowest level.

A whole civil service has also come into existence - and I use this term advisedly - because without it policies cannot be implemented by adequate administration. The Government of India today has in training over 400,000 men and women who are functionaries in the villages, and they hope to reach the target of one million trained men and women at the end of next year.

These planned efforts have to a certain extent required a great deal of sacrifice from our people, and the main resources have come from our country itself. We could not keep the pace of our efforts without assistance from other countries. It would take us more time and necessitate other methods. Therefore I would like to take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of our country to countries large and small that have come to our assistance, either technically or with other resources. It is not necessary for me to go into the details because they are always published in the press and are available.

There has been a considerable amount of talk to the effect that a country like ours, attempting to industrialise itself and to spread and implement democratic institutions on a large scale, may fall by the wayside owing to the pressure that these endeavours must impose on us. There have been expressions of opinion outside India that our five-year plan should be cut down. The maintenance and success of our plan, however, is of more than national concern, because if we, with our modest efforts, could not get there, it is unlikely that other people, similarly placed, could do so. Our targets have been modest. I am glad to be able to say that in the two and a half years of the second five-year plan, we have on an average reached 62 per cent of our targets, and there is no reason why we should not exceed them.

The Community Projects referred to the smaller and rural aspect of the Indian social and economic revolution. But, at the same time, it is not possible for a country like ours to survive in this world without considerable industrial development, and this industrial development has gone on - although not as fast as we would like it to - and schemes on which the future of our country, the production of food and our ability to survive depend, have also gone on apace. Since it is not possible to give a detailed account, I should like just to refer to one or two aspects.

One of the major items in this enterprise has been in relation to the harnessing of the water of our country. The greater part of rain-water flows into the sea, as may well be the case everywhere else. The famous Bhakra Dam, however, which is 740 feet high and provides for 650 miles of canals, is nearing completion and should produce for us nearly a million tons of food. In this arid desert of Rajasthan canal irrigation has now reached the position where this desert is going to be irrigated by nearly 200 miles of canals.

Now these facts are not submitted to the Assembly in any sense of national egotism, or even with any feeling of satisfaction, much less complacency. But it is one of the main problems in this world where large numbers of us, who but a few years ago were part of colonial empires, where our economic and political processes have either been thwarted or stunted, or at any rate have not made their full development, have now come into other contexts. That development is not possible in any country in isolation from the rest of the world.



### *United Nations and its Agencies*

From there we come to the United Nations. It is our obligation on these occasions to look both forward and backward; looking to what has happened in the past should be confined to seeking to avoid errors in the future and, if we have had any successes, to draw inspiration from them; looking in front of us we are faced with many difficulties and obstructions which seem to project themselves from the past. Broadly speaking, I think we can only say that the achievements of the last year in the big political matters are largely of a character where we could feel that it might have been worse. In other words, it would have been possible, as I shall point out later on, to avert what could have been a larger conflict by the operation of, not necessarily the machinery, but the expression of the will of, the United Nations.

My country is grateful to the many specialised agencies and organs of the United Nations which - either by propaganda, by the organisation of public opinion or by actual aid - have been able to assist Asian, African, and other underdeveloped countries. In this connection my Government desires to mention particularly the name of the United Nations Children's Fund as indeed it would like to mention the names of the great countries such as the United States, the Soviet Union, the Colombo Plan countries, Norway, Japan and the nations of Eastern Europe which have all, either technically or otherwise, come to our assistance in the carrying out of this plan. Further than that, we are also happy to feel that regional organisations of an economic character have gained strength in the last year, both in South-East Asia in the newer projects of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and in the formation of the Economic Commission for Africa. It is our great pleasure to welcome this regional organisation in Africa.

### *Suez Canal*

This year, as two years ago, the United Nations once again met the challenge of what we would, without any disrespect to our friends, call the aftermath of imperial power. The first of these occasions was two years ago when we were faced with the situation - now happily concluded - in the Middle East resulting from the entry of foreign troops into Egypt. We are happy to think that the situation has now been resolved, and if we refer to this today it is only for the purpose of pointing out that a great deal of this kind of thing seems to appear as the result of miscalculation and misinterpretation.

All of us will remember that two years ago it seemed to be assumed as a truism that the Suez Canal could not function under any conditions, except under foreign auspices. Now what are the facts? First of all, the relations between the former Suez Canal Maritime Company and the present company - created by the Government of Egypt but independent - seem to have been resolved in a way which at that time was a bone of contention. No question of expropriations seems to have arisen, and there appears to be a happy settlement. Equally, it was

believed that it would not be possible for the Canal to function with the comparatively low engineering achievements of the Egyptian people.

It is, therefore, interesting to look at reports on the Suez Canal since then. Instead of a decrease in traffic we find that - in spite of the fact that the number of warships going north or south is smaller today - there was a considerable increase of traffic in June 1958 as compared with the previous June. What is more, the Nasser project for improving the Canal will, we are told, make it navigable for 200 ships in a day. Therefore, instead of being retarded in either a technical, an economic or a political sense, the new arrangements with regard to the Suez Canal - without any difficulties in connection with the relations between the users and the others - seem to have settled down.

If it had been possible for all concerned to have appreciated this situation, the tragic developments of two years ago could have been avoided. My delegation does not say this in a manner of "We told you so," but it is necessary for us to draw some lessons from this without jumping to conclusions based on some newspaper reports, or ambassadorial reports, or some misreading regarding a revolutionary movement such as the one that took place in Iraq recently.

### ***Foreign Troops in the Middle East***

The position of my Government in regard to the recent entry of United Kingdom and United States troops into other areas of the Middle East has been communicated to the General Assembly and has been expressed by the Prime Minister in Parliament as part of Government policy. It is that we do not accept that foreign troops should be used in any territory - and we say advisedly "in any territory," whether it be Europe, Asia, Africa or anywhere else. We are convinced that in the Middle East there can be no settlement and no return to normality until foreign troops have been removed. As my Prime Minister said:

The countries there should live their own free, independent lives without interference from outside, from wherever it may be. The foreign troops should be withdrawn. In our view, the United Nations should not send any kind of police or armed force to Lebanon or Jordan, as has been suggested in some places. If it is suggested that the United Nations Observation Group should continue to function for some time, or should be increased in numbers, we would be prepared to consider such a proposal favourably, but any such proposal must be a peace measure, and it can have a chance of success only if it is accepted by all countries.

Similarly, we are always faced with what is called "indirect aggression." My Prime Minister says:

Indirect aggression is inherently, essentially, inevitably a part of the cold war technique. In fact, there would be no indirect aggression at all if there

was no cold war. Therefore, the way to resolve indirect aggression would be, on the one hand, to withdraw foreign interference from other places, and also not to approach world problems on this cold war basis.

We have before us a report submitted by the Secretary-General on the immediate position in the Middle East. My delegation does not intend to debate this at this moment for two reasons. First of all, the Secretary-General seems to have said, or implied, that this report has the acquiescence, or the co-operation, or the consent, of the parties concerned. We have heard one or two statements from this rostrum from the parties concerned which, in the absence of any other evidence, we must for the time being accept with comfort. We hope that all these troops of foreign origin will be withdrawn from these territories and the people allowed to live their lives in their own way. But my delegation reserves the right to consider the report submitted to the United Nations should world conditions so demand. It is our view that a report of this kind should have been placed on the agenda as an item in the normal way. I shall come back to this aspect of dealing with United Nations matters in a short time; for the present, however, we do not intend to comment on the substance of this report except to express the hope that this sorry chapter of history will soon be closed.

There are some lessons, however, to be drawn from this: that neither in the Egypt crisis of two years ago, nor in the Lebanese situation in the present, the policies that have been followed in these areas - either of a system of defensive pacts or of intrusion in other ways, or of reliance on the division between the Arab countries - have been of great use. On the other hand, the solution in regard to the Middle East was found through Arab unity; and we welcome this expression of unity and take the view that when the United Nations Observation Group was in Lebanon, the United Nations should have been able to rely on its presence and on the fact that what really happened was an internal affair which perhaps could have been settled in that way. At the same time, we are happy to think that no warlike action has taken place, no shots have been fired and no people have been killed; and what is more, it did not lead to a world crisis. For all this we are thankful, and we are thankful for the restraint exercised on all sides. But that does not alter the basic proposition that, in this area, the time has come for everyone to recognise that these lands are no longer anybody's to exploit; they are the homes of the people to whom they belong and their wealth must be exploited in the interests of the populations themselves, with such co-operation as may be forthcoming without sacrifice of their independence.

This takes us to two matters which must, by association of ideas, be spoken of, although it is not exactly fitting here.

### *United Nations Force*

Many delegations have spoken one way or the other about the suggestions that have been discussed in the corridors of the United Nations and mentioned by

representatives to one another about the establishment of a permanent United Nations emergency force. My country does not yield to any in its desire to make contributions to the maintenance of peace - indeed, our record will stand examination - but I am directed by my Government to say that we are irrevocably opposed to the conception of the creation of an international police force unless the world disarms. We are not prepared to subscribe to the idea that there should be a police force placed at the disposal of any organ over which there is no legal control. It has been mentioned to us by friendly delegations that it would ease the work of the administrators and make it easier to deal with a crisis if each country could allocate a certain number of officers or men for this purpose. I should like to submit that it is an entirely impractical proposition. It is not possible for any country to put by a certain number of soldiers and officers and say: "You are there to go out when there is trouble in the world." First of all, what do they do when there is no trouble in the world - which, I hope, will be the longer period of time? Secondly if they were so kept and did not participate in the general military organisation of the country, they would be no longer competent to perform the task for which they were sent out. Over and above that, which country is to be selected for this purpose? One country may be acceptable in one situation; the same country may not be acceptable in another situation.

So, whether it is a permanent standing army of the United Nations, with some generalissimo here, or the forming of an international police force in other countries, my Government, as things are at present in the world, is irrevocably opposed. We could not consent to the taking of troops to the soil of other countries, even though they are United Nations troops - they are still foreign troops. It may be that some delegations may regard this as an excess of nationalism, but the experience of foreign troops on the soil of our land is too fresh for us to forget. The world must disarm; the world must establish world law, there must be some sovereign authority that must be obeyed; it must be possible to exercise sanctions. These are all conditions which may take years to come about. At that time, as in municipal communities, it may be possible for us to consider the establishment of police forces.

At the same time, there is no reason whatsoever why the experience gathered - whether by the peace army that went to Korea, or by the few officers of Canadian, Polish and Indian nationality who are now serving in Indo-China outside strict United Nations Organisation, or those in the Gaza Strip, or by the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon - should not be studied and kept for future reference. We have no objection to a proposal of that character; but anything that creates a force on which responsible popular opinion cannot play and whose authority and power of sanctions is questionable, is not only impractical, but is fraught with danger. Thus, whenever those propositions come forward, I hope that delegations will appreciate our position and will know that we shall in no sense support such proposals.

### *Korea and Indo-China*

We need only look at the provisional agenda of the General Assembly to see the unresolved problems of the world. We note that about seventy-two items always appear. They have both a positive and a negative aspect. It is perhaps a good thing that they appear because it is far better to talk at each other than to shoot at each other. However, the fact remains that some of these problems should have been out of the way a long time ago. Korea is an outstanding example. I shall not go into the origins or the development of that quarrel, but that unhappy land remains divided instead of being represented here with us. My Government does not see any reason whatsoever why the problem of Korean unity should not be resolved if a degree of realism and a tolerant attitude were adopted towards it. I firmly believe that, especially in view of the withdrawal of the Chinese personnel from Northern Korea, there should no longer be any objection to the supervision of elections by international authority instead of insisting that they should have a United Nations label. What is more important is that the elections should be fair and impartial and have the consent of everybody concerned. It is our understanding that the North Korean Government has repeatedly stated that it would be willing to participate in elections which were internationally supervised, but, as the United Nations had involved itself in the war, from their point of view, it would be rather difficult for them. My country would like to see Korea take its place in the United Nations and be able to add its own contribution to our deliberations.

The same thing applies, to a certain extent, to Indo-China. There is in Indo-China an international machinery which is outside the United Nations. It came about as a result of direct negotiations between the participants in the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in 1954 who asked Canada, Poland and India to assist in guarding the peace. There are no troops there, but there are large numbers of officers who have been there for three or four years.

In Cambodia, happily the situation has settled down except for incursions into the territory from South Vietnam whose people are challenging the authority of the Cambodian Government by infiltration. I have no doubt that the Government of Cambodia will be able to deal with this problem. However, the peace in that part of the world is threatened by this particular action.

The same thing applies to Laos, which is a member of our Organisation and where elections have taken place, but where the complete carrying out of all the conditions under the Geneva agreements has not taken place. The main difficulty with regard to Indo-China is the presence of the partition line in Vietnam. In the old days it used to be said, "divide and rule." Now the maxim seems to be, "divide and leave." Even though this matter is not on the agenda of the General Assembly, I believe that world opinion should exercise its influence on both sides in Vietnam to come together as one country so that it may participate here and so that the danger of an eruption in that part of the world will become a thing of the

past. The former French authorities have completely withdrawn from this area and there have been no attempts on the part of France to interfere.

We should also like to say that if all these countries, while sovereign nations, as the representative of Cambodia said the other day, have the right to ask for assistance, and indeed may do so, and the countries that come to their assistance should not be called aggressors for that reason, it is not in the interests of peace to entangle them in defensive alliances or to have them assist in the spread of large quantities of arms.

We hope that the problem of Indo-China will be resolved in the not too distant future. We have some special national interests in this matter because we would like to withdraw the personnel who have been there for a very long time. I feel sure that the Canadians and the Poles feel the same way, from what we know of it.

These are some of the unresolved problems which face us, which seem comparatively easy of solution, however, if we approach them from the point of view of realism and if we exercise a degree of tolerance in seeing the position of the other side.

### *United Nations not a Super-State*

Before leaving this aspect of matters, we should like to express our appreciation of the fact that in dealing with the problems in the Middle East, the Secretary-General and his staff have played a part which is historic. However, I should like to say - and I hope that the observations I am going to make, which arise more or less from the developments of the last two or three years, will be accepted in a more or less philosophic sense - that it is all very well in an emergency to produce some sort of machinery and say "deliver the goods," but I think we must think hard and see that we do not get a situation where the United Nations, as at present composed, becomes a kind of superior authority, a kind of super-State with its representatives directing Governments, which is not provided for in the Charter, and where the Secretary-General will be pushed away from his Charter functions into other matters. It may have been much to our advantage in these immediate situations, and it will therefore be for us to think out how we should face new situations that might arise. We have to see that we do not exceed the cautious balance that has been introduced into the Charter for the preservation of national sovereignty and for the preservation of small nations. If this rather superior power should be at the disposal of a snap vote of a two-thirds majority, the position of small States and of minorities would be far from enviable.

I have great hesitation in dealing with this problem, because it is not possible to deal with it at great length from this rostrum, but, at the same time, it would be both cowardly and, I believe, a disservice to the Charter and to this Organisation not to mention it.

I want now to address myself to the two or three problems which m~' Govern-ment feels should have the attention of the Assembly. There is no thing new about them, but they do concern us very much.

### *Financing of Peacekeeping Operations*

First, the maintenance of forces in other parts of the world imposes very considerable burdens upon countries. We ourselves do not subscribe to the view that sovereign nations with self-respect would hire out their troops even to the United Nations and, therefore, to a certain extent, the countries contributing carry the burden of somebody else's misdeeds. The problem was put sharply by the question, "who will pay for the Suez Canal?" The Secretary-General, with a deftness that is characteristic of him, has passed it on to the shipping companies. But the shipping companies, so far as I know, are composed of people who want to make profits. They are not philanthropic institutions, and therefore, I suppose ultimately the consumer will pay. It is quite true that the Indian shipping companies have declared that they will not pass on this burden to the consumer. But the poor consumers are so very many that they probably will not know when it is passed on. Therefore, I should like the question to be considered whether it is not possible for these great countries who incur very considerable expenditure for their own national defence, and for what they consider to be the defence of liberty in the world, and who have the capacity, to make these contributions and to leave poor people like us alone.

We have today approximately 303 officers in Indo-China. At one time there were 961 officers, which is a considerable number. The United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza has taken - there is no secrecy about this - a total of 1,166 personnel. Mr Hammarskjold has recently annexed another 70 officers for Lebanon. We hope they will return as good Indian nationals. Consideration should be given to the problem of the vast burdens that are placed on countries by these actions.

I want to add that we regard this as a great opportunity and we do not in any way resent being called upon to serve in this way, because it is a contribution to the cause of peace in the world. However, this other aspect remains. Those who have contributed in one way or another to the creation of the trouble must carry some more of the responsibility, especially since we are going around looking for aid and loans for reconstruction purposes.

At the same time, I am happy to say that in all these places, whether it be in Indo-China, in the Gaza Strip or in Lebanon, the nationals who have gone there - and I believe the experience is common to others - have received both from the machinery of the United Nations and the local machinery, as well as otherwise from the Governments concerned, nothing but courtesy and cooperation. Perhaps if they were armed troops trying to assert their authority, the results might have been different.

### *Colonial Problems*

That brings me to two other problems. One is the problem of colonialism, and there are two or three items with regard to colonies and Non-Self-Governing Territories on our agenda. We shall deal with these when we come to them. In 1945 when the United Nations was established, there were some seventy-two Non-Self-Governing Territories which were sending in reports on conditions in their areas. We are happy to think that their numbers are diminishing. This is a part of our agenda which we should like to see lightened. Now some ten countries have gone out of this group. They were former dependent territories of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, the Netherlands and Denmark. They have become independent countries or countries from which such information is no longer required, since they have control of all those matters on which the metropolitan countries were supposed to report.

Since we are critical of colonial rule, we are only too happy to pay our tribute to the metropolitan countries, which, for one reason or another, and not the least for liberal and humanitarian reasons, have contributed towards the liberation of those territories. But all the same, there are now sixty-two Non-Self-Governing Territories in the world, and in the case of two of these colonial countries, one transmits information but lacks the obligation to do so and the other refuses to transmit the information. We think that the obligation under article 73 of the Charter whether legally binding or not, is morally obligatory. Those who accept human rights, those who accept the idea of self-government and the idea of the equality of races, those who want to see the world rid of the main causes of international disputes - namely, the scramble for colonial powers - those who are members of the United Nations, should be willing voluntarily to transmit this information, and it stands to the credit of the United Kingdom and France that they have had no hesitation at any time and that they have volunteered to do this over the years.

There are today colonies with a population of 50 million under the French rule. There are twelve colonies with a population of 63 million under United Kingdom rule. In each case, the populations are greater than those of the metropolitan countries. There is one colony, one hundred times the size of the metropolitan country under Belgian rule. There are three colonies with a population of 10 million - twenty-one times the size of Portugal - under Portuguese rule. With regard to the Portuguese territories, the Portuguese Government has informed the United Nations that they are not colonial territories in the sense that they are part of Portugal and, therefore, no information is required. But, at any rate, it is a state of affairs which is totally inconsistent, both politically and morally, with the principles of the Charter. After all, this information is merely examined and there are no sanctionary powers attaching to the article of the Charter. The information relates to non-political conditions and the metropolitan countries that have transmitted information in the past have not found the United Nations making bad



use of that information. We hope that where this information has not been forthcoming in the past it will be forthcoming in the future.

We are happy, too, that great parts of former colonial empires are now independent countries and that they have added to the number of nations represented here. The most recent entrants have been Ghana and the Federation of Malaya and others, and if our information is correct we shall soon have the opportunity of welcoming what was formerly French Guinea as a member of the United Nations. I have no right to speak for the French Government, but one can read the news and one can see that 200,000 people, against 18,000 people have voted for their independence, and the very fact that the French Government asked for an opinion must be presupposed to mean that it would accept the verdict, and our very confident hope is that Guinea will come here as a member of the United Nations in a very short time. That day will be a very proud one for the French Government.

We are also happy to note the progress made in the former colony of the Gold Coast, the new independent country of Ghana, which, in the first year of its existence, has established a fine record of international co-operation, of the economic development of its own territory, of service in the form of leadership - I do not use that word in a bad way - to the peoples of Africa themselves.

We are happy to think that we can hope that the Italian Trust Territory of Somaliland will become a member of the United Nations in 1960 and that the same thing will happen in the case of Togoland under French administration. I hope that my United Kingdom colleagues will not take it amiss if I say that with the attainment of independence by Togoland it will be very difficult for the British Cameroons not to go forward at the same time. Western Samoa is to have full Cabinet Government in 1960.

This is the brighter part of the story and it is one of the triumphs of the United Nations. With the older system of empire, an individual breach was made by the Mandates system and afterwards by the more voluntary Trusteeship system for the establishment of so many independent countries which today as sovereign nations are making contributions to their own continents and to the world as a whole.

The picture is not nearly so good when we look at some other parts, and I would not like to mention any of them because one hopes that if there is not so much public discussion which may be misinterpreted, some of these problems may be solved. But my delegation cannot but say that where there are conditions which are in total violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which are in total violation of the ethical principles that lie behind the Charter of the United Nations, where forced labour is normal, where human beings can be practically bought or sold and where they are treated as commodities in that way, then the United Nations at least ought to express its opinions very strongly.

That brings me to the consideration of the position of the whole of the African continent.

The world has paid too little attention to this most ancient part of the world which has an area of 11,262,000 square miles of which 6.2 million square miles are under colonial occupation. Of the 193 million people in Africa, 103 million are colonial. There are 5 million Europeans in Africa and 600,000 Asians. This vast continent of Africa has less than 200 million people, the majority of which are dependent. But that is not all. The continent of Africa has the largest proportion of all the mineral wealth of the world, whether as tapped resources or otherwise. It has 98 per cent of all the diamonds; it has 94 per cent of the columbite; 84 per cent of the cobalt; 55 per cent of the gold; 33 per cent of the manganese; and 22 per cent of the copper. In these territories is now locked up the great mineral wealth of the world, to which the indigenous populations have little access and from which they derive little benefit.

The problem that faces the world today in the future of this great African continent, and in this we must look to the liberated countries of Africa and to those other sovereign States in Africa which are not strictly of African origin, that is to say, which have people who went to Africa three, four, five and ten thousand years ago. We must look to them in the main for the liberation of those territories and also to those who belong to the metropolitan countries whose liberalism, whose humanity and whose allegiance to the Charter would be even a surer and sounder weapon of liberation than anything else. If that does not happen, then we shall have a continual quarrel. As my Prime Minister said this morning, "it is not possible to still the voice of these resurgent people anywhere."

### *Cyprus*

We have, as part of this chapter, some other items on our agenda, and none of them are items the discussion of which gives anyone any happiness. There is first of all the problem of Cyprus. My delegation, at that time without support either from the Greeks, the Turks or the British, has said from this rostrum that the only solution of the Cyprus problems is to regard it as a colonial question - which it is - and recognise that fact. Cyprus is a nation. If Iceland, with a population of 150,000, can be a sovereign country and take its place here, making its contribution, then so can Cyprus with a population of half a million. There is a Cypriot nation which is entitled to its independence, and the only solution is national independence, not internationalised imperialism. Imperialism can no more be internationalised than apartheid can be internationalised.

Therefore, to avoid this question of conferring national independence on the Cypriots is to prolong this problem. In our view, it is for the Cypriots to decide - after the establishment of their independence and when there is no outside restraint - whether they should be allied to one part or the other, or, in the course

of the establishment of their independence, establish cordial relations with the United Kingdom, as that country has done with a great many others. I am sure this can be done. That would be our position in this Assembly on this issue.

We shall not subscribe to any solution which means the partition of Cyprus. As I said, the older idea was "divide and rule," now it is "divide and leave." We shall not subscribe to the doctrine which makes this part of the international scramble. But at the same time we shall not subscribe to any counsel which postpones the settlement or adds to violence in the area. There has been a large amount of violence. It is not for me to say how and why. But people die; they are killed; it leaves ill-will, and the position of Cyprus as a place of turmoil also makes it a place from which troops can easily take off for the Middle East.

For all these reasons, it is better for the Cyprus problem to be settled and for the Assembly to address itself to that as a colonial question and recommend to those concerned the independence of the Cypriot people. I have no doubt that if the problem were looked at in that way, our colleagues from Turkey and from Greece and from the United Kingdom would appreciate that they would have friends in this area far more than otherwise.

### *Algeria*

Then there is the ever-disturbing problem of Algeria. The representative of France, and all those who share his views on this matter, will bear with me when I say that we do not approach this problem with any malice or with any disregard of the practical. My delegation and my Government is the first to recognise that there has been liberation in the French Empire. As I said, we hope Togoland will become a Member of the United Nations very soon, and Guinea perhaps in a few weeks or months.

But in the case of Algeria there has been a very sanguinary war where a very large number of French troops has been tied down fighting a population that is, according to them, part of France. We cannot call it a civil war because there is no equality between the sides. There is nothing civil about this war; it is a war of colonial suppression. I cannot pretend to know what is the solution. But it appears to us that violence is not a solution. A solution of the Algerian problem, as in all other things, must lie in seeking not the ways where those on whom self-government must make its impact are sought to be divided, but those where encouragement is given to their unity and where compromises are sought on the basis of the recognition of the personality and independence of Algeria, where racial discrimination, whichever side it may come from, is sucked away, and it is recognised, as in the case of Cyprus, that nationalism is territorial, and that it is a territory that makes the nation.

We tell peoples of Indian origin who may be in the Federation of Malaya or in East Africa, or in South Africa for that matter, that they belong to that country.

They are Indians by origin, but they are East Africans or Malayans, or whatever it may be. Similarly we may say of the Algerians, whether they be of French origin, of Arab origin or of African origin, that they are all Algerians, and we think that they qualify in every way for the status of nationhood. It is rather incongruous to think that with the greater part of North Africa - Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, the Sudan, Ghana - all these areas liberated, and now the other French territories being added - that this part would remain unreconciled. This is not to exclude any form of fraternal co-operation. But the solution of this by methods of violence would not be the way,

### ***Human Rights***

This year it has been recommended to us by the Economic and Social Council that we should especially celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. My delegation welcomes this recommendation and will join in efforts to do so. But I think that the best celebration of human rights would be if the Assembly - especially those who abstain in voting, not to speak of those who vote against - would take a more definite attitude in regard to the violation of human rights, wherever they may take place, and not allow article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter to be pleaded in bar. If the Declaration is to have any meaning, it can only be - at least to those of us who believe in human rights - to express our belief in very tangible form. No one says that we will wage war on those who violate human rights, because the remedy may be worse than the disease.

### ***China, Taiwan and the United States***

When this session of the Assembly began, the Secretary of State of the United States, in his opening address, referred to the problems in the Far East and spoke about China. Now it fell to my delegation, as in previous years, to bring forward this question, not of the admission of China, but of the discussion of the representation of China in the United Nations. It is common knowledge that the debate became prolonged, not acrimonious. Very few people spoke against my proposal and there was a considerable amount of support for the idea that the question should be discussed. Nevertheless, the discussion did not take place.

We pointed out at that time that here was a continent of 639 million people and that they were not represented in the United Nations. There was no question of the admission of China. At that time I imposed upon myself a self-denying ordinance saying that we would not go into the merits of the question. What is the position regarding the representation of China? It is that Formosa - with a million and a half of Chinese immigrants in Formosa calling it "the Republic of China" - takes in the United Nations the seat of China, a permanent member of the Security Council.

That is the basic problem, and neither an eruption of trouble in regard to Quemoy, or one speech or the other, is the main Chinese problem. My Government submits

that unless China takes its rightful place in the United Nations, it would not be possible to obtain stable conditions in the Far East; it would not be possible for the Security Council to function with any effect. What is more, the Chinese people and their proper representatives will bring an impact to bear upon this Assembly which will be of a healthy character.

It has been argued that Taiwan is part of the Republic of China and that it is not part of the mainland and therefore the solution in some minds lies in the creation of “two Chinas.” We do not submit these observations with the desire to add to any controversy, but as time goes on, it will be found that it is far better for us to look at these facts as they are. Taiwan was for many years under Japanese occupation. It was part of the imperial conquest of Japan and it became a Japanese colony, and like all colonial countries, passed through those phases of resistance and protest and what not. Then came the Second World War and Japan was defeated and former colonial territories of Japan were not placed this time under trusteeship as before. But Formosa and Manchuria were liberated; they were made part of China. A statement at that time was made by the President of the United States to Dr T. V. Soong in regard to China. At that time the Government of China was the Republic of China. There was no other Government. But the issue is not which Government, but whether this territory is part of China or otherwise. If that is clear, the rest will become clear. In the course of his statement, President Truman said:

The United States is prepared to assist China in the development of armed forces of moderate size for the maintenance of internal security (and this is the important part) and the assumption of adequate control over the liberated areas of China, including Manchuria and Formosa.

There was no doubt at any time that Taiwan was a part of China. The question arose when the Government of China became not acceptable to one side or the other, and then the situation changed. What is more, President Truman said at that time the following.

Having in mind statements by the Generalissimo<sup>50</sup> that China’s internal political difficulties will be settled by political methods, it should be clearly understood that military assistance furnished by the United States would not be diverted for use in fratricidal warfare or to support undemocratic administration...

The undemocratic administration, or the administration that did not have the support of the people as the result of thirty years of civil war, left China. The émigrés went to Taiwan. I submit from the rostrum of this platform - and I do not do it in any partisan way - that the whole problem or the remainder of it is the unfinished part of the revolution. There will be no settlement of the Chinese problem, whatever is the Government of China, by the filching away of any of its

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<sup>50</sup> Chiang Kai-shek

territories. The problem can only be looked at from the point of view of the unity of China and not from that of an alleged conception or of the safety of the other countries or of any other part of the world, because no part of the world's safety is challenged. We would therefore submit, as we have done before, that the Chinese people have a great genius for reaching agreement. In the last thirty years of Chinese history there have been many instances where often some opposing parties have entered into negotiation. The problem of Taiwan and the coastal islands and all these are really a problem for the Chinese people, in the same way that the problem of Lebanon is one for the Lebanese people. I think that we should not only not hinder but that we should encourage the Chinese parties, so-called, to talk to each other and come to a situation where their entire motherland would be liberated.

The problem today concerns only the United States and China - and not anybody else - because Chiang Kai-shek is not an international entity except in a legal sense. Therefore, any international negotiations in this matter, as is indeed recognised by the Warsaw conversations, must take place between China and the United States for the purposes which they agree upon.

As a Government and people, we would like to see the solution of these problems take place speedily and peacefully. But I do not think we shall get anywhere by seeking to intervene or in any way trying to disregard or ignore the rightful claims of China to be united and to come here. So far as we are aware, China presents no menace to the internal stability of any country. We are their close neighbours. This is not a testimonial meeting, but we express the opinion that it presents no menace to the stability of any country any more than any of the eighty-one nations represented in this Assembly. There is no question of qualification under the Charter because China is a member of the United Nations.

Then there is the problem that it was declared an aggressor in the Korean war. It is not for me to argue the legality of it one way or the other, but we will have to recognise that there is no war about Korea today. What is more, unless it can be proved to the contrary, the Chinese troops in Korea have been withdrawn and the unity of Korea, given a degree of reality, is possible.

The only restraint, as I said the other day, against untoward incidents in this area is the United States. It is the restraint exercised by the United States on Chiang Kai-shek that very often prevents the precipitation of a crisis. But in a situation of this character, especially when we hear reports of dreadful instruments of war going into this place and feelings running so high, with public opinion worked up in different places, the security of the world demands that we terminate this set of events. And it is not beyond either the power or the imaginative quality of a great country like the United States to be able to seek ways whereby this can be settled.

The internal ideology of a country is not the concern of the United Nations. As I have said several times on this platform, if we could admit to this Organisation

only nations which are approved by the other countries, by one other nation or some other nations, then none of us would be here because there would always be someone who disapproved of somebody else. So that the problem of China has to be considered in this way.

So far as the immediate position is concerned, as I pointed out, the acts of aggression started in July of this year have aroused response and fighting, and a certain amount of shelling of the Quemoy islands has been going on. But we cannot separate this problem from the whole question of the unity of China. Happily at the present moment, out of humanitarian considerations, the Government of China has ordered that the shelling cease for a week. There is no use trying to determine whether it is a formal cease-fire or otherwise. Whenever there is an opportunity for peace, it is the business of those who believe in United Nations ideas to take advantage of it. The whole world is convinced that the United States has no imperial ambitions in these areas, that there may be, as in the case of Lebanon, a misinterpretation of ideas, and there is also in the minds of many the fond feeling that there is a solution to this problem on a two-China basis.

The coming of China here would be an advantage to the United Nations. It would assist the forces of peace, it would speed the pace of disarmament, it would give strength and substance to the Security Council and to the security provisions of the United Nations. My Government therefore pleads not for any intervention by the United Nations because I do not see how that is possible. For one thing, the United Nations has tied its hands for a year by refusing to discuss it. But over and above that, it is not an international problem.

So far as Taiwan is concerned, it is the question of two Chinese parties, one of them a small one with an émigré party. I have no doubt there are large numbers of people in the Kuomintang itself who have the common sense and ambition to realise that a greater China, unified and strengthened, is an asset to them as much as to anybody else. The eight million people of Formosa have no part in the Government of Taiwan and are by and large only members of local bodies. They do not enjoy the advantages of a Government of their own. They would come into the large State with all that goes with it. Then if we had to criticise China, it would be a more realistic position. That is all I wish to say about China, and I hope that advantage will be taken of the present situation in order to arrive at a more peaceful solution recognising the realities, and also the constitutional position, the position conceded, the position established by the Declarations of Cairo (1943) and Potsdam (1945), by the statements of the parties mainly concerned and by the willingness shown by the Chinese Government to negotiate at Warsaw - to negotiate not on the internal issues of China, but on issues that are of international concern.

### *Disarmament*

The main problem that faces us in this Assembly is the problem of disarmament. The United Nations has been considering this problem for the last ten years without any appreciable results. Indeed at one time it was given up altogether and the Disarmament Commission reconstructed. Some four years ago my delegation initiated the idea of the establishment of a sub-committee, in the hope that discussions in an intimate body, without all the glare of publicity, would lead to some compromises. But, unfortunately, the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission also became a very public body and when one solution appeared suitable to one side and was put forward, it was not suitable to the other side. The same solution is advanced the next year by the other side and is not suitable to this side. So it goes on in this way. No one imagines that the establishment of disarmament is possible by waving a magic wand. The problem has got to be approached realistically, and the United Nations knows that there has been no abandonment at any time of the fundamental objectives.

I should like to submit with great respect that the passing of resolutions, even by large majorities, has not taken us anywhere nearer disarmament. It is one of those problems where the parties consent, and therefore there can be no settlement without co-operation. Last year the delegation of India moved before the General Assembly that as a first step, not necessarily of disarmament but as a contribution toward disarmament, these explosions should be stopped and that the one alleged impediment in the way, the lack of capacity for detection, must be made the subject of technical investigation. For the last four years our Government has been pressing and has been repeatedly urging in the Assembly the cessation of these explosions, for reasons that we argued and reargued many times. At last we now have a situation where the scientists of the world, though they have not categorically so stated, at least tell us that the effects of these explosions are harmful to humanity. Since it is a United Nations Committee, one hopes that it will receive greater respect than it might otherwise do.

There has been some progress made in the meetings at Geneva, and further meetings will start on 31 October. My delegation has submitted a draft resolution on this subject, which is before the Assembly, and concerns only the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. It would not be appropriate for me to argue this draft resolution before you at present, but I hope that the Assembly will not reject this draft resolution this time as it did the last time. At the twelfth session in a draft resolution,<sup>51</sup> we made this humble suggestion: if what is stopping the cessation of explosions is the fear that they will not be detected, why cannot this be looked into by technical people, with both sides, and those who did not take sides, joining in? We submitted this draft resolution because it appeared reasonable, and the arguments, even of those who were against us, were not that it was not reasonable but that it was not opportune.

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<sup>51</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, document A/C.1/L.176/Rev.4



We are glad to notice that after six months or so, owing to the initiative taken by the United States and the Soviet Union they have had direct talks on this matter, some moves seem to have taken place. But, again, I do not presume to have understood the whole of the situation. If the idea is that the suspension of explosions can take place only if other things take place, then the whole problem will have to await the conclusion of a disarmament agreement, and it is meaningless because, if there is total disarmament with the banning of weapons, then it is not necessary to say that there should be no explosions.

Therefore, we submit that, pending the reaching of an agreement in Geneva, there should be a cessation of these explosions, that the testing of nuclear weapons should stop, as a preliminary to disarmament.

Last year, by a considerable majority, the United Nations voted for the reconstitution of the Disarmament Commission [Resolution 1150 (XII)]. In the last twelve months, the Disarmament Commission has not met, that is to say, the whole machinery has not functioned apart from this *ad hoc* arrangement that was made and was successful. One of the main problems that will come before us is the reconstitution of the Disarmament Commission, and we should like to appeal to the Assembly to recognise the fact that no disarmament is possible except by agreement and, if there must be agreement, there must be give and take on either side, and minorities or majorities - with the uncommitted peoples - cannot be disregarded.

The latest reconstitution of the Disarmament Commission was a step forward, as far as the General Assembly recognised that some new move had to be made, but that move either did not go far enough or somehow went in the wrong direction. So, when from tomorrow onwards we consider this matter in the First Committee, I hope we shall be able to go far along the way of encouraging the Geneva Conference to come to agreement very quickly because, as time passes and more countries become capable of either manufacturing or using these weapons, all the dangers of nuclear radiation and of nuclear accidents exist in the world. The dangers arising from non-disarmament are greater. But I beg to submit - and I hope this will not be regarded as a presumption - that we will not get very near disarmament unless there is a certain amount of disarming of ourselves in the Assembly, that is to say, in our approach to problems, if every boat that is put out is to weather the storm of suspicion and mistrust before it can reach the shore. Therefore, we need, more than anything else, a new approach to this problem, a degree of common exploration. Unless there is common exploration we shall not be able to deal with this great menace that threatens this world with annihilation. What is more, every small or large problem, every local problem, threatens at least for some time to present the world with the menace of atomic war.

The outstanding problem before us is this problem of disarmament. My delegation is one of those that thinks it ought to be discussed as soon as possible in order that those who meet in Geneva may have the backing - I would not use the word

“pressure” - but may have the backing of such influence as Assembly opinion can exercise to make them come to agreement. At the same time, to link this question with other problems is to indulge in the exercise of endangering the peace of this globe. It has neither logic nor anything else to defend it, because, if there were disarmament, if there were an abandonment of other weapons, there would be no need to talk about the stopping of explosions. So by definition it is out of court. We want to lay stress on this fact: it is the most important problem before the Assembly.

### ***Peaceful and Neighbourly Relations***

Last year at the end of the session we adopted a resolution on peaceful and neighbourly relations among States [Resolution 1236 (XII)]. This is one of those subjects regarded as extremely controversial, and it was controversial. But it may be said to the credit of the Assembly that it was passed as a unanimous resolution. That resolution expressed the urgency of “strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States irrespective of their divergences or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development.” If it was urgent then, it is even more urgent today. This is not a resolution that called for an executive action but certainly a resolution which ought to be furthered by implementation. There is nothing in the events of the last twelve months which gives us a great deal of encouragement in thinking that the adoption of this resolution has made a lot of difference. But my delegation welcomes the fact that in speech after speech in this Assembly, as we advanced in the general debate, representatives have spoken without being hamstrung by considerations of having to vote one way or another. There is a degree of freer speech in the general debate. This resolution that was passed unanimously calls for further consideration by the Assembly, and in the same spirit as prevailed last time, without trying to score a point one way or another. We think, finally, that the work of this Assembly will be much assisted and the United Nations will progress more and more if such independence of opinion continues.

The representative of Cambodia referred to the fact that there was such a rigidity of opinion as made it impossible for the uncommitted nations either to canvass their views or put them forward in anyway. No one suggests that opinion strongly held by the nations that have really great responsibilities can be easily pushed aside. But if the United Nations is really to become a concert of free nations, if it is to contribute to the promotion of neighbourly relations, is it not possible, by the impact of opinions one upon the other, is it not possible, by the adjustment of different views, to come to common conclusions? But if every question is riddled by the arrows that come from the “cold war” from either side, then it is not possible for us to make any progress. Therefore, we hope that the general progress of the Organisation, our understanding of each other and the purposes and implications of the resolutions we adopted last year with regard to peaceful and neighbourly relations, and the support that has been forthcoming from large numbers of representatives, speaking on this, who have referred to non-

interference in other people's affairs, and things of that character - we hope that there will be more and more of all this.

### ***West Irian***

There are two matters of a more or less domestic character to which I should like to refer. One is the problem of our neighbours in Indonesia. Indonesia has had a hard time, largely because of the geography of that land of 3,000 islands, because of the burdens it has to carry since its liberation and because of the fact that its progress is very much held back by the problem of the continuance of colonial rule. The Netherlands is a well respected member of the United Nations and has a great deal of experience of the Eastern world. We still hope that advantage will be taken of the fact the Indonesians have not tried to heat up this problem by placing this item on the agenda, and we hope that in conformity with the principles of the Charter, and by means of agreements solemnly entered into, a solution will be found.

These islands, like other islands in other parts of the world, are not worth conflict between nations. West Irian is part of Indonesia by the Act of Cession. We hope that there will be no occasion for this matter to come up before us.

### ***Statement by Pakistan***

My colleague from Pakistan, in his address [769th meeting] to this Assembly, referred to the problem of Kashmir. I have some familiarity with this problem. I also have some familiarity with the procedures of the United Nations. While nothing, in fact, can prevent any representative from speaking about anything, we sometimes have instances when the President adjourns the Assembly and delegates still talk because the speaker requires only the microphone. Therefore, no one can prevent anybody from speaking about anything, but it is usually understood that no problem can be before two organs of the United Nations at the same time. What is called "the question of Jammu and Kashmir" or "India-Pakistan issue" or something of that kind, is before the Security Council.

As I said a while ago, I have some familiarity with this problem. I believe the statements or the misstatements made before the Assembly are capable of being controverted. But the understanding of my delegation as to the functions and the use of this rostrum is that it is not for propaganda for home consumption. I have, therefore, no desire to enter into a controversy on this matter unless it is forced upon us.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India, half of which is under external occupation. The matter is before the United Nations, and if fellow-delegates are interested in it, there is a considerable volume of literature on this subject. It came here on the initiative of the Government of India. That in itself is sufficient evidence that we have nothing to hide in this matter. But taking the

view that no issue of peace or of neighbourliness is promoted by this casual discussion in the Assembly or using the rostrum of this Assembly for any purpose, I shall not enter into discussion on the Kashmir issue.

Recently, as a result of conversations in New Delhi between the Prime Ministers of the two countries, we have tried without external interference to deal with problems - small ones - concerning our frontiers, our borders and difficulties created thereby; and to a small extent we have been successful. I believe it is part of the duty that rests upon one when one is forced into that position, not to be provoked, not to be drawn into discussion that has no particular purpose.

## VII. WORLD TENSION: ANXIETY AND HOPE<sup>52</sup>

... This fourteenth session of the General Assembly opened, in its early stage, with an address by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.<sup>53</sup> It was one of the great events of our sessions and of our times, more especially in view of the pronouncements he made and the policy proposal he communicated to this Assembly. To these my delegation will address itself in later stages of our proceedings.

There has been a degree of criticism and, on the part of the Secretary-General, what sounds somewhat like an apology for the development of events outside the United Nations. So far as the Government of India is concerned, we do not look upon this as though we have to suffer it because we must, or make the best of a bad position. We think that the developments that have taken place in what is called "outside the United Nations" in so far as they are developments which contribute towards the progress of humanity, towards world peace and co-operation, are "inside" the United Nations, in that the United Nations is not bound by the limits of this Organisation, but by the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. The Secretary-General has already pointed out the constitutional and other reasons which justify this kind of negotiations on world problems.

We think that it is very important, wherever possible, that those who are in a position to negotiate, who are in a position to deliver the goods, those between whom there are greater suspicions than amongst some others, should take advantage of every opportunity to make direct contacts and to confer. We in the United Nations should wish them well. We are equally anxious that our anxieties or our concerns in these matters should find a response in these others who are concerned, that we should be kept informed, that we should be enabled to educate ourselves, and instruct our judgements, and that we should be able to make our contributions as from the places where we stand.

The large number of speakers that have preceded me have had as their main themes the central problem of our world, namely, the tension that exists. But their speeches have also been characterized by a degree of, or at least a desire to hope. I think it would be far too optimistic to say "by a tone of hopefulness" because that is hardly characteristic of the Assembly. The Assembly consists of large numbers of "hard boiled" representatives of Governments and it is not as though they permit themselves to take a romantic view of problems. But right through these speeches, except where intimate problems concerning their own countries and their relations and such other factors come in, there has been in these speeches

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<sup>52</sup> Statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 6 October 1959

<sup>53</sup> Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, addressed the General Assembly on 18 September 1959.

such a desire, such an anxiety, such a passion, that we may dare to feel hopeful in regard to what may happen in the future.

There is very profound concern about the enormous increase and development of armaments and the fact that after ten to fourteen years of discussing disarmament, the world today stands more armed than it has ever been in history. What is more, the various proposals that have been debated from time to time, though they have engaged the attention of people and have certainly led to the development of the consideration of various aspects and difficulties of the problem, have not yet led to any positive solutions.

Therefore, looking at the world as it is, we find today, at a time when this Assembly meets, that we are, on the one hand, confronted with hope, and, on the other hand, with anxiety. It brings to my mind the romantic - or is it not so romantic? - fantasy, of a famous historical novelist, Charles Dickens — not of our time but of a previous century - who, in one of his historical novels portraying the period when the British Crown received a communication from some of its subjects across the seas, in the American colonies, wrote in this way about the era of 1778:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before...<sup>54</sup>

The world is very much in that state and it largely reflects the state of development of our times, that we are confronted with problems about which we really have inadequate experience. Therefore a pragmatic approach, dealing with problems as they arise, and not being committed too far beforehand as to what side one should take, is necessary in the interests of the relaxation of world tensions.

My country has been committed to this position for a long time. In that connection, we welcomed the statement of the representative of Iceland the other day - not about fishing rights in the North Pole about which he spoke with passion, in which we do not want to participate, but in regard to the formation of blocs, not the blocs of the cold war, but the blocs inside the Assembly. We ourselves belong to various groups, and I think that groups, insofar as they seek to offer to the Assembly their collective wisdom, are a constructive force. But if on the other hand, blocs surround themselves with walls of isolation, then we shall divide the unity of this Assembly. A degree of neighbourliness, a degree of the coming together of people who have common problems and common backgrounds, is to be expected and welcomed.

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<sup>54</sup> *A Tale of Two Cities*, book 1, chap. 1.

But my delegation shares, with the representative of Iceland, the concern that our attempts to co-operate with each other should not result in our isolating ourselves from others or from the whole of the United Nations.

This present period is also one of considerable scientific advancement, including the proximity of human discovery to finding the origins of life itself.

We have also had placed before us at this session for the first time, although it had been mentioned so many times in speeches by a less notable delegation, the proposition that disarmament alone is not what we need if this world is to survive and prosper, but really a warless world. When the time comes and in the course of our observations at this Assembly, then my delegation would like to draw a distinction in content between the two proposals that are before the Assembly, one really concerned with disarmament and the other concerned with a world without war.

### *Annual Report of the Secretary-General*

We have before us the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organisation, which is not entirely of the usual character. It deals with questions of political philosophy and theory, it deals with problems that have to do with the development of this Organisation in the future. And I say, in all humility, that I do not think that our Organisation has given proper attention either to these problems or to the report itself. The Secretary-General's report is received as a matter of course, and we are inclined to think that our responsibilities are over when we pay him his meed of thanks.

We are grateful not only to the Secretary-General for this report. In his person, he embodies the whole of the Secretariat. At the end of this general debate, we should like to offer the thanks of our delegation and, if I may presume to say so, the thanks of all of us, to all those persons who make up the Secretariat, who make the functioning of the Assembly possible, who prepare the large amount of material and the considerable number of documents which we receive, and some of which we do not receive. For all these things, we are grateful to the Secretariat - to the administrative staff, to the interpreters, and to everybody concerned. Most of them are people whose names do not appear in the newspapers and do not even appear in official records. Without their diligence and their devotion to duty and the hard work they have to put in, often after office hours, it would not be possible for us to function here. May I therefore take the liberty of asking the Secretary-General to convey to the Secretariat, in an appropriate way, this expression of appreciation.

It is not possible for me to study this report publicly, because some of it is obviously debatable, and I do not want at this stage of the Assembly to enter into a controversy in that field. However, one may be permitted to refer to various points in the report.

The Secretary-General had referred to the universality of the United Nations. I am sure that, as things stand, all delegations but one in this Assembly would vote for universality as far as membership is concerned. But the observations of the Secretary-General go a little further, when this universal conception has a bearing upon function in such a way as though the concern of every member of the Assembly or some of them has to be demarcated in one form or another. I do not say that this is altogether a proposition that should not be considered, but it has its pitfalls. It is one of those things that I do hope will engage the attention of the Assembly in the future - that is the development of the Organisation, to what extent the United Nations has become synonymous with the entirety of its members and the Governments represented - and, even where the results are good, to what extent, for the time being or for all time, some or all member States have to keep out of certain matters and certain contexts.

The Secretary-General has also referred, expressly or by implication, to certain constitutional procedures, where, again, there are certain aspects which one would welcome and other aspects which one would want to study. We will all admit that as the work of the United Nations grows, becomes intensive, becomes more a day-to-day affair, the functioning of the representatives of Governments at Headquarters who are accredited to the United Nations would become more and more important. But my Government has always taken the view that, whether it be in groups, the African-Asian group or the European group or whatever it is, no group of representatives, whether at a particular time at an Assembly or otherwise, could, in the present circumstances of the world, in the absence of a world constitution and world law, become *de facto* a World Government. Policies are to be made by chancelleries. Therefore, while we are fully aware of the importance of day-to-day consultation, this Organisation will carry weight with public opinion in various countries, will have the conscious and enthusiastic support of Governments, only to the extent that, in activities from day to day, the Secretary-General's personality, the Organisation itself and the scene of the changing functional context are more in touch with Governments and chancelleries. Mr Hammarskjöld is fully conscious of this matter and, during the considerable time that he has between sessions of the Assembly, he takes care to visit capitals.

The same applies with regard to the voting procedures to which also the report refers. When we touch on this matter, we touch a very tender spot. While it is quite true that equality of status, as a British Prime Minister once said, does not mean equality of function, it is also true that, the less the capacity for and content of function, the more a person is conscious of his status! Therefore, when we touch on this problem, we shall be touching on something which requires a great deal of consideration.

Each State here has one vote. All are equal. The very beloved country of Iceland, with a population of 200,000 is no less important than the country of India, with a



population of 380 million. But it is equally true that a mere massing of votes - whether it is 45 to 11 with 25 abstentions or, as in the old days, 55 to 5 - does not have the same impact upon world opinion as, shall we say, a vote that reflects the real views and conditions in the world. To a very large extent, a vote in this Assembly has value in reality in direct ratio to its impact upon world opinion and the response it arouses on the part of the world.

The Secretary-General has also made reference to the International Court of Justice and to the greater use we should make of it. In this connection, may I also observe that reference was made in the course of the debate to the fact that certain countries, particularly referring to us, had taken the view that we could make decisions on matters where others are concerned, and that it would be far better if we accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. Merely as a point of information, I should like to inform the Assembly that the Government of India has accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, and the documents in this connection have been circulated by the Secretariat. Of course, the acceptance contains reservations, but those reservations are not unusual. They are reservations which appertain to almost all the Commonwealth countries, and others which are common in diplomatic practice. But, apart from that, we have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

It is usual at this time to look at the agenda of the General Assembly. It is one of the easiest things to do because we have looked at it for ten years. It is always the same agenda because it is the same world. But there are certain changes and developments, and then our approach to these items must vary. I do not think we should be cynical and say that we discuss the same things year after year. I suppose we discuss the same things in one sense, but we often make different approaches to these problems. Certain new items have come on to the agenda, and the Secretary-General's report, I think, constitutes one of the not least necessary items on the agenda, and is a document which provides much food for thought. I hope the Secretary-General at some time will give consideration to placing the individual matters for consideration before the appropriate organs of the United Nations.

### ***Economic and Social Development in India***

It is usual on occasions of this kind to refer to one's own country and the progress or otherwise therein. My delegation has given considerable thought to this practice and there is good justification for its continuance. It should be done for two reasons. One is that in our part of the world great changes are taking place. We are in that part of the world which in recent times has come into independence. We also represent a social and economic system which seeks to establish revolutions, political, social and economic by and large, by consent. But over and above that we would like to discuss briefly the developments in our own land during the last twelve months or so, because it is one way of international communication. We lay increasing stress upon sending delegations, upon

receiving delegations, upon communication of information. Therefore I think that if delegates who are assembled here do not use this opportunity within the brevity of time that conditions us, to inform each other of our position, we shall not be doing our duty to our own country or to the Assembly as a whole.

It may be that in some cases our national aspirations, our national considerations, our national prejudices and traditions, may import into this an inevitable imbalance. In India the main theme about which one may speak is its economic and social development under conditions of a planned economy. Various five-year plans have been in progress and we find that this progress has maintained its schedules, and while progress is slow - at least slow having regard to our low standards of living and our hopes - it has still been maintained.

From somewhere about \$17,300 million in 1948 the national income of India has risen in 1958 to somewhere about \$22,600 million. Also the standards of life of our people have gone up, but very slightly, because while the national income, to which I referred now, has gone up, the per capita income in India has not gone up in the same way because of the increase in population. It does not mean that our increase in population is proportionately higher than anywhere else, but the aggregates are larger. So from an income of \$49.4 per head ten years ago, it has gone up to only \$57.8 per head of population.

Since independence in our country there has been an increase in population to the extent of 67 million. That is larger than the total population of many countries represented here. This comes about from the fact that, while the birth-rate has gone down one point per thousand of population, the death-rate has gone down eleven points. Fewer people are born, but even fewer people die. Infantile mortality has also gone down from 146 to 108 per thousand of live births in the last ten years. That results in the fact that the number of mouths to feed which press upon the means of subsistence is greater than can be catered for by the increase in wealth itself.

Food production in India has increased in the same way. As far as my recollection goes, in pre-partitioned India - that is, when India and Pakistan were one country - the total production of food grains in that India was about 47 million tons. In a smaller India, which is about three-fifths of the previous area, last year we produced 73.5 million tons of food grains and we are still hungry. The rise in the first five years has been 15 per cent, and the following three years about 11 per cent. The production of food in the country, which may sound a rather flat proposition to put forward, is really the basis of all prosperity and peace and, indeed, is the substratum of our international peace and co-operation.

Side by side with the advance in food production there have also been advances in social development. I would not take the time of the Assembly by going into every item. There are a great number of them which may interest me as an Indian national, but I think the development of co-operatives in India is one of the

outstanding features. In our country the position is different from that of Western Europe, from the point of view of our political and social evolution in the recent past or in current times. In Western Europe democracy and a political revolution, whether violent or otherwise, conferring political power upon the masses, came after the Industrial Revolution. We have the reverse process.

In India, we have had full-fledged political revolution. We have placed political power in the hands of every man and woman of adult age, whether literate or illiterate, whether rich or poor, whether tall or short, and the industrial and economic progress has to come thereafter, with all the social consequences that follow from such a situation.

I mentioned co-operatives. Ten years ago there were in India somewhere about 5.7 million co-operative societies. Today, there are 13.8 million of them. A few years ago 115,000 of our villages were covered by co-operatives; today over 179,000 of them are so covered. But still there remain some 450,000 villages to be covered. There is another project where there is much to interest the United Nations. Indeed, it figures in the report of the Secretary-General in the part concerned with community project developments. India today aspires to cover herself with this form of village democracy and planning, economic and social, right from the bottom. Sixty per cent of our villages are covered by these projects, and 56.6 per cent of our population, somewhere about 165 million.

Then we come to a larger development which has international bearings. In a country like ours, which has come into the field of modern development only recently and with a standard of life indicated by the figures I have given with regard to *per capita* income, modern development, which requires capital goods from highly advanced countries, and what is more, different factors which are and have been conditioned by the economy of other countries, is therefore to a large extent conditioned by our capacity to buy in foreign lands. That is, external assistance becomes of great importance. In this sphere the United Nations itself has taken part, although only on what the Secretary-General would, at least in private, call a laboratory scale.

The amount of external resources as far as India is concerned has come most from the United States totalling some \$1,800 million in the last ten years. Out of this \$490 million is outright aid, the remainder being loans repayable in dollars or Indian currency, with some \$200 million or so reserved for expenditure by the United States Government itself. Therefore, in the way of outright grants, for which we are grateful, there has been nearly \$500 million pumped into the Indian economy. From the Soviet Union, machinery, projects and assistance in loans or otherwise amounted in all to \$670 million. Then we have a series of other projects which are of a more co-operative character, largely in the Commonwealth group, as indicated by the Colombo Plan, out of which Canada has been the largest donor and helper. Canada is a comparatively small country in the way of population, but

it is a rich one in resources, current and potential. India has received, up to 1958-1959, \$176 million, mainly in the field of machinery and atomic apparatus.

From the smaller country of New Zealand, with a population of two and a half million or so, has been poured into India, largely through UNICEF, some \$67 million in the last ten years. Australia, one of our neighbours, has contributed to the building of hydroelectric projects and other works to the extent of \$23 million. The United Kingdom, in the same way, has contributed considerably towards equipment, apart from accommodating us by way of short-term loans. From Norway and various other countries has come assistance to India. Fortunately for us, either in the technical field or in the field of money, aid has not been a one-way traffic. India has in the same way extended either aid or loans to the extent of tens of millions of dollars to other countries whose names I do not want to mention here, since I have not asked their permission.

In addition to this, into our country come students - trainees, factory hands, from all parts of the world, more particularly from Asia - nominated either by the Colombo Plan or under various transfer schemes; and in this way, not only are we being helped by the increase of our own technical capacities, but also a degree of international co-operation in the field of technical development is built up. Neither political ideology, nor distance of other countries, nor racial, religious or other differences have played a part in this.

India has also contributed to the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme up to \$3.5 million, and today the Government of India has announced that it will contribute \$2 million to the Special Fund if the other figures given out come up to the expected levels.

The index of production in India has gone up from 87 points in 1948 to 142.7 points. But no country today has any chances of survival, either by a political philosophy or even by a long history, if it does not have at its disposal considerable engineering and technical abilities, and we are glad to think that, while in 1949 we had 2,900 engineers and technicians in the country, today we have 9,300, all trained in India. There are also about 400 foreign students on scholarships in India and altogether about 3,500 students from other countries. We regret to say that the scholarships offered to various Trusteeship Territories have not been availed of fully. Of the 42 scholarships offered to Trust Territories, only twenty-seven have been utilized. There are some 10,000 Indian students in various parts of the world, the largest number being in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia.

The most modern of developments in India are in the field of atomic energy. I am happy to communicate to the General Assembly, as I have done before, that it is not only part of our policy, but a policy which is fully insisted upon and implemented and which has been testified to by Dr Davidson in the *World Survey Report* - the same scientist to whom Mr Khrushchev referred as "Davidson" - that,

while the developments were of a very high order and we should soon be capable of becoming self-sufficient in the field of atomic technical equipment, there was no indication that India would venture into the field of atomic weapons. The atomic energy establishments in India employ 970 scientists and also take into training nearly 200 trainees every year from India and elsewhere. There were two reactors in operation, completely built in India itself and a third being built by co-operation between Canada and ourselves.

India is the country in the world using the largest amount of thorium for the production of atomic fuel. It has also gone into the development of uranium metal plants and of various other things that are required for this purpose, such as rare ores and metals.

Alongside progress we have had, at the same time, our own share of natural calamities in addition to all other concomitants of an adverse character in developments that must happen in a democratic society. We have had devastation by floods. The worst floods in history occurred in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and recently in Assam, and also in Bengal and Bombay, causing losses of tens of millions of dollars and rendering large numbers of people homeless. Fortunately, the capacity of our people to adapt themselves to these circumstances has made these calamities less tragic than they otherwise might have been.

Among other developments are the irrigation developments of India, notably the Rajasthan Canal, the longest canal in the world, projected as an idea a long time ago when the British were in India and which would supply water to part of the Punjab and Rajputana and convert them into food-producing areas for the future.

### ***United Nations Peace Force***

From these matters we must now go on to various other questions which have been raised here specifically. I should like to deal first with questions with which we are intimately concerned.

The Secretary-General, on the one hand, and various delegations, on the other, have referred to United Nations peace forces; that is to say, the machinery, the instruments, for applying sanctionary powers or carrying out police duties, or whatever they may be called. We, as a country, have participated in this development, and, continue to do so and to carry some of its burdens. The Government of India is not at present prepared to participate in a standing force of the United Nations as such and we do not think that it is a practical proposition. We are surprised to find that some countries have proposed that certain units of national forces should be allocated and demarcated for United Nations purposes. But if they are so allocated, what do they do when the United Nations does not want them? It is not practical, in the defence force of any country, to have troops allocated and demarcated in this way.

Secondly, for political reasons, we think that, with the present state of development in the world and in the absence of world law and of the universality of the United Nations, and in the presence of the fact that we as an Organisation are far from free from group politics or yet capable of taking truly objective decisions, we do not think that it would be right to place at the disposal of such an Organisation forces which may be moved in without individual negotiations and the consent of the people concerned. The time will come, in a disarmed world, when war is no longer regarded as a machinery for the settling of disputes, when some kind of forces organisation may be required to deal with those who break the world law; but we think that it is premature at the present time to speak in terms of a United Nations force or to expect countries to shoulder the responsibility from the point of view of personnel or of money or political acceptances.

In this connection I am sure that the Secretary-General will expect us to say that units of the Indian army today in the Gaza Strip are there as a peace force; and that we feel privileged to participate in this venture. But it imposes considerable burdens upon us, to a certain extent recompensed by the fact that these men, not diplomats, not university men, not men trained in the arts of peaceful operations, but in the arts of defence, have been the best ambassadors our country has ever sent out anywhere. They have no quarrels; they have left no social problems behind them, as occupying armies often do. They have created no difficulties in the places where they have gone. And this has been our experience in Korea, as well as with the officers who went to Indo-China, with the officers whom the Secretary-General asked for in a hurry for the United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon, and those who, for two or more years have stood as a peace force in true Gandhian tradition on the Gaza Strip between Israel and Egypt, giving unfortunate evidence of the fact that there is an armistice line and that the two countries are not at peace.

### *Situation in Laos*

Then we come to another matter which my delegation wants to deal with as carefully and as gently as possible, namely the question of Laos. We would not have entered into a discussion of this matter except for the fact that we carry a certain responsibility in connection with it. As the Assembly is aware, India is the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. In 1954, largely under the initiative and the constructive statesmanship of the then Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Eden, an agreement was reached whereby fighting in that part of the world stopped and for the first time in twenty-five years, on 11 August 1954, the guns of war were silenced in all the world.

As a result of those negotiations and preliminary to a cease-fire in those areas, after many years of very sanguinary warfare in which hundreds of thousands of

lives were lost, agreements were signed by the parties which are called the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

I hope the Assembly will pardon me if I feel it part of my Government's duty to communicate to the Assembly the actual position. We have no desire to apportion blame, but in view of the fact that the United Nations has intervened in this matter and we are part of the United Nations, I think the Assembly should be fully seized of this matter. India is the Chairman of the Commission, and the other members are Canada and Poland. Decisions were reached by majorities, except on certain major issues, but were almost always, with one or two exceptions, unanimous. There are three agreements - one on Laos, one on Vietnam and one on Cambodia. The parties to the Geneva agreement on Laos are the Royal Government of Laos, the French High Command and the High Command of the Pathet Lao, that is, of the dissident forces, and of the People's Forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, France and Laos subscribed to the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference. All the Governments represented were also parties to the Geneva agreements. The Royal Government of Laos made two declarations with reference to articles 3, 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration regarding political integration and non-involvement in military alliances, and foreign military aid. The period stated with reference to the latter was the period between the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and the final settlement of the country's political problems.

The responsibility for the execution of this agreement was placed on the parties, that is, the signatories, under article 24 of the agreement. The Commission, of which India was the Chairman, was made responsible under article 25 for control and supervision of the implementation of this agreement.

The special tasks for which the Commission was made responsible included the supervision of the implementation of the agreement regarding the introduction of military personnel and war material and the rotation of personnel and supplies for French Union Security Force maintained in Laos. The Commission was also charged with the duty to see that the frontiers of Laos were respected. Article 25 states:

An International Commission shall be responsible for control and supervision of the application of the provisions of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos. It shall be composed of representatives of the following States: Canada, India and Poland...

The political procedures of the agreement are those given in articles 14 and 15 read with the two Declarations made by the Government of Laos at Geneva. These are the articles that deal with the responsibility of the Royal Government of Laos in this matter, because it was said that pending a political settlement, the

rebel forces had to be grouped in certain areas. Under article 15, the parties undertook to refrain from any reprisals or discriminations against persons or organisations for their activities during the hostilities and also undertook to guarantee their democratic freedoms.

It is true that the political settlement was delayed for a long time. That is to say, the Pathet Lao people who were concentrated in the two places according to this agreement, took a long time before they achieved unity with the Royal Government. Without attempting to apportion blame to either party, the Government of India wishes to point out that the Commission and the Commission Chairman materially assisted with their good offices in helping the parties to reach a settlement, as stated by the Prime Minister of Laos and the representative of the Pathet Lao forces in a joint letter dated 29 December 1956. Though perhaps it was not strictly the essential duty of the Commission, the Commission brought about a settlement among these people, and at the end of it the Prime Minister of Laos issued a communique in these terms:

Besides the signature of this communique has been facilitated by the attentive interest the International Commission has taken in the settlement of the Laotian problem, interest which in particular is proved by the opportune and correct report addressed to the Co-Chairmen – [Mr Gromyko and Mr Selwyn Lloyd: at that time Mr Molotov and Sir Anthony Eden] - of the Geneva Conference, a copy of which has been forwarded. Moreover, the International Commission and especially Your Excellency - (that is, the Chairman of the Commission) - did not spare their efforts to help the happy success of our talks. The results thus reached contribute in a good measure to the strengthening of peace in the Laotian Kingdom, in South-East Asia and in the world. We therefore avail ourselves of this opportunity to forward personally to the International Commission and to Your Excellency our most sincere thanks as those of the whole Laotian people.

Now the representative of Laos has said here:

The International Control Commission, a body established by the Geneva Conference of 1954, saw that it no longer served any purpose and, considering that its task had been completed, left Laos in July 1958. [815<sup>th</sup> meeting, para 132]

We have no desire to enter into a controversy about this, but we want to put the facts historically correct. The Commission did not leave in July 1958 because its work had been completed but it only adjourned *sine die* with a provision to reconvene in accordance with normal procedures and the Co-Chairmen also acknowledged this position. These documents were the subject of considerable correspondence between the Co-Chairmen, Mr Gromyko and Mr Selwyn Lloyd at the time. The Government of India sent the following communication:



The Government of India have in their previous discussions with the High Commission... stated that (with regard to)... the Geneva Agreements on Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam respectively, the three International Commissions have to continue till political settlement is completed in all the three countries, namely Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The articles referred to above provide for reduction in the activities of a particular Commission in the light of the development of the situation in the other two countries, but there is no provision in the Geneva Agreements for the winding up of any of the Commissions independently of the completion of political settlement in the other two countries...

Apart from the position of the Government of India on the general question of the inter-connection of the three Commissions, given in paragraph 1 above, the Government of India would like to point out that there were two parties to the Geneva Agreement of Laos: one party signed for the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the French Union in Indo-China, from whom the Laotian Government derived their authority, and the other party signed for the Commander-in-Chief of the fighting units of the Pathet Lao and for the Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army of Vietnam. The second party, namely the one represented by the Vice-Minister of National Defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, do not accept the proposal to wind up the Commission made by the Prime Minister of the Royal Laotian Government. In effect, the decision of one Co-Chairman Government, viz., the United Kingdom, which supports the view advanced by one of the parties to the Agreement on Laos, viz., the Royal Laotian Government and with which the other Co-Chairman Government, namely, the USSR, and the other party to the Agreement, viz., the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam do not agree, means the unilateral denunciation, by one of the parties, of the Geneva Agreement on Laos, which is bound to have serious repercussions on the working of the Geneva Agreements not only in Laos but also in other parts of Indo-China...

While the Government of India cannot, in view of the position stated in paragraph 1 and 6 above, support this resolution, they would like to point out that a resolution of this type which proposes to amend not only the Geneva Agreement on Laos but the Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and Vietnam as well, requires unanimous decision in the Commission and the concurrence of the other two Commissions.

Therefore, we took the view that the Commission could not be wound up unless there was unanimous decision and the three Commissions had agreed. I continue:

The Government of India are of the view that the unilateral denunciation of the Geneva Agreement on Laos and the winding up or immobilization

of the Laos Commission, which are bound to have serious repercussions on the working of the Geneva Agreements and on the working of the International Commissions in the whole of Indo-China, involve a serious threat to peace in this region.

One of the charges that were given to us was the safeguarding of peace in that area.

Then in their reply, when we placed this position before the United Kingdom Government, the United Kingdom Government said that the reply that it had given was without prejudice to the view that the Government of the United Kingdom held that the decision in this matter was one that the Commission itself was competent to make. Then, after that, this reply was communicated to the Co-Chairmen - and this is a very important matter. The two Co-Chairmen, namely Mr Gromyko and Mr Selwyn Lloyd, wrote to the Government of India in these terms:

The two Co-Chairmen took notice of the clarification of the Indian Government that this resolution does not affect the legal status of the Commission and does not reduce the competence of the Commission in implementing the tasks and functions assigned to it by the Geneva Agreements. The Co-Chairmen agreed that the resolution of the Commission of 19 July 1958 - [that is, to adjourn *sine die* and to be reconvened in accordance with normal procedures] - was a procedural decision taken to adjourn *sine die* and having no connection with the question of dissolution of the Commission. They were agreed that no question of abrogating any of the articles of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos relating to the International Commission, in particular article 39, was involved.

So the position was that, as a result of this and in order to have some practical arrangements, the Commission withdrew from Laos with this provision for reconvening. Unfortunately, the Government of Canada did not find it possible to appoint members to it. We have always said that, when things had developed badly in Laos, the international authority that remained there should be available.

So, to go on with the story, when the Commission adjourned on 19 July 1958 there was every prospect of the political settlement being satisfactorily implemented in detail by the Government. The need for supervision and control could be satisfied by occasional meetings in future, if necessary. The position changed later, and was reported to the Co-Chairmen.

When the Commission adjourned, the unity and sovereignty of Laos had been established, and peace prevailed in the whole country. The details of political integration were being worked out. The present position of armed clashes within Laos is a reversal of the process of settlement reached with the help of the Commission - and this is the important point.

The Royal Government of Laos has alleged aggression and subversion by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Whatever may be the motives of the Democratic Republic in working for resumption of the activities of the Commission, it is clear that the Commission helped in achieving political integration and in the establishment of the unity and sovereignty of the Royal Government of Laos over the entire territory of Laos. The Commission has also been specifically directed under the agreement to see that there are no violations of the frontiers of Laos. That was one of the functions of the Commission.

India's view is that the present trouble is due mainly to the passing of the Geneva agreement procedures and the aggressive attitudes that have prevailed since the Commission adjourned.

Basing its attitude on its experience during its independence struggle, India believes in the pacific settlement of disputes. It is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and in the world. It undertook special responsibility in connection with the maintenance of peace in Indo-China at the request of the Co-Chairmen and, while not wedded to any particular procedures or interested in apportioning blame to parties, would like to see the adoption of procedures which would secure the cessation of fighting in Laos and the restoration of peace both inside and along the frontiers of Laos.

In this connection, I should like to quote a communication made by my Prime Minister. I have already referred to the fact that the two Co-Chairmen had taken notice of the adjournment motion, which was only for an adjournment *sine die* with a proviso to reconvene. Since the Secretary-General had very kindly taken it upon himself to use his good offices and had been in touch with us, my Prime Minister wrote to him on 30 June 1959:

The Agreement for the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos was a part of the resolution arrived in Geneva in regard to the Indo-China settlement. In the agreements made in 1954, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was a signatory on behalf of the Fighting Forces of Pathet Lao and these agreements were accompanied by a number of Declarations, including one by the Government of Laos indicating in general terms that Laos would remain outside the activities of the Power blocs. Again, as a signatory of Geneva on behalf of the Pathet Lao, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is interested in the various agreements later arrived at between the Royal Government of Laos and the Fighting Forces of Pathet Lao... We are not justified in assuming, and it would be unrealistic to assume, that the conclusions of these agreements render the problems there, which have become increasingly ominous, solely the internal affairs of Laos. The International Commission, despite its adjournment, stands charged with the responsibilities assumed under the Geneva Agreements. This kind of development and situation which obtain at present were investigated when

the Geneva Agreements were made and these were brought within the authority and the functions vested in the International Commission and the arrangements arising therefrom to which the Royal Government of Laos is a signatory.

We have consistently taken the view that the territorial integrity and unity of Laos is basic to the Geneva Agreements in respect of Laos. Any problem of a territorial conflict between the different political groups within Laos is not envisaged by the Geneva Agreements. If, however, the 'conflict' relates to the dispute between North Vietnam and Laos, it will be in the nature of a border problem which can well form the subject of discussion and of mediation by and through the Commission.

In regard to the raising of the Laos issue in the United Nations, the Prime Minister of India informed the Secretary-General that:

It is not clear to me how any effective action can be taken through the United Nations against a country such as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which is not a member of the United Nations... In fact, any reference to the Security Council would bring these questions into the region of Great Power conflicts and put an end to much of the good work that has resulted from the Geneva Agreements.

I want to assure the Assembly that we do not claim any vested interest in this matter, but our country, along with Canada and Poland, has struggled for four long years to keep the peace in this part of the world. So far as we are concerned, it has been a considerable strain, and the conditions that prevail have been the subject of communications between our two partners and the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union and, latterly, the Secretary-General, all in the hope that what was accomplished in 1954 - when, as I said, on 11 August the guns were silenced - could continue.

For twenty-five years war had reigned in the world, since Japan made its incursions into Manchuria. We think if that international body - whether established by the United Nations or not, it was within its competence, it was there merely for the purpose of peace - if it had continued its functions, perhaps, and only perhaps, the present situation could have been avoided.

Over and above that, we would like to make this submission. Because a country is independent, and this includes our own, and because it is a member of the United Nations, there is no authority in international law - indeed it would be a very bad precedent - by which it can therefore repudiate agreements it has previously made. This would be denunciation of a treaty, and it would remain denunciation of a treaty.

We were among those who not only supported but made such contributions as we could towards obtaining the admission of Laos into the United Nations. The action taken by the Security Council in its wisdom is a matter for the Security Council. There was no evidence either that the presence of the Commission was not regarded as sufficiently objective or impartial or it was not considered competent after five years to be able to observe what was going on. It is our view that, if they were there and if there were arms going into the territory, that could have been detected. If North Vietnam was at fault - as has happened in the last four or five years in regard to the parties to the agreement - the erring party could have been called to account. It is our good fortune that, though there have been difficulties, the parties have, after some time, come to some international code of behaviour in these matters.

All we should like to say is this. The basis of the position of Indo-China is the Geneva Agreements. There is no fighting in Cambodia, but the Cambodian Government does not want the Commission dissolved. It is kept there in an attenuated form. Vietnam stands divided, at the seventeenth and a half parallel, into the North and the South. Neither of them is a member of this body, on account of this division. We believe that it is largely the Geneva Agreements and the presence of the Commission, and its objectivity, that have been able to maintain peace in that area. It should not be forgotten that, far away as their part of the world may be from the Headquarters of the United Nations, small countries as they may be, inhabited by people on a lower standard of life, and however much some may regard them as outside the centre of so-called civilization, any conflict in that area would disturb the stability of South-East Asia.

We all breathed a sigh of relief when, as I said, largely due to the efforts of the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, ably assisted by the representative of the Soviet Union and, I must say, by the Prime Minister of China and by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and by all other parties - the Pathet Lao, the Royal Government of Laos and everyone else - and with the statesmanship of the former Prime Minister of France, Mr Mendes-France, an agreement was reached and it brought about and kept the peace until recently. Our Government had the responsibility of supplying the greater part of the personnel for maintaining communications. The French Government also carried a great financial burden. The Governments of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom made financial contributions in order to keep the machinery of peace going. It is a great pity if international agreements are disregarded, and if in some way any action taken by the United Nations tends to support such disregard. There is nothing in the action the United Nations has taken that would necessarily be inconsistent with the Geneva agreements, and I am sure it is the desire of the Secretary-General to see a restoration, not necessarily of the Commission or anything of that kind - that is up to him to decide - but an attempt made to re-establish the position of the Geneva Agreements.

### *China's Intrusions into Indian Territory*

The second matter that concerns us is China. I do not intend to speak at length on this matter because I do not want to stress the question of the admission of China here now; but my Government does not believe that by evading issues we enlighten ourselves or the people. Our position with regard to the participation of China in this Organisation is well known. It is a matter of great concern to us and a matter of resentment to our people that a country with whom we have been very good friends, a country which is one of our close neighbours and which has more than 2,500 miles of land frontier with us, with which we have had no troubles in the past, has taken it upon itself to commit intrusions into our territory and to proclaim that some 40,000 square miles of it belong to them.

We want to make our position clear in this matter. On the one hand, we subscribe to the principles of the Charter and to the set of ideas that were put forward at the African-Asian Conference held at Bandung in 1955 and by our own treaty relations with China based upon what are popularly called the "Five Principles." What is more, we shall strive as hard as we can to reach settlement on every problem by peaceful negotiation. But there are no individuals in India and there is no responsible body of opinion prepared to be intimidated, prepared to take aggression lying down. We cannot negotiate with the Chinese until they vacate the territories which they have occupied. These may be small places, they may be mountain tops, but they are our country. Therefore I say this not only officially but also with the hope that my humble voice will reach the Chinese people, with whom we are good friends: I myself have participated in these matters, and we hope that the friendship of our two great countries, which is necessary for the stability of Asia, will not be jeopardized by thoughtlessness on the one hand or by arrogance on the other, and that China will find it possible to make amends for what it has done, through the withdrawal of every Chinese soldier from our soil - and if they can find any of our soldiers on their soil we shall readily withdraw them.

Regarding those areas where boundaries are not marked by posts or pillars that can be seen, sometimes there may be difficulties arising from one party's going into the territory of the other. We have not violated their space, we have not violated their peace, we have not inflicted violence upon them; and we have not come and talked to the world, or even to our own people, very loudly, even though things have reached the present stage. The purpose of my saying this, on the one hand, is to point out that we are not a war-minded people and that we believe settlement of all these problems must be achieved by peaceful negotiations. We would equally like the Chinese to know that a peaceful approach does not mean a submissive approach; that our country is not prepared to accept a violation of our frontiers or, where there is a dispute over conditions established over a hundred years ago at least - and sometimes much more - to allow our territory or our frontiers to be altered by unilateral decisions. It may well be that after we have had negotiations some adjustments will have to be made, but our

Prime Minister has made it very clear that there cannot be negotiation on the basis of a prior surrender of territories.

### *Colonial Questions*

This brings us to the matter of other questions before the Assembly. The first of these is the question of colonial empire. It would be impossible for any delegate from any of the former colonial territories - or indeed, I believe, any member of the United Nations - to participate in these debates without referring to the colonial problem. We are this year in a position to congratulate ourselves to a certain extent and to feel relieved over the fact that the problem of Cyprus - and I hope the delegation of Greece will not mind my saying that we have always regarded it as a colonial problem - has been solved at least for the time being. It looks as though, as a result of this solution, Cyprus will become an independent nation in 1960. We also would like to lay stress on the fact that it was only through recognition of the nationality of Cyprus and by recognition of the problem as a colonial one that a solution was found. There is no way of suppressing these national aspirations, either by an attempted division of a country or by playing off one Power against another. The problem of Cyprus was solved very largely by the impact of public opinion, channelled through this Assembly.

I would like to express our appreciation to the Government of the United Kingdom as well as to the parties in Cyprus and to Greece and Turkey, for their recognition of the Cypriot nationality, as a result of which Cyprus is well on the way to becoming a member of the United Nations.

The United Kingdom can also take credit for the impending independence of the territory of Nigeria, a large portion of colonial Africa which in a few months will become an independent country and, I hope, take her place among us at the next session of the Assembly.

We are also pleased to hear from the new Foreign Minister of the Belgian Government about the project of the Belgian Government for the establishment of independence for her Congo territories. I am not referring to the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, but to the Belgian Congo, which is several times larger than Belgium itself, and one of the richest parts of Africa. It is not for my Government to express any views as to the kind of constitution they should have, or its content or the character of their independence, but as in all things, we take these matters at face value. We have got a public declaration made with enthusiasm by the representative of Belgium before this Assembly that his Government has, of its own volition and in recognition of the right of peoples and the readiness of the Congolese people to shoulder the responsibilities of self-government, decided to establish self-government in this area. We shall therefore look forward not with feelings of doubt and suspicion but with hope and confidence, to seeing the

Belgian Congo also take its place among the African territories that have come to freedom through the action of the Assembly.

Our own position with regard to colonial empires is that we remain unrepentant in our opposition to colonialism. We do not think that there are any peoples who should be debarred from self-government, or that there are any particular people who, rationally, economically or otherwise are to be regarded as especially competent to govern other people. Therefore our country takes the position that, while we shall take no part in underground revolutions or in exporting revolution, we stand in firm solidarity with all those peoples in Africa, Asia and everywhere else who are fighting for their own national liberation. We recognize that nationalism properly channelled is a great constructive force, and that if it is suppressed it is likely to go in other directions, affecting the peace of the world as well as the stability and progress of peoples and territories themselves.

In this connection we should like to refer to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under article 73 of the Charter. I have no desire to say anything that might raise a controversy and evoke the right of reply prolonging our proceedings tonight, but I would like to refer to the fact that the United Nations can claim some credit in this matter, because when we started in this business under article 73, some seventy-four Territories were submitting information. This is an occasion when what we look forward to is the cessation of this information in a wholesome way. Out of the seventy-four Territories, seven have become independent; fifteen have ceased to send information because those who were responsible for their rule thought they were ready for independence, that they required no further examination by us. There are other Territories on which no information is sent, although they come under article 73 of the Charter. In this connection one would like to say that if arguments are put forward in order to relieve these Territories of the necessity of supplying information, then all the dependent territories would have come under this justification and would not have the benefit of justification in the demanding of their freedom either before this body or anywhere else.

A colonial territory is one where the majority of the population can make no impact upon the policy of the Government, which is by another country and people, and where economically, socially and otherwise, the majority is exploited. There are large parts of Africa in this condition, and there are small portions of Asia in this condition. The Portuguese representative pointed out here the other day that Portugal had no colonies, as they were all part of the metropolitan territory. Portugal's reply to the Secretary-General on 8 November 1956 stated that it did not administer any territories that came under article 73 of the Charter. That article is very clear on this matter, and we shall discuss it in detail in the Fourth Committee:

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the



inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end: to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapter XII and XIII apply.

There are 779,000 square miles of Portuguese territory in Africa, apart from other areas, and the territory of Portugal, which the representative of Portugal has spoken of as part of the Portuguese Republic. consists in Europe of the mainland, Madeira and the Azores, which I suppose are an integral part of Portugal. The territory of Portugal in West Africa consists of the Cape Verde islands, Portuguese Guinea, Sao Tome, Sao Joao Batista de Ajuda, Cabinda and Angola. In East Africa there is Mozambique; in Asia, so-called Portuguese India, and Macau; and in Oceania, Portuguese Timor.

There are territories which are not self-governing and which are inhabited by people who make no impact upon the Central Government of the country and which, in a very classic sense, are colonial territories. We request the Portuguese Government to fall in line with other territories, irrespective of any claim to self-government and irrespective of any demands or complaints that may have been made, to assist the United Nations in the propagation of the idea that the territories are held in trust for human beings organized into nations or into territorial units in order to establish their national independence.

These territories are known, under article 134 of the Portuguese Constitution, as provinces: Article 135 states that the Overseas Provinces, as an integral part of the Portuguese State, are united as between themselves and with metropolitan Portugal. Of course, that is how a colony is united. Prior to 1951, these territories were known as "colonies," but the new terminology of "provinces" was introduced by the amendments of 11 June 1951, that is, after the establishment of the United Nations.

Article 33 refers to "the classic mission" of Portugal to diffuse the benefits of civilization, which suggests the presence of non-self-governing peoples within the meaning of the Charter. What the Charter asks for is a record of this diffusion of the benefits of civilization. If the benefits of civilization are being diffused by educational and social progress, then that information should be sent. There is a limited measure of decentralization and financial autonomy, but the legislative power remains in the hands of the metropolitan National Assembly.

Portuguese citizens alone may vote or stand for election. "Natives" do not have the right unless they meet certain prescribed educational, religious, financial and social standards. Since Portugal regulates these standards, the "natives" who qualify for citizenship are kept in manageable proportions. Out of a population of ten and a half million, only 35,000 people have any citizenship rights at all.

By any reasonable test such as the application of the factors established by General Resolution 742( VIII), it can be established beyond doubt that they are Non-Self-Governing Territories. Moreover, article 4 of the Portuguese Constitution states that in the international field it recognizes only those limitations which are derived from conventions or treaties freely entered into. The Charter is such a treaty and article 73 applies.

I have taken care not to bring the Indo-Portuguese question into the present consideration, but merely raise the whole question of colonies as such and I request, I do not demand, the Portuguese Government to provide this information under article 73.

With regard to colonial territories as a whole, there are twenty colonies under France and twenty under the United Kingdom, in each of which during the last few years there have been policies which will lead to self-government. But these colonial areas cover 50 million people under France and 63 million people in the case of the United Kingdom. In each case, they are twenty times as large as the metropolitan countries. My delegation does not suggest in regard to either of these two metropolitan countries that progressive policies are not the rule. If there are violations of them or complaints about them they are inherent in the colonial system. We hope, however, that more territories which are dependent, whoever may rule them, will come under article 73.

### *Position in Africa*

I should like to deal for a moment with the position in Africa. To anyone who has spoken about the colonial territories, Africa stands in a category of its own, and my delegation has been delighted to notice that year after year for the last three or four years the Secretary-General has paid special attention to Africa, and the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa is a great measure of progress about which my Government would like to express its appreciation.

Africa has an area of about 11,250,000 square miles and a population of 193 million people. Out of these, 5 million are Europeans. 600,000 are Asians and the rest are Africans. Of this total, 103 million are under colonial rule and 6,200,000 square miles of territory are more or less under colonial rule. It is to be noted that this Africa, which is regarded as unfit to govern, which consists of colonial territories, supplies a great part of the world with 98 per cent of its diamonds, 94 per cent of its columbite, 84 per cent of its cobalt, 55 per cent of its gold, 41 per cent of its beryllium, 33 per cent of its manganese, 29 per cent of its chrome, 22

per cent of its copper and 13 per cent of its tin. All this comes from what is called the "Dark Continent". Unhappily it is dark only to its own people, it is very much a light to others.

Uranium is believed to exist in very large quantities, and there are large deposits of iron ore, manganese and bauxite. Two-thirds of the world's cocoa comes from Africa and three-fifths of its palm oil.

So here are territories occupied by small numbers of people compared with the rest of the world, covering a very large area and containing an enormous amount of mineral wealth, which it supplies to the world, territories in which the peoples are strangers in their own country.

### ***West Irian***

This brings me to the other part of the colonial empire, which presents another picture - Algeria and West Irian. The Indonesian delegation in its wisdom decided not to request that the question of West Irian be placed on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. The Government of India considers West Irian as unfinished business, that is, that part of Indonesia, which, as is the case of Portuguese Goa, still remains under alien rule. I do not desire to go into the technical and legal questions which have been discussed so many times. Time after time the General Assembly has appealed to the Dutch and Indonesian Governments to negotiate so that West Irian may be united with the rest of Indonesia and so that the liberation of the former Netherlands colony will be complete.

I would like to say, on behalf of our Government that has very friendly relations with the Netherlands Government, that any policy of this kind would make the Netherlands Government much more appreciated in the Asian continent, establish friendly relations between Europe and Asia, and be a blow to the doctrines of racialism and imperialism which are likely to endanger world peace. A progressive though small country like the Netherlands, with a great technical and industrial capacity, which must survive very largely by the help of a clientele from the large populations of the world, in its own interests and, in addition, as a response to the appeal we make, will, we hope, find it possible, without any pressures from anywhere else and perhaps of its own volition, to enter into negotiations with the Indonesian Government so that this problem may be solved forever.

### ***Algeria***

Then we come to the question of Algeria. I am going to say very little at this moment because the item is on our agenda and no doubt it will come up later for discussion.

My Government and delegation will support the demand of the Algerian people for full national unity and independence, and in due time for their taking their rightful place as an independent nation in this Assembly. We do not subscribe to the allegations made by one side or the other because we are not in possession of the facts. But to us, it does not signify whether a place is well governed or not so well governed, ill-governed or much worse governed even than it maybe. People are entitled to their independence. Colonialism must end even if the colonialism is a benevolent one. Therefore, we shall support the claim of Algeria for independence.

We hope that the recent pronouncements made by General de Gaulle, coupled with the position that under his regime a country like Guinea has been able to become independent, may lead to a position where the French Government and the President of the French Republic will find it possible to initiate negotiations with the people who are fighting them. After all, if there is to be peace in Algeria, the first step is cease-fire, but you cannot negotiate a cease-fire except between people who are engaged in firing. Therefore, the necessity of negotiating logically follows and all the political questions may come afterwards, when negotiations for a cease-fire have begun.

There is no use negotiating with a number of Algerians who may be in France or in New York or somewhere else, in order to stop the fighting in the mountains or elsewhere in Algeria. Therefore, direct negotiations with the Algerian National Liberation Front, that is the Government that is in control of a great part of the territory, with a view to finding a way out. I am not here for a moment saying there may not be matters to discuss; we are not prepared to reject out of hand the approach made by the French Government and we certainly do not question their motives. But it is difficult for us to accept as self-determination for Algeria, self-determination in which the whole of France participates. That would be very much like an equality in the sandwich that was sold by a person who was mixing horse flesh with the sandwich. He was asked, "What is all this?" He said, "It is only a fifty-fifty proposition, one chicken to one horse."

### ***Trust Territories and South West Africa***

Then we come to the Trust Territories. This is a sphere in which the United Nations can congratulate itself, and we are happy to think that Western Samoa, under the very enlightened administration of New Zealand, will now pass on to independence. We should like to pay our tribute to the Visiting Missions, to the New Zealand Government and to the Samoan people who have all co-operated in this development. We hope that there will be no hitches and that in a very short time Samoa will take its place among us as an independent territory and decide the nature of its own association with New Zealand.

We have the Trust Territories of the Cameroons and French Togoland. The Cameroons is being discussed in the Fourth Committee: I do not wish therefore to

go into this problem here. We hope that the Territory of Togoland will take its place, in the same way as Ghana, with us next year.

We have another and different kind of problem in regard to South West Africa. South West Africa was a 'C' Mandate under the League of Nations and ought by right to become a Trust Territory. The World Court has expressed different opinion on certain aspects of the questions referred to it in this matter, but the United Nations has always taken the view that South West Africa ought to come into trusteeship. We hope that the Union Government, in spite of all the positions it has held so far, will recognize sooner rather than later that it is more in harmony with its own position, with the contribution the Union Government has made to the founding of this Organisation, with the principles that it, apart from "apartheid," often expresses in this Assembly, to come to some position whereby South West Africa, in the view of the overwhelming majority in the Assembly in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the obligations which it had undertaken in the League Covenant, will come under trusteeship.

There is one other thing I should like to say. As large numbers of Trust Territories become independent, the Trusteeship Council has to do less and less. But the Charter provided for this Trusteeship as a new way of treating colonial Territories. May I take this opportunity to make an appeal on behalf of the Government of India and say that one hopes that the enlightened Administering Powers will now find it possible to place other Territories that are Non-Self-Governing under Trusteeship so that they may become independent very soon. That is what is provided for in Chapter XII of the Charter, because that would be the best way of proclaiming what they have constantly proclaimed on this platform: that Trusteeship is the intermediate step and an enlightened one provided for by the United Nations and by the League of Nations. We may hope that in this way Territories may be placed voluntarily - nobody can force them - under the provisions of the Trusteeship Council.

### ***Race Relations***

I should like to take a much briefer time than I would otherwise have done as regards the question of race relations. There are items on the agenda of the Assembly to be discussed in Committees. Therefore, I do not wish to go into this at great length. However, I have to because the Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa on this rostrum not only merely made an attempt to defend the policy of the administration in regard to race relations, but he also expounded a policy which he thought should be accepted by the world. Now it is quite true, I entirely agree with him, that there is not a country in the world, including my own, where there is not social discrimination based on race, caste, creed or colour or whatever it maybe. There is not a country in the world which can say, "We are free from this." But equally, there is not a country in the world except the Union of South Africa which is not trying to get away from it. The difference between the "apartheidists" and the others is that the latter recognize it is evil and

recognize their weakness and error in that they are still tolerating it. But in the other case it is put to us as a kind of historical pattern of Africa that must be followed. In support of this, we are told that the Dutch went to South Africa before the Bantus. But who went there before the Bantus: the Hottentots and the Bushmen? They are also human beings. If the Union Government is prepared to bring the Hottentots and the Bushmen to self-government, that would be even a greater contribution.

So I do not think there is any use going into the history of who came there first and who did not. My Government has not, and I hope never will, argue that people should be turned out of Africa because of their racial origins. We regard these territories as multi-racial societies where many races must co-exist. That would be so in the case of Algeria, that would be so in the case of South Africa, and in other cases too. So when the Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa tells us "We are today strangers in the lands of our immigrant forefathers" and that the United Nations wants to turn them out, it is not historically or politically correct. No one has suggested that "apartheid" in reverse should be practised. What we have said is that there is nothing scientific or defensible on any grounds in racial discrimination. Indeed UNESCO appointed a Committee to examine race problems. It produced a report.<sup>55</sup> I am not going to quote from that report as I do not have the time. The Committee examined this question in great scientific detail, the question whether there is a scientific basis for racial discrimination. The Committee came to the conclusion, on scientific grounds, that there are no reasons whatsoever for the practices that obtain politically, socially or otherwise. If I may, I will commend this scientific investigation to the notice of the South African Government.

We stand fully opposed to the whole doctrine of "apartheid." If the Foreign Minister of the Government of the Union of South Africa tells us: "What is there to complain about, we are going to have a white Africa and a non-white Africa," then we say that is not the whole story. If there was a white Africa and a non-white Africa and if the former stepped out of non-white Africa there might be something to be said for it. But a white Africa and a non-white Africa are to be under white Africa. Therefore, "apartheid" only goes to a certain extent. It is not complete "apartheid." I am not supporting it even if it were to be so. Therefore, the argument that is put before us in defence of "apartheid" is a position totally contrary to the principles of the Charter, totally contrary to the investigations made in the scientific field, totally contrary to the sense of human dignity and, what is more, is a position that is likely to lead to racial conflict in Africa of a character which can only be inferred by people if they would just look at the numerals: 193 million people as against 5 million. That is the hard logical fact to be faced when the time comes. What is more, the industrial development of Africa, all that I have spoken about a few moments ago, is not possible without the manpower of its populations. If they are good enough to produce wealth, they are good enough to enjoy political power.

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<sup>55</sup> *The Race Concept*. Paris: UNESCO, 1952.

I propose, in view of the time, to deal with economic development problems in Committee.

### *General and Complete Disarmament*

The most outstanding experience of our time has been the visits of great personalities as between their respective countries. If I may say so, it began with the so-called "iron curtain" - a word not permitted to be used in correspondence or otherwise by the Government of India - and we think its abandonment will be a small contribution to the lowering of tensions, just as the abandonment of the words "running dogs of imperialism" would be on the other side.

The first of these visits started when Mr Bulganin, then Prime Minister, and Mr Khrushchev visited India three or four years ago. Later followed the visit of our Prime Minister to the USSR, and then that of Mr Khrushchev to the United Kingdom and then that of the British Prime Minister to the Soviet Union. The United States Vice-President went to the Soviet Union, and later the Soviet Prime Minister visited the United States.

In so far as it merely concerns Soviet-United States relations, it would not be my place to comment upon them, but there are world problems involved in the matter. We have at all times stated that we believe in direct talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. As early as 1952, speaking before this Assembly, my delegation said that there are two great Powers in the world. The peace of the world depends upon them and we would subscribe to any proposal to have direct negotiations between them. There is no dignity, no face-saving, involved in this matter. The only way that the problems of this world can be settled is by direct negotiation between countries who are so powerful, who are so strong and who have the capacity to make decisions.

I will not quote the statements. There are statements made year after year from 1952 to 1957 where we have made appeals in this Assembly for direct talks between the Soviet Government and the United States Government. It is not for us to speculate about what has happened between these Heads of State. But there is no doubt that we all recognize that when they see each other face to face, one thinks that the other fellow is not so bad as he thought he was. At least it does that much good.

But this has been a political visit and, so far as the United Nations is concerned, it is very important for the statement made by the Soviet Premier before this Assembly, followed by observations by other delegations subsequently. The Soviet Premier's statement, to the mind of my delegation, falls into two distinct parts. One is a proposal for disarmament which belongs to the same category as the discussions that have gone on here for what is called the balanced reduction, limitation and so on of armaments. The other is an entirely different proposal - for

a warless world, the kind of thing that a Government like ours, which has not the economic or political power or the power to influence has constantly appealed for - that is, disarmament alone cannot bring about peace or settlement in our world; we must have a situation where war is outlawed.

We regard the proposals put forward as proposals not of a visionary character, as they are called, but as reflecting vision. My Prime Minister, when he heard of this, said:

It seems to me as a proposal, a brave proposal, which deserves every consideration. Whether humanity, that is various countries concerned, is brave enough to put an end suddenly to armies, navies and air forces, I do not know. But the time will come, will have to come, when something of this kind will have to be adopted because in this era of atomic and hydrogen weapons and ballistic missiles, war has become an anachronism.

Therefore we were happy when the General Committee, without any dissenting voice, admitted the item put forward by the Soviet Union with regard to general and complete disarmament. On the face of it, it may look like the same item put down by two different parties, but we think that the two different propositions are: one the balanced reduction of armaments and the other the abandonment of war as a manner of settling disputes: and what is more, the community of the world is established in society where force has a municipal character and a municipal character must necessarily, as a corollary, come under world law. Therefore, this is the first great movement towards a world State or towards the congeries of people who are characterized by so many differences. We make no reservation for ourselves in subscribing to this objective. It is not an objective which means something that will not happen now, but something which we hope we will work for and, for that reason, speed up the course of disarmament.

We are happy to think that the Secretary of State for the United States also supported this, saying:

It did not echo sentiments that are very widely held, that, if it were practicable and if it could safely be done, the type of disarmament that Mr Khrushchev has spoken about is a highly desirable thing for mankind. From that point of view it must be taken very seriously.<sup>56</sup>

Members of the Assembly will be aware that it is not always that the Soviet Union says of the United States or the United States says of the Soviet Union that the other party "must be taken seriously."

From the West German Defence Minister also comes a similar statement when he says that the proposal was a wonderful, excellent idea and that he shares the opinion of Mr Khrushchev.

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<sup>56</sup> From the speech of Christian A. Herter, *New York Times*, 23 September 1959.



The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom told us that it was important to make a fresh start with disarmament. Similarly, other countries in uncommitted areas like Burma, Yugoslavia, my own country and Afghanistan welcome it, especially in underdeveloped areas, not merely because of its economic consequences, but because we do not see a world surviving in the context of modern war where it is possible to annihilate not only vast populations but even kill the character of the population, if any did survive, for the future with all the genetic consequences of an atomic war. Therefore, my delegation will support the priority consideration being given to the discussion of the item.

We shall also approach it from the point of view of a warless world with all its implications. At the rate that the world is going, we do not share the view that, because a four-year period has been set, it is impractical. On 4 October 1957, the first Russian "Sputnik" went up, followed by so many United States bodies of the same kind. Two years later, another of these things went round the moon. We did not think in 1957 that these great things could happen so soon. Indeed, we are moving in the world of scientific advances as from 4 October 1957, in a manner, as my Prime Minister once said, which makes the Atomic Age look like the Stone Age.

The progress of the world cannot be measured merely in the terms of the calendar. Einstein quite rightly in his Relativity dissertations points out that time is event, so we may say that events must measure time. Time by the clock is not always what calculates or what conditions the consciousness of human beings, nor must it be the ruling factor in this matter.

On the other hand, the Soviet Prime Minister or those who have followed him have not ruled out the other problems, namely the immediate problems for limitation of armaments. My Government stands fully committed and publicly proclaims the view that there cannot be any limitation by agreement except with control. We have never been able to understand this argument about which comes first, the chicken or the egg. You cannot have control without disarmament or disarmament without control. We think the plans on this should be simultaneously developed so that when the agreement to disarm is reached the control machinery will have been agreed to, and the control apparatus should also be agreed upon in the same way. We are glad to think that both in the East and the West, so-called, there have been advances in the consideration of the problems of control and the problems of surprise attack, and we are also told that there may be some agreement in regard to outer space.

In this connection, may I say that time after time less significant delegations like ours have put forward suggestions in this way which have not found favour so far as the votes, to which reference was made, are concerned. Some years ago, the United Nations rejected, I believe 38 votes to 22, or something of the kind, the

proposal made by the delegation of India<sup>57</sup> that technical examination of the methods of controlling nuclear explosions would be the way out. But we had the pleasure of hearing the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom say a few days ago that this had been put forward by him - not in terms of the proposal we put forward, but at any rate the idea of the use of technical criteria for this purpose - and therefore they had reached agreement.

We have asked for a long time, from the year 1949, for an armament truce, and also for the Secretariat to start what they call the blueprint for a disarmament treaty so that the arguments would be in regard to particular details and not merely to phrase juxtaposition.

### *Suez Canal*

I would not like to leave this rostrum without referring to two other matters. One is in regard to the Suez Canal. I refer to the Suez Canal not because anything I say will make a difference in this problem, but because, as I have said repeatedly, the problem is not the Suez Canal, it is something else. I do not intend to tread where angels fear to do so, but I would like to point out the position of my Government in this matter.

Two or three years ago, when the question of the Suez Canal came here and the attack on Egypt by three countries took place, the United Nations intervened and there was all the argument about this problem also. We have always said that the right of free navigation under the 1888 Constantinople Convention must be accepted by parties. We have never moved away from that position and we were completely in favour of the development of the instrument that was deposited with the Secretary-General by the Government of Egypt.

We therefore think that this problem is fully covered and pursuant to the principles laid down in the 1888 Constantinople Convention, paragraph 7 of which states:

- (a) ... The Suez Canal Authority, by the terms of its Charter, can in no case grant any vessel, company or other party, any advantage or favour not accorded to other vessels, companies or parties on the same conditions.
- (b) ... Complaints of discrimination or violation of the Canal Code shall be sought to be resolved by the complaining party by reference to the Suez Canal Authority. In the event that such a reference does not resolve the complaint, the matter may be referred, at the option of the complaining party or the Authority, to an arbitration tribunal composed of one nominee of the complaining party, one of the Authority and a third to be chosen by both. In case of disagreement, such third member will be chosen by the

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<sup>57</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly*, Twelfth Session, Annexes to agenda item 24, document A/C.1/L.176/Rev.4

President of the International Court of Justice upon the application of either party.

(c) ... The decisions of the arbitration tribunal shall be made by a majority of its members. The decisions shall be binding upon the parties when they are rendered and they must be carried out in good faith...

Soon afterwards, in order to set all doubts at rest, we are glad to note that the following declaration also was transmitted to the Secretary-General on 18 July 1957:

I, Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Egypt, declare on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Egypt, that, in accordance with article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice and in pursuance and for the purposes of paragraph 9(b) of the Declaration of the Government of the Republic of Egypt dated 24 April 1957 on the Suez Canal and the arrangements for its operation, the Government of the Republic of Egypt accept as compulsory *ipso facto*, on condition of reciprocity and without special agreement, the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in all legal disputes that may arise under the said paragraph 9(b) of the above Declaration...

So that as far as we are concerned, if there is a violation of any legal rights, intra-national or international, they are today justiciable. Therefore, if the existing situation is something that militates against the interests of the parties concerned, or of international behaviour, I think that we should follow the advice of the Secretary-General and evoke the operation of the Court.

I express the support of my Government in regard to what may be called the warless world plan which was put forward by the Soviet Prime Minister, a plan which is the same as we have spoken about for the outlawing of war. But we think that side by side with it must come other matters.

### ***A World Plan of Development***

Mr Khrushchev referred to the fact that \$100,000 million was spent in the making of armaments and that, if this money was saved, it would go towards the development of the world as a whole. I have not the time nor the facts before me to detail these matters to you. Not only do we have hope, but we must work for a warless world, a world without war. A world community would thus be established. At the present juncture it has been placed in the context of measurable time.

There then arises a new situation. Today in this world we have 2,800 million people. Whatever may be your personal views on this matter, at the end of this century there will be 5,200 million people in this world. We are increasing at the

rate of 60 million a year. And arising from this, my delegation would like to put to the Assembly the fact that the Secretariat should be charged with producing the blueprints of what may be called "a world plan of development." It is not only a question of the Special Fund or the technical aid, or this or that other thing, but how we are going to subsist in this world with 5,000 million people, where, on the one hand, the *per capita* income of a prosperous country is somewhere about \$1,800 per head, while in other places it is \$58 per head, while there are large pockets of unemployment, while there is the position that industrially and socially some are backward, and where there is the problem of feeding these vast populations. A world of peace cannot be a world of imbalance. A world of imbalance would be a world that is not at peace.

My delegation would submit for the consideration of the Secretariat that they produce the blueprints of a world plan, which should be the main concern of the Second Committee from next year onwards. It should not be a question of tinkering with this or that, but it should be recognized that the \$100,000 million that would be saved would not go to the production of consumer goods which would find their place in the underdeveloped areas. No underdeveloped country is prepared to take imperialism in reverse. It should not be forgotten that when the making of armaments in the present armed world has stopped and the producers who are now consuming the \$100,000 million in one way or another turn to peaceful occupation, the underdeveloped world at the same time is also producing goods.

It is not as in the nineteenth century when some people were hewers of wood and drawers of water and some people produced raw materials and other people produced finished goods. In the remainder of the century that is before us, the position will be that there will be a large quantity of production. Equally there will be large populations. The problem of feeding, housing and establishing a balance between communities and social developments, will become a world problem, especially in a warless world, because at the present moment suspicions and fears divert the attention of people away from these problems.

This cannot be solved either by loan schemes or by charity schemes. It can only be solved in the context of a co-operative world where each party, big or small, poor or rich, makes his own contribution, where the world is taken as one picture, where there are no communities outside world law and outside the United Nations, where production has to match the requirements of the community, and the conception, as regards underdeveloped countries, of profit-making loans, would be regarded as an anachronism. The underdeveloped country that at the present moment may feel very much heartened by the taking of a loan from a developed country has to carry in the years to come all the servicing of those loans and mortgage its future in that way.

It is not a question merely of technical assistance as we knew it before, but of a world plan, and the Secretariat, in the first instance, may well produce working

papers so that we could side by side, as a corollary of a disarmed world, proceed in this way. It is not as though we do not have the problem before us. The problem has been brought nearer by the picture of a warless world that is put to us at the present time. I would therefore submit to the General Assembly that this would be one of the tasks that we could undertake. But we could not approach any of those problems if we approach them from the point of view of suspicion, from the point of view of "well, it is a vision of the future."

There is a difference between visions of the future and just being visionary. There is a difference between schemes on the one hand and dreams on the other. A world that is as largely populated as ours is likely to be, where there are populations of different types of development, can only be tackled from the point of view of world planning. With our minds on considerations of outer space, the time is fast coming when there will be the reverse of what I am told is the theological doctrine that the ills of this world are solved in heaven. Very soon the time will come when the troubles of heaven will have to be solved in this world, because the quarrels between the different countries using space for one thing or another have to be settled terrestrially.

Therefore, this world reveals itself to us the small planet that it is. It will take its place in the perspective of creation, and we hope that this economic aspect which we have now begun to tackle by way of SUNFED, the Special Fund, the International Development Association, bilateral loans, and so on, becomes a vast human concern, a project that arises from the principles of the Charter, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and our conception of a warless world, and things of that kind.

But for all this, the approach to this matter has to be one where the ends and the means are not separated much one from the other. We could not move toward these projects without faith, and that faith cannot just merely be an idle hope that something would happen. It might be the realisation of the truth as we see it, of our faith in the destiny of humanity.

## VIII. EXPECTATION AND CONCERN<sup>58</sup>

This, the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, began some four weeks ago, charged with expectation and concern, enlarged not only in its size by the welcome addition of part of the world hitherto almost excluded from political competence but also by the presence of Heads of State and of Government and many Foreign Ministers who headed nearly half the number of delegations present here.

My delegation, in the person of my Prime Minister, intervened with the set purpose of drawing the pointed attention of representatives to the great urgency of the problems before us and of our approach to them.<sup>59</sup> He reminded the United Nations of the parallel of the League of Nations just before the outbreak of the Second World War. At that time my Prime Minister also informed the Assembly that he desired to address himself to the urgency of the problems facing us and to our responsibility as an Organisation, for the lack of progress, for our failure, as well as for the consummation that must be reached. We are therefore, as far as my delegation is concerned, in no doubt as to the responsibility severally and collectively borne by the Member States of the United Nations. At the same time my Prime Minister reserved the right of our delegation to intervene again in regard to these problems themselves and to the detailed and special aspects of them.

Three weeks have passed since, three weeks of intensive, sometimes acrimonious, but, as far as my delegation is concerned, nevertheless in the long run, fruitful discussion. My delegation, therefore, does not regard these weeks as either wasted or being productive merely of acrimony, because it is in the cut and thrust of these debates, in our capacity to face each other with points of view that are diverse and perhaps with methods of presentation that are also diverse in different countries, that we make progress. Therefore, we intervene once again at the fag-end of this debate, with the knowledge that the Assembly wants no more speeches for the sake of speeches, but with the realization that perhaps we have a function to perform, which we must do.

It would be a truism to say that this Assembly, though it met with great hopes, faces a situation where, while I hope there is still no despair, there is a great deal of heart-searching and mind-searching in this world, and problems far more basic than formulae put forward by one delegation or another must come to be the propositions on which we have to decide. It reminds me of the lines by the poet Browning:

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<sup>58</sup> Statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 17 October 1960

<sup>59</sup> Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, addressed the General Assembly on 3 October 1960.

*It's wiser being good than bad;  
It's safer being meek than fierce;  
It's fitter being sane than mad.  
My own hope is, a sun will pierce  
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched.*

Even in the Assembly, as I had occasion to say in a previous intervention, there was evidence of some silver linings in the clouds when the two nations of Africa, who cannot claim the kind of modern political experience that others have, came before us, having resolved their differences by peaceful methods, and showed us the way in which even sharp differences - differences between neighbours are always sharper than other differences - were resolved.

### ***Congo***

It is customary for my delegation in these addresses first to refer to the Secretary-General's annual report. Owing to the lateness of the date and also to the particular circumstances that obtain this year in regard to the work of the United Nations itself, it is not necessary for me to go into a detailed analysis of the reports either of the Security Council or of the Secretary-General. Suffice it to say that it is not an accident, it is not any particular bias in any way, that prompts the Secretary-General in his report to pay great attention to Africa and to the problem of the Congo (Leopoldville). Much has already been said about the new entrants into this Assembly from Africa, and in the course of this morning I hope to address myself again to the problems of the dependent peoples. But my first duty is to express the views of my delegation, as of today, on the problem of the Congo.

It will be remembered - and no one in this Assembly, whatever his views, can deny the urgency of the problem, by the very fact that, even three or four days before the General Assembly was about to meet the Security Council in its wisdom came to a decision - the Assembly by its own expression of opinion decided this was a matter of emergency. Although we were to meet on 20 September, three days before that date an emergency special session was called, the issue was discussed threadbare, and we came to decisions. We have to ask ourselves, while we know that the necessary work of the kind to which the Secretary-General made reference this morning was being carried on in the Congo: are we any nearer any understanding of the details of this Congo problem or are we nearer a solution? Are we nearer progress, or are we nearer settlement? Therefore, while we have been sitting three or four weeks here, after convening an emergency special session on a problem which would not wait for the regular Assembly session, we have not acted fast enough to bring this to a fruitful conclusion.

Therefore, I am instructed by my Government - and I speak in the name of my Government and people - to say that we must address ourselves to this problem

with a greater sense of urgency and imperativeness than has been possible so far. In that connection, I should like to say this. It is not the desire of my delegation to seek to apportion blame or responsibilities or to dwell on the past. Neither individuals nor nations can look in two directions at once. We either look backward or we look forward, and if we are wise we will look forward and use what is behind us only as inspiration or experience or as a warning.

So far as the Congo is concerned, the United Nations stands engaged, that is to say, every member of this Assembly, the whole of the Organisation, has been, and stands, engaged with the problem of the Congo. Some countries, like ours, have probably been and are engaged even more by the presence of our personnel in large numbers. But the entire world is engaged because there in the Congo is presented a spectacle where the liquidation of imperialism presents a problem of a character never presented before. I would not like today to go into the causes and reasons, which will come up in committee when we are discussing this question but we should like to make these concrete to the Assembly and to see that they are carried out.

First of all, we have to remind ourselves that no Government of a people, no management of the affairs of a people by another nation or even by all of us together, is any substitute for management by themselves. And therefore there is no alternative to the Congolese but to run their affairs in their own way, which means, as was requested by my Prime Minister when he spoke at the time, that the convocation of the Parliament of the Congo, elected by the people and representing them, must take place without further delay. I beg to submit that further delays will cause further deterioration; they will give room for those political tendencies that are undesirable, where the expression of opinion, non-conditioned by circumstances which should not enter into it will not become possible. So, the first request is that the Parliament of the Congo must be convened without any further delay. It is one of the urgent and imperative responsibilities of the United Nations.

Second, we would like to suggest that, irrespective of any legal argument in this matter, all foreign personnel in the Congo who are not there in pursuance of United Nations purposes and directives or engaged in humanitarian purposes, such as in leper colonies or in hospitals should, of their own volition, withdraw from there, because the presence of those people who have been associated with the history of the Congo is not likely to help in solutions. Therefore, if there are large numbers of non-Congolese personnel in that area not connected with the purposes of the United Nations, then they will be a hindrance to solution.

Third, we think that the United Nations must place it beyond doubt that its personnel are not there as arbitrators to intervene between rival claimants, because the Charter does not enjoin the Organisation to do that. We should also remember that this is the first time that the forces of the United Nations have been used not as between nations, but within a nation. We should also remind ourselves that if



there are problems in law and order, the policing of the Congo will have to be done by the Congolese people. The greater part of our attention should be directed from now on, to the fact that the administration, the policing of the country, the economic developments and the personnel are to come from that area.

Having laid so much stress on the urgency of this Congo problem, it is not my intention now to go into any specific proposals before us, but these are the principles that should guide us. If it was fit that we should discuss them in emergency special session, in spite of the proximate meeting of the Assembly, there can be no question of the urgency of it. As I said, we are no nearer an understanding of it, no nearer an acquaintance with the details of it than we were four weeks ago. That means that, while I would not like to say that the situation was drifting, we have to apply ourselves in a way that some disengagement of the United Nations takes place so far as the present phase of it is concerned. The engagements should be of the character to which Mr Hammarskjold referred a while ago, which are all on the constructive side.

Finally, I would like to say that while no one can or should prevent assistance, aid or sympathy going into the Congo from any part of the world whatsoever, in the present circumstances it would not be in the interests of the world for very powerful people to fish in these troubled waters; and, therefore, whatever aid, whatever support may be given in this way -I do not say it should necessarily be channelled through the United Nations, that may not always be possible - but it should be with the Organisation's cognizance, so that everything will be above board, and the Congolese people will, consistent with the basic ideas of liberty and national Government, be able to settle their own affairs themselves. This is the position as we see it.

### *Laos*

Next, there is another urgent problem of a specific character to which I should like to refer; it goes away from the continent of Africa to the continent of Asia, to South-East Asia, and concerns our close neighbour, the Kingdom of Laos. In the whole of Indo-China, there was a situation also arising as the aftermath of an empire, where, by the efforts of the people, the former imperial Power had decided to agree to relinquishments, including, under the famous Geneva Agreements of 1954<sup>60</sup> a settlement in regard to Laos. There is the problem of Laos and Indo-China.

In the history of the four or five years following the Geneva Agreements, my country and Government have had great responsibilities with regard to this situation. These responsibilities are not isolated from the principles proclaimed in the Charter or the purposes of the United Nations, but they are responsibilities undertaken under international agreements, at the request of other parties concerned, with the permission of those directly affected. The Geneva

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<sup>60</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954

Agreements, with all their limitations, have kept peace in that part of the world. On 11 August 1954 guns were silenced in the world for the first time in twenty-five years. From the time of the Japanese bombing of Manchuria before the war, until 11 August 1954, there was fighting going on somewhere; and when an armistice was declared, there was, for the first time at last, a day of peace. Machinery was established for the withdrawal of an empire; and whatever difficulties did arise, in the context of an empire withdrawing, it must be remembered that no agreements are perfect in that way.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos was charged with certain responsibilities concerning which I do not want to go into detail. As I said, however much we may agree or disagree with the position of Vietnam, with that country divided into two, however much we may sympathize or otherwise have opinions about the complaints of Cambodia with regard to the incursions on its territories, I am sure my Cambodian friends will agree that, as a result of the Geneva Agreements, the presence of the Commission, the co-operation and the exercise of its functions in the past have kept that part of the world free from actual war. The Geneva Agreements, which were brought about by four of the Western Powers and China (and in the Final Declaration<sup>61</sup> the United States was associated), are based upon the idea of non-interference in the affairs of these people. There is no hope for an Asian country, particularly a small country, there is no hope of peace in Asia, unless the parties to the cold war keep out of our territories. That is our main objection to military pacts. We are not saying that they are evil or that they are good, or that their motives are bad or anything of that kind.

What we are saying is borne out by experience: taking our own history from, shall we say, the beginning of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, whenever there was a war in Europe, whenever the British and the French quarrelled there was a war in India for no Indian reason. Therefore, when the machinery of conflict - cold war or otherwise - is projected in our areas, these troubles arise. My Government and my delegation do not want to add to complications by referring to individuals, parties or whatever it is. The future of Laos lies in non-interference by the great Powers or parties to the cold war, whoever they may be, either in open or disguised form, in the affairs of Laos. They may run a good Government, they may run a bad Government. They may run a coalition Government or a non-coalition Government. They may associate with peoples whom others regard as undesirable. They may perhaps act in such ways as are not approved of by some other country, but so long as they do not infringe the Geneva Agreements, so long as they keep to this conception of disengagement, and so long as they belong to the areas of peace, they are to be assisted.

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<sup>61</sup> Final Declaration (dated 21 July 1954) of the Geneva Conference on the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954

I have no desire to go into the details of recent developments in the last few days. But there has been evidence of some interference in these matters, and we deeply regret it. Two years ago - and I would like to say, not by the volition entirely of the Royal Government of Laos with whom the Commission has had very healthy, very cordial and very courteous relations - it was found necessary to withdraw the Commission from the territory of Laos. But at the same time, the Commission for International Control and Supervision is not a piece of "busybodiness" on the part of the three members of the Commission, but is a result of international agreements with the United Nations which it is its bounden duty to take account of - they still exist. They are machinery established by international consent. There are two chairmen of this Commission: the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union who are charged with this supervision in the last analysis, and what is more, they provide part of the resources that are required for the purpose. No country finds money for things in which it is not engaged. Therefore, this machinery, which to a certain extent has been shaken by these circumstances, is creating a situation there.

It is not my purpose to bring this as a special item, but the Assembly must be aware that irritation in small places leads to larger irritations. It is very important in this part of the world, where there are circumstances, which I have no desire to mention, where very powerful blocs of humanity may become involved, where there is room for ideological conflicts of various kinds, that they should be left alone. In the long run, whether one belongs either to the Eastern side or the Western side, it will be found that non-committedness by peoples like ourselves is to the advantage of both.

It is impossible, in any part of Asia, to commit entire peoples to one side or the other, and if one side tries to commit any country to the other side, then at once it will create a reaction. It is surprising that, while the so-called Eastern and Western blocs are antagonistic to each other, one attracts the other. That is the contradiction in the situation!

In the problem of Laos, while it is not organisationally a direct United Nations responsibility, I would like to take advantage of my presence on this rostrum - and I think that it is my duty - to refer to this rather combustible area, where today there is a Government, which is a constitutional Government seeking to get the best support of the people. They should have assistance; indeed they should be free to have the assistance of their neighbours, first in Indo-China. If they are to draw any assistance, they should be able to draw it from their own near neighbours in Indo-China, excluding anyone else. That is the position.

### *Dependent Territories*

Next, I come to the problem of dependent territories. Much has been said about the subject at this session of the Assembly. It is not my intention to express mere

general opposition and to use phrases that may not always be entirely historical and certainly not welcome to certain parties concerned in the matter.

The problem of dependence - I do not want to use any other word - the problem of dependent territories is part of human history. All parts of human history are not either happy or complimentary - we would not like them repeated - but it happens that either by conquest or settlement, newer civilizations have penetrated the areas of older civilizations, as in Asia and Africa and have brought them into the context of modern life. In the last two years the areas of liberation have become larger and larger. A few years ago there were over 10 million square miles of territory still under colonial rule in Africa. Today there are about 4½ million square miles of territory, with a population of 72 million, still in a state of dependence, or tutelage under the Trusteeship system. And here, one must pay one's tribute to those countries such as the United Kingdom which, in the last generation, have either by experience or perhaps also by the association of liberated countries such as Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan and ourselves with them, found that it pays dividends to liberate peoples. Today empires gain even materially by terminating imperialism. Today there is a higher standard of life in the United Kingdom; there is little or no unemployment; there are better relations between the former dependent countries and themselves. So far as our country is concerned, there are more United Kingdom nationals in India today than there were under imperial occupation. Thus, friendship and co-operation have paid.

The position today is, however, that under the British system there are thirty-seven units occupying 1,346,000 square miles with a population of 34 million out of which the greater part will become free in the next few months or the next year.

Then we come to the French Empire, with a population of about 14 million and a square mileage of 1¼ million. If the problem of Algeria were settled, the greater headaches of France - and I say deliberately "France" - would be over, because there would be a vast ally occupying the greater part of Africa from and including the Sahara to the northern coast, where there are many people of multiracial stock and origin, accustomed to the ways of life of both East and West, of Africa, Asia and Europe, who would make a great contribution to civilization. So what would remain would be only the remnants of the empires of the past; and I have no doubt that if the voice of the United Nations goes forth in unmistakable fashion, and with the impact of the liberty that would be established on the African continent, the example set by their Asian neighbours during the last generation, where liberty has been used for constructive purposes and not for practising racial discrimination in reverse or for continental compartmentalism, the world would begin to realize that the liberation of peoples adds to the social, economic, moral and security power of the world.

It is the same as in countries where the women were disfranchised, and then when they were enfranchised the electorate doubled and the result was an increase in

the political and social capacity of those countries, involving at least half as much again of the population.

So our own approach to this problem is to deal with the factual situation as it stands and not to apportion blame or responsibility. I would be the last to say that, in the context of history, even these unfortunate events, even the oppressions, even the conquests of countries, have not in some strange way brought them into the ambit of modern life.

### ***Reality of Independence***

But today we have to look at the problem of independence - and I speak more from the point of view of people like ourselves, formerly dependent peoples. Independence has no meaning if it is exclusively the removal of foreign rule. In India we often say that on 15 August 1947 India did not attain independence in actuality, but it opened the doors for real independence by removing its main obstacle, namely, foreign rule; because independence for a people means more food, more education, more sanitation, more opportunity, more leisure. These are the things that constitute the reality of independence.

The vast continent of Africa particularly - and we are no exception either - is in a state of backwardness in all these aspects, whether in the form of nutrition, or of education, or of opportunity, or of political advancement. These are the things that have to be implemented, and it should be the concern of the United Nations and of the populations themselves not to regard the ending of empire as the completion of their task and the metropolitan countries not to regard it as something that is forced upon them, but as a conscious effort of modern policy.

Indeed - and I am making no very accurate comparison - even like slavery of old, it is unhistoric to argue that every slave-owner of three hundred or four hundred years ago was essentially a cruel man; he was the victim of a cruel system. Today no one would like to go back to it. The values of the world have changed and, equally as the ownership of man by man now stands condemned and reprehensible, the ownership of a country by another country will be completely detested in the next few years. Therefore, we would support anything that comes here which speeds up the termination of the system, even as, a hundred years ago, if our delegation had had the opportunity, and with the present way of thinking, we would have supported the termination of domination of man by man.

It is possible to paraphrase for our time Abraham Lincoln's words. "It is not possible," he said, "for a Government to be half slave and half free." We should say that it is not possible for a world to be half slave and half free. There can therefore be no area in this world, in Asia or Africa or anywhere else, where there are territories and peoples who are not entitled to become free members of this great society of ours, the United Nations. That is the test of national

independence, and from that test we must go forward with the idea of implementing the reality of independence.

Here, may I say, particularly for the understanding or at least for the information of Western delegations, that there is a fundamental difference in the recent developments of dependent territories and the development of Western Europe. In Western Europe industry and economic progress, however slow, came first, and political liberty came after and gradually by the demands of the people who worked at the machines. The economic revolution came first. And then came the franchise - in the United Kingdom, for example, it took over a century before people finally were enfranchised. But in all of Asia, and, I am glad to say, in Africa, full-fledged political revolutions have come first, whereby every man and woman irrespective of class, colour, tribe, group or such other factors, has political freedom - which means that it has released an enormous amount of aspiration and expectation and, what is more, realization that it is a function of the community, of States and Governments, to keep the community happy. So this contradiction, this division between Western development and ours creates social problems. That is to say, in the whole of this area of free Africa about 177 million people have been liberated and, if we take Asia, it means that some 800 or 900 million people have been liberated.

The present and large quantum of aspiration and determination, the large degree of likely frustration if the position is not met is obvious and, therefore, it is necessary for the United Nations, not merely by the time-honoured ways of seeking aid here, there and everywhere, not in ways likely to include economic domination in the politically independent countries, to think of other methods and approaches. And at the right time and in the right context my delegation proposes to put forward proposals regarding these ways.

### *United Nations Levy for Economic Development*

If this world is to be in peace, these imbalances have to undergo rectification. I said a while ago that, politically, half of the world cannot be slave and half free - and I do not, of course, mean a mathematical half. That statement is equally true from the economic point of view. Unless there is a rise in standards of living, unless there is industrial advancement and, what is more, a consciousness of political equality, social equality and dignity, the world is not likely to go forward.

I deliberately wish to exclude from these observations this morning mention of any particular countries, either dependent or dominating countries, and merely to refer to the problem as such.

We must consider whether, while there must be bilateral or multilateral or other specific arrangements and while the United Nations itself can take credit for a great deal in this direction, the time has come for the United Nations to take note

of either the expressed or the unexpressed views of the former dependent peoples of Africa and Asia that this development has to be a co-operative effort, in which those people which benefit by it have equal pride: in other words, from each according to his ability - it is a good Christian maxim - and to each according to his needs!

It should be made possible for the United Nations to make a levy - a percentage of national income of countries, related to their capacity to pay - which would probably produce - although I would not like to go into figures - a very large quantum of money. The national income of the world is probably somewhere between \$1,200 thousand million and \$1,500 thousand million. If the United Nations is able to obtain agreement from the nations to submit themselves to a United Nations levy, it would be not merely for what are called underdeveloped countries. The underdeveloped countries would be participants in the levy scheme, but naturally not in the same proportions, as the more developed ones, because of their much lower standards. However, they must come into it and, side by side with the others, create international pools of technicians and experts. It should be not a one-way flow of traffic. So far as our country is concerned, there is even now both the receiving and giving of aid. But these are multilateral or bilateral arrangements. We the nations of the world should convert ourselves into a really co-operative organisation for this purpose, in which each country, whether giver or taker, would not be exclusively a giver or taker. As the world develops, it will become necessary for the developed countries also to have the advantage of the experience of others. Problems of the availability and procurement of raw materials and of markets, the necessity for the advanced countries to be able to keep up their production apparatus in the face of the competition of newer countries, both in raw materials and in finished goods - all these problems will come up.

The time has therefore come to make a request for an effort on a very large and ambitious scale, particularly to the more advanced countries, the United States and the Soviet Union - the national income of the United States and the Soviet Union together is getting on for \$800 thousand million - to submit themselves to a United Nations levy, collected by the United Nations and administered by a special organisation established for that particular purpose, so that there can be no question of unconscious trends in the thinking of that administration creating situations which are not acceptable, so that a new system will develop whereby some of the problems we have been talking about, involving the incapacity of the Organisation to respond to newer situations, would also disappear.

We should therefore like to stress the economic aspect of the problem of dependent peoples, which can no longer be a matter of political acrimony and argument alone. The greater part of the world has become free and we must address ourselves to these problems of food, of education, of sanitation, of administrative ability, the problem of the employment of leisure, the advancement

of the production of raw materials and the solution of the problem of markets in such a way that humanity as a whole will be developed.

This is one of the submissions that my delegation would like to make in regard to this problem.

I think that a subject people are entitled to use every method to liberate themselves. If others do not like what they may regard as unpleasant methods, it is open to them to avoid the necessity for those who are dependent to employ such methods. Subject people, I say, have the right to use every method to liberate themselves. But a wise world would avoid the necessity of violent conflict, because violence leads to further violence, and hatred and fear, all of which endanger world progress and peace.

We also would not like to see in the world a situation in which an empire which has been responsible for the rule of large numbers of people, sometimes not for decades or for generations but perhaps for a century or more, finds that, when it departs, there are no people to take over. There can be no greater criticism of imperial rule than that.

I hope that in this matter my delegation has put forward suggestions that are not of a destructive but of a constructive character. However free politically certain territories maybe, particularly small territories in backward conditions of industrial, technical and economic development, that political freedom cannot be sustained unless they can hold their own, socially, morally, economically and otherwise. That is why we have suggested this system whereby each country can make its own humble contribution, measured by its capacity to pay, with the aid being distributed to all without exception. Even a powerful country, if it requires some assistance to fill a certain lacuna, must be free to draw from that pool. The time is soon coming when no country in the world will be able to say: "We know everything and we do not want to learn from anybody else." That is how my delegation looks at this colonial problem.

### *Amendment of the United Nations Charter*

I now come to the question of the United Nations. The Secretary-General said this morning that much has been said here, one way or the other. It is not my purpose to follow that line of argument. But we have to remember that the United Nations was founded some fifteen years ago, when the greater part of the world was politically, economically and socially not competent. In other words, the political dimensions of the world, the social dimensions of the world, have become larger, as I said a while ago, with the liberation of countries and peoples and with the advance of human ideas. Today, therefore, though we are dealing with a world which has shrunk because of methods of communication, we are dealing at the same time with an expanded and expanding world. But the political liberation of



peoples and the advance of technology have created a situation in which progress has to be fast, progress can be fast and of considerable dimensions.

In this matter, time is not with us. We have to take account of the aspirations, the hopes, the demands of people, and, what is more, we must realize that the knowledge that conditions which are not suitable can be changed by human effort, and that humanity has the right to demand the giving of co-operative assistance, has become a conscious part of our thinking.

As I have said, the United Nations was founded so many years ago and is the successor to so many previous efforts. But at no time did anyone think and certainly not at the time when the Charter was formulated, that the last word had been said, that institutions are unchangeable, and that the Charter was to be a steel frame from which there would be no escape when it was necessary to respond to modern needs. Needs have changed through the vast expansion of the economic functions, the security functions, the peace functions and other functions of the United Nations. From being an Organisation with about fifty members, we have become an Organisation with about one hundred members. There are very few parts of the world which are outside this Organisation. As we look back to San Francisco, we find that even those who formulated the Charter were conscious of this. The President of the United States, Mr Truman, who was taking a leading part at that time, said:

This Charter, like our own Constitution, will be expanded and improved as time goes on. No one claims that it is now a final or a perfect instrument. It has not been poured into a fixed mould. Changing world conditions will require readjustments, but they will be readjustments of peace and not of war.<sup>62</sup>

I think that both the first part and the second part are important. The most important document in this context at San Francisco was the report of the Commission I presided over by the famous Belgium jurist, Mr Rolin,<sup>63</sup> which had as its rapporteur a colleague of ours at this session of the Assembly, Mr Delgado<sup>64</sup> of the Philippines.

This Commission, under the presidency of Mr Rolin, made the following report at a meeting presided over by a former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Lord Halifax. This is not an individual's opinion, it is the report of the Commission appointed for this purpose. The report reads:

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<sup>62</sup> United Nations Conference on International Organisation, Plenary Sessions, 26 June 1945, Vol. 1, p. 680

<sup>63</sup> Henri Rolin

<sup>64</sup> Dr Francisco A. Delgado

Taking cognisance of the facts that the Charter being prepared at San Francisco could not be perfect and that the delegates could not foresee all eventual developments in international affairs, Commission I recommends for inclusion in the Charter provisions for a special conference on the revision of the Charter....

The special conference may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly with the concurrence of any seven members of the Security Council. It is also provided that, in case the conference is not held before the tenth annual meeting of the Assembly following the entry into force of the Charter, the proposal to call such a conference is to be placed on the agenda of that meeting of the Assembly and a conference may be called by a simple majority of the Assembly with the concurrence of any seven members of the Security Council.<sup>65</sup>

As the Assembly will note, we have taken all these steps. My purpose in reading this extract was to bring out that it was in the minds of those people, who were conscious of their great idealism and competence, that one-half of the world was not there. The defeated Powers at that time were not present as members. The last parts of the colonial empires - countries like our own - were still sitting on the doorstep, participating and not participating. Therefore, it was in the minds of those people that these things should be changed.

From those generalities we now come to the present situation. If we take each of the organs of the United Nations and put them into relation with the countries concerned, we find that the original membership from Africa was four, whereas the present membership is twenty-six. The membership from Africa, therefore, has increased between six and seven times.

The membership from the Americas has remained stationary: there were twenty-two members at that time and there are twenty-two members at present.

From Asia there were nine members. In this case we lost one member, as far as numerical calculations are concerned, when Egypt and Syria, as a result of a plebiscite held in both countries in 1958, became the United Arab Republic. But other members were added, and within a few years they became fourteen, and today they number twenty-two.

From Western Europe there were ten members, which afterwards became nine. Today there are nineteen.

From Eastern Europe there were six original members, and the present number is ten.

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<sup>65</sup> United Nations Conference on International Organisation, Commission I, 24 June 1945, Vol. 6, p. 251

So that we find in all these cases membership has multiplied by three to six or seven times. This must certainly create problems in regard to organisation, and we get some rather bizarre conclusions if we take, for instance, the Security Council. Our country then and now, as expressed by the Prime Minister, has always been of the opinion that, logical or otherwise, it is necessary for the United Nations to be based upon unanimity of the great Powers, because they represent the objective facts of the world, and no great nation can, merely by a majority vote, be asked to exercise security functions or accept security decisions. Therefore, we are not in the least quarrelling with the position of the great Powers in the Security Council. That is not the purpose of this.

But let us take the position as it is today. Western Europe has two representatives for its nineteen member States, whereas when it had ten member States it had also two representatives. Eastern Europe has one representative for its ten member States, whereas at the time of joining it had one representative for only six member States. When we come to Asia and Africa, we get even more bizarre conclusions. The whole of Asia was at first provided with no representative. Asia was, as it were, distributed between what is called the Middle East and the Commonwealth - and I am sorry to say, for myself I do not understand this area which is called the "Middle East." It depends on where you are looking from. In my part of the world the Middle East would be somewhere in the Pacific. We must not take the view that all political meridians and longitudes are necessarily measured from Greenwich. However, the Middle East had one seat and the Commonwealth had one seat, and the Commonwealth at that time had one Asian member, namely, India. So Asia had practically no representation, but the Middle East - meaning, I suppose, mainly the Arab countries - had one representative. Latin America had two, and it has two and it will have two.

Africa at that time had no representation on the Security Council, except for Egypt, which is in Africa but which was included, once again by some strange geography, in the Middle East.

But our present position is this. Take India, for example. If it were desired to give membership on the Security Council to the Commonwealth group, we would be there, in the present state of membership, once in twenty-four years, and from the end of the next year, India would be in the Security Council once in forty or forty-six years. An African country under this system, unless that Asians and Africans came to some arrangement among themselves, would not be there at all; but even if some arrangement were reached, they would be there only once in seventy or eighty years. That is to say, if a two-year term is to be distributed among all. Perhaps this is not a completely fair way of describing the situation, because not every country may want membership; but in any event, it takes a very long time - some ten to thirty years - before a given country can be on the Security Council.

Now, joining the Security Council does not mean being invited to social parties. It means distribution of responsibilities; it means that large and small countries in different parts of the world must all feel the sense of “belongingness.” Otherwise the Security Council functions in one compartment, the Assembly functions in a separate compartment, and the Secretary-General and other organs function in their compartments. This to a certain extent is inevitable, but it becomes accentuated.

Therefore, looking at these purely geographical and physical facts, the necessity becomes apparent for finding ways and means of dealing with this problem calling for an amendment of the Charter. My country has been a consistent opponent of any amendment of the Charter without getting agreement among the great Powers, because it can lead only to cold-war controversy otherwise. Agreement, unanimity of the great Powers is required to expand the organs of the United Nations. But in the same circumstances, I am sure that the great Powers, whether they belong to the East, to the West or to Europe, would recognize that the Security Council lives in a political vacuum that is unconnected with the realities of the modern world and, what is more, will create in the Assembly a caste system of nations that may get into the *sanctum sanctorum*, and nations that may not. And this applies equally to other organs of the United Nations which we shall be discussing in Special Committees.

Field Marshal Smuts, who was one of the formulators of the Charter and who is quite a good authority for us to quote, said, in his concluding address at San Francisco:

Unless the spirit to operate it is there, the best plan or machine may fail... It is for our peace-loving peoples to see that this great peace plan is backed with all their energy, all their hearts, and all their souls.<sup>66</sup>

That is, when we try to change this system it is not sufficient for us to be logical, it is not sufficient for us to approach the task with the aim of tearing things down; we must rather respect the principle of unanimity, that union of hearts and minds that is required so to fashion the Organisation as to breathe the breath of life into it, so that it can respond to the needs for it, whether they be economic, political, matters of security or otherwise. This is the submission that my delegation would like to make.

### ***Non-alignment***

Next, though it may seem somewhat removed from the United Nations, my delegation feels it necessary for my country, even if it may be regarded as, perhaps, special pleading, to give some exposition, some expression of view, as to our own approach in these matters. We are not a neutral country. We refuse to

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<sup>66</sup> United Nations Conference on International Organisation, Plenary Sessions, 26 June 1945, Vol. 1, p. 678

accept responsibility for the appellation “neutralist,” which is purely a newspaper invention, originally produced as an epithet by people who did not like our policy. We are not neutral in regard to war or peace. We are not neutral in regard to domination by imperialist or other countries. We are not neutral with regard to ethical values. We are not neutral with regard to the greatest economic and social problems that may arise. Neutrality is a concept that arises only in war. If we are neutrals, the Soviet Union and the United States are belligerents — and I do not think they want to plead guilty to that! We are not neutral or neutralist, positive or otherwise. We would participate, we would express our views. Even that expression “positive neutrality” is a contradiction in terms. There can no more be positive neutrality than there can be a vegetarian tiger.

Therefore, our position is that we are an unaligned and uncommitted nation in relation to the cold war. That is to say, in relation to the great international issues, we think it is good for sovereign nations, in conformity with international law and with their own historic backgrounds, to project into international relations their own internal policies in regard to toleration, democracy and neighbourliness. And the Charter provides the guidelines that are required.

It is not necessary for us to belong to this school or to that school and to sacrifice our convictions, for it is our convictions that have led us to non-alignment in this way. Secondly we believe that in the circumstances, where the balance of power in the world unfortunately rests on what Sir Winston Churchill called “the balance of horror,” it is good for nations, and not only for the nations of Asia - and while I take up no position of telling other nations what to do - the greater the increase of the area of peace in the world, the greater the noncommittedness, the more that the so-called committed nations have to canvass for the moral support of others, the greater are the chances of peace. No country which relies upon power or negotiation from strength should be able to take any other country for granted. That is, we should be able to decide, either in our wisdom or otherwise, as to what is good for ourselves in the world. We should be open to persuasion, because if we are not open to persuasion we should never be able to persuade anybody else.

Therefore, our position is that we are uncommitted in regard to sides. We do not belong to one camp or another. That does not mean that where these issues are involved to which I have referred we would simply sit on the fence and not take sides. What is more, this uncommittedness is not an attempt to escape international responsibilities. My own country, in regard to the situation that arose later in Korea - or even during the Korean war - in Indo-China, in the Lebanon, in the Gaza Strip, and now in the Congo (Leopoldville), is heavily committed, committed far beyond our capacity. We committed ourselves because we think it is in the interests of peace at this time. We want it understood that we do not welcome this appellation of neutral, or neutralist, whatever it means. It means that, if we even accept the appellation, first of all we would accept the freezing of the cold war or the power blocs, which we do not want to see in the world.

In this world we cannot continue to live in peace and security, or even survive, unless the great countries of Europe and America come together, not necessarily with an identity of thinking, but with tolerance and co-operation and lay down their arms. This is not possible if there are only two sides and they are ranged against each other, each canvassing against the other. If they are successful in their enlistment effort there may well be no areas in the world that are not precommitted to forceful action. This is a tragic state of affairs.

We are happy to think that, while at one time being non-aligned was regarded - as I have been told so many times - as sitting on the fence, or pronouncing a curse on both houses, or trying to canvass assistance from both sides, that day has fortunately disappeared. Today in the world, even in the United States of America, the Soviet Union or European countries, there is a greater appreciation of the integrity of purpose involved in this; and even of the political profit and the profit of the world that might arise from independent countries exercising their policies independently. This is not a counsel of anarchy, or a counsel against co-operation between peoples. We do not regard military alliances between member States of the United Nations outside the Charter, and as against another group of nations, as sanctioned by article 51 of the Charter.

But at the same time, we have not carried on a campaign against it. As the world stands at present, these systems have come into existence and we hope that with the evolution of proposals for disarmament and collective security they will begin to disappear even though little by little. Therefore, our position in this regard is what is dictated by the Charter, the policy of the good neighbour, the policy that we try to practise in our own country by our democratic institutions, tolerance for differences of opinion. Then, while one does not want to speak for other countries who more or less follow the same policy, speaking for ourselves, our peoples are never able to accept the idea of exclusive good and exclusive evil. There are no individuals, no nations, no groups of people who can say that their policies, their actions, their thoughts, their commitments, or whatever they are, are exclusively one thing or the other. In this changing world of ours it is always necessary to have observation and examination of the opponents' proposals. There is always a chance that the opponent may be right, and if he is right and you reject him out of hand, you lose his contribution. Therefore, we will not contribute our strength, for what it is worth - it is worth very little in economic or military terms - for the promotion of world factions. We shall not be a party at any time to intervening in any way, economically or otherwise, either in the developing continent of Africa and or in other parts of Asia with a view to profiting ourselves or in such away as to stifle their progress, or anything of that character.

There are no troops, there is no soldier, no aeroplane, no horse and no gun belonging to the Republic of India anywhere outside our frontiers except at the behest of the United Nations or international agreements. The last of these were withdrawn on the last day of August 1947. Therefore, we stand, without any

reservation whatsoever, as a country that does not want to be involved in the war blocs.

### ***Universalism, not Isolationism***

This takes me to another, perhaps more controversial question - the classification of uncommitted countries as a bloc. We are against the formation of isolated blocs in the United Nations, because it means that this Assembly has no capacity to decide in freedom; that decisions are reached elsewhere beforehand and that all that happens is degrees of master-minding. This would not lead to the prosperity of this world. Co-operation among like-minded nations, co-operation among people with like-minded experience, past or present, is both necessary and useful. But to say that we are a third force, or a neutralist bloc, the panacea for everything, is beside the point.

At the risk of being misunderstood, my country does not stand for the formation of blocs, because blocs mean isolationism. We stand for a universalist world. In fact, the position the United Nations is facing is what humanity has faced from almost the pre-Christian era, where on the one hand there was the doctrine or approach of universalism, one world and one family, whether on theological, political or other grounds - and on the other hand power for oneself. This has been the contradiction the whole time. In the sixth century B.C., the Chinese tried to bring about some degree of understanding among the rival areas of the Yangtse basin on the basis of peaceful settlements, and they ended up by imposing domination in the Yangtse region.

After that, in the Christian world at various times there were moves in this direction, and ultimately there was the Congress of Vienna of 1815. Tsar Alexander preached to the world the universal doctrine of Christendom and the great dreams that he had for the whole world, for the great human family. But he was torn between his dreams and his schemes for power, which ultimately resulted in the Holy Alliance. So here also is the great universal doctrine that has been explored by the fathers of our constitution - the Charter - including the representatives of the United States and of the Soviet Union whose speeches at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco I just read. On the one hand they try to reach universalism, while keeping out a good little country like Outer Mongolia; and, on the other hand, not allowing the free play of independent nations through fear of one nation or another. So unless this Organisation remains not only universal in its membership, but universal in the conception pervading it, not divided by factionism, we are not likely to get much further.

This was also the feeling of those who framed the Charter at San Francisco, and I have some extracts from some relevant speeches that I will not take time to read now. But the more we move in this direction, the better. I am happy also because of the independence of uncommitted nations, and because their numbers are being largely added to by newer nations and in the thought that, whatever maybe the

present situation, liberty carries its own consequences. You cannot set a man free and expect him to remain unfree forever. That would be like countries who say, "You can have self-determination provided you determine as we want you to determine." Therefore, once the blaze of freedom comes to a place and it is followed by the material sustenance that is necessary to maintain itself economically and socially free, certain consequences follow. Therefore, the presence of these free nations here is not only - as I said a while ago - something for which they have to congratulate themselves and rejoice in, but it is a great contribution to the world.

### *Disarmament*

I come now to the next of the problems, the most important of all, that is, the problem of disarmament. I hope that the Assembly will forgive me if I take most of the rest of my time for this subject. It is not the intention of my delegation to go into very accurate details on this question before the item goes to the First Committee. But it is the desire of the Government of India to put forward its approach in these matters.

First of all, we think that it is essential for us to remember that the idea of disarmament has not come to us overnight but has been born in the context of human evolution. There have always been wars in the past, but that is no reason why there should be war again. In our time, in the last generation or two, there have been two great world wars, and at the end of each, efforts have been made, to create first a League of Nations and afterwards a United Nations.

As I said some time ago, the attempts to establish disarmament have a very long history. In our own country right through, when you go from north to south you see engraved in stone or metal by the great emperor Ashoka, whose emblem we carry on our national flag today, the counsels of peace, though he had been victorious in his campaigns and pacification had been established.

I am not referring to our whole history. Then came, as I said, the Chinese instance. There has been the history of Europe, which is a more modern history. From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards attempts were made in this way from time to time, but I will not take the time of the Assembly to repeat history except to point out that we have now reached situations when we should remember that disarmament is part of a family tree almost, that is to say, since humanity became organized in national groups with national rivalries, there has emerged within the conflicts the concomitant idea of the pacific settlement of disputes. Pacific settlement of disputes in the Western world from the time of Bodin and after world wars makes its appearance at various times in conferences. Its advocates, whether a Tsar Alexander or a Lord Castlereagh, kept their own reservations. When we have pacific settlement of disputes, it follows inevitably that we must have collective security because if there is pacific settlement of disputes there must be some guarantee that it will be enforced or it will not



endure. Therefore, collective security, which has now become accepted in the world, has followed - ever since the beginning of the century, anyway. If there is pacific settlement of disputes, then collective security follows in its train. It equally follows that there must be disarmament because it should not be possible for any great Power, or for any Power at the disposal of the United Nations, or any other bloc, to be so powerful as to impose its will by force upon anyone else. The corollary to collective security is disarmament.

I want to make the position of my country very clear, as we did on instructions of our Government at San Francisco in 1955 at the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the United Nations. We regard disarmament only as a means to an end. The end is the avoidance of war. What we seek is not merely disarmament, that is to say, the limitation of arms, the categories of arms that should be avoided and so on, which all have their own purposes, but what we seek is a world without war, where war will be no longer regarded as an instrument of settling disputes, particularly in modern times when large populations are subject to the cruel consequences of war itself.

Fortunately, the time has passed in the world where there are nations which regard war as a kind of muscle development, and here I should like to read an extract which I took from a book I read recently. This is an extract from the editor's prefatory note of a special issue of the publication *Daedalus*:

Until two generations ago, war was widely regarded as a biological and sociological inevitability - even a necessity.<sup>67</sup>

You may remember that there was a gentleman who said this during the war years. The quotation continues:

To most theorists and statesmen, war was not the desperate last resort for settling conflicts; rather it was the mechanism that prevented society from slipping into 'degeneration' and that served as a supreme arbiter for testing the virtue and worth of that society.

Then, in the same prefatory note, we come to a question from the great American philosopher, the father of modern pragmatism, William James. He said:

"History is a bath of blood" but war is "the gory nurse that trains society to cohesiveness" or provides "the moral spur" to develop the essential manly virtues of "intrepidity, contempt of softness, surrender of private interest, obedience to command."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *Daedalus*, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, Fall 1960 issue, p. 674

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

That is the formal view of war as an exercise to tune up our muscles. This was the idea of previous times, but now we have reached the situation in which, if the world were to enter into war there would be no muscles to be developed, and apparently this philosopher had the foresight to recognize this even at that time when he said (and this passage is also quoted in that prefatory note):

When whole nations are the armies [that is the position today] and the science of destruction vies in intellectual refinement with the science of production [that is what is happening to us now] I see that war becomes absurd and impossible from its own monstrosity. Extravagant ambitions will have to be replaced by reasonable claims, and nations must make common cause against them.<sup>69</sup>

Today these two sentences reflect what every thoughtful person believes. But what I am trying to point out is this: whatever may have been the justification for wars between nations or wars to end wars and what not, today there can only be wars, in a global sense, only to end the world. We are told (I do not know what the basis of the calculation is) that the destructive thermo-nuclear and nuclear power of the world as at the present time, on a conservative calculation, equals the power of twelve tons of TNT per head of the population of humanity as a whole. That is why we say that the idea of total disarmament, a world without war, is no longer a Utopia, it becomes an imperative necessity, because in a world that is disarmed, where war is still the instrument of policy, it is only common sense to think that if war were to break out the men who made the thermo-nuclear weapons, the machinery that could make them would still be available to nations. The experience of history shows that neither the generals nor the weapons that were prevalent at the outbreak of war are the people or the instruments which will prosecute or end the war! It has been a commonplace that peacetime generals soon give way to wartime generals just as peacetime weapons also give way to wartime weapons. So today in our world, with the technological developments which are taking place, to which I will address myself in a minute, any limitation of armaments which makes large-scale war possible cannot be an end in itself, in that it goes on to the next phase where speed is of great value, because the effort has to begin somewhere.

If you asked a person whether he preferred to be destroyed by such and such a weapon or by another kind of weapon, whether the size of the gun should be this, that or the other, I suppose he would be in the position of the fish that is asked, "would you like to be fried in margarine or in butter?" It makes no difference to the fish whether you fry it in butter or in margarine. It is fried! Therefore, the world is not satisfied with being told that we are using more "humane" weapons. Therefore, my delegation wishes to place this in context, perhaps rather abruptly, because we are likely to lose sight of the importance, the necessity, and today, the possibility of total disarmament in the world within a short and measurable time. We stand four-square for the complete abandonment of all weapons of mass

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

destruction and for speedy progress towards their abolition. Today therefore, in discussing disarmament in this general debate, and without going into great detail, I should like to refer to the background of disarmament in regard to the Charter itself. At San Francisco, Field Marshal Smuts said:

Men and women everywhere, including dependent peoples still unable to look after themselves, [that is, according to him] are thus drawn into the vast plan to prevent war, to prevent it not only by direct force but also by promoting justice and freedom and social peace among the peoples.<sup>70</sup>

Therefore, looking at the disarmament problem, we would say, first of all, that there are large areas of agreement or near agreement. My delegation cannot be regarded as being escapists in saying this and as trying to escape the reality of conflicts that exists between the two sides. But in spite of all this, there is no doubt in our minds that there are large areas of agreement and we have not quite exhaustively put down some of the areas in which there is agreement, even though it is of a greater character.

### *Gamesmanship in Discussion*

In Resolution 1378, (XIV), which was passed unanimously, the Assembly agreed on general and complete disarmament. For the first time in a resolution, we laid it down that it was to be a world without war, that disarmament should be general and complete. Second, there was agreement on the fact that disarmament should be carried out in agreed stages and completed as rapidly as possible within specified periods of time. That is to say, the Assembly, in a practical and reasonable way, has accepted the view that we should not throw out the good because we want the best. Phased disarmament is accepted, but not phasing in order to avoid reaching the ends we want to reach. Third, it is common ground between the two sides that disarmament measures should be so balanced that neither side has at any time any significant military advantage. Fourth, it was agreed that the implementation of the disarmament measures should be carried out from beginning to end under effective international control through the establishment of an organisation within the United Nations. Finally, it was agreed that as the disarmament steps were implemented there should be an international force within the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Those are the common grounds, and while the substance of this will be discussed in committee, I want to draw attention to article 11 of the Charter, which definitely lays down disarmament as part of the purposes of the United Nations. Article 11 provides that one of the functions of the General Assembly is to consider "... the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of

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<sup>70</sup> See United Nations Conference on International Organisation, Plenary Sessions, 26 June 1945, Vol. 1, p. 678.

armaments and make recommendations with regard to such principles..., to the Security Council..." and so on. Having said that, we would like to put forward the position of our Government, especially with regard to this.

First of all, we would like to express our opinion that many of the differences about which there is a great deal of noise made, especially where there is the modern medium of publicity and where, of course, disagreements between great peoples are better news than agreements between them, lack substance when looked at in the cold light of reason. Coming from a country like mine or from an individual like me, this may perhaps be regarded as tendentious phraseology. Therefore, I will refer to what may be called sources which will be unimpeachable in a great part of this Assembly. In a publication of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which was issued the other day, it was stated:

In effect, disarmament negotiations themselves have become a weapon in the cold war.<sup>71</sup>

That is to say, instead of our trying to reach an agreement, we make use of it to show that one party is opposed to, and the other party for, war.

Speeches made in commission, committee and plenary Assembly have more often been designed to influence different segments of opinion than to reach an accommodation with the other nations represented at the conference table. Both East and West have become masters of the art of appealing directly to people over the heads of their governments.<sup>72</sup>

Beginning with the proposals for international control of atomic energy, both sides have developed and refined the technique of utilizing the discussions for propaganda purposes. This might be described as the 'gamesmanship' of disarmament negotiations. A cardinal feature of this 'game' has been to reject the proposals of the other side without appearing to sabotage the discussions.

Every plan offered by either side has contained a set of proposals calculated to have wide popular appeal. Every such step has included at least one feature that the other side could not possibly accept, thus forcing a rejection. Then the proposing side has been able to claim that the rejector is opposed to the idea of disarmament in toto. The objectionable feature may be thought of as the 'joker' in every series of proposals.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Joseph Noguee, *The Diplomacy of Disarmament*, International Conciliation, No. 526, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, January 1960, p. 281.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p. 282

That is to say, disarmament discussions have gone on in such a way that one side has agreed on one thing one year and next year has objected to the same thing, and we have to get away from this position, realizing the consequences for the world. While we are not alarmist, we have to remember that the so-called “brinkmanship” is not a very safe device or strategy. The world stands poised with these great armaments on the edge of a precipice, and with the great armaments of the powerful nations the decision may be of such character that it is based upon ignorance of circumstances and what is more, upon fear. Fear makes people hate each other, leads to violence and makes negotiation and settlement of any kind impossible, because we always ask how we can know that the other side will keep the bargain. People little realize that if that is the real conviction, then why negotiate at all, because that applies to all negotiations. In the disarmament negotiations, therefore, in our opinion, in the Assembly there must be a full statement every time, by those who believe in it, that the substantive discussions must deal with the final objectives so there can be no question of this going on for umpteen years.

### *Dangers of Delay*

Then we have to address ourselves to the increasing dangers of delay. I would like to refer to one of these dangers to which the President's own country<sup>74</sup> has applied its mind. That is what has been called the problem of the Nth power. There is a report of a committee of American scientists, to which Mr Khrushchev made reference last year, which points out that there is a large number of countries today, including my own, capable of producing nuclear weapons in a comparatively short time. The advance of nuclear science and technology is such that in two, three or four years they could produce these weapons. The number of those countries, which was about ten last year, has become twenty this year. We have read in the newspapers that one country has now stumbled across or come to discoveries which make the production of these things very economical and very speedy. Three or four years ago, when something of this kind was said in the First Committee by my delegation, one of the great savants of disarmament said that we were indulging in science fiction! But, whatever it is, the production of weapons of mass destruction by a number of countries, and by smaller countries with lesser responsibilities and perhaps with smaller quarrels, is increasing and in three or four years time it may be quite impossible to introduce controls or inspection in the ways we want it.

Second, we of the former dependent world and the less fortunate countries have another fear in this matter. Supposing one of the possessor or would-be possessor countries - I will not mention anyone - in order to qualify themselves for membership in the nuclear club had become possessed of one of those instruments or intended to do so actively, they would know very well that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States was likely to precipitate a world war in the interests of a particular local quarrel. That is the hard fact of life, and, therefore, they could

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<sup>74</sup> The President of the General Assembly was Frederick H. Boland of Ireland.

with impunity and with safety perhaps use this weapon in the same way as at the end of the war the atom bomb was used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Suppose that were to happen to a country with a large colonial revolt, it would mean the use of atomic weapons for purposes contrary to those for which the Assembly stands.

More than that, the spread of these weapons, along with the technology that goes with it, will make it very dangerous even for the great Powers when they no longer have the control of the destructive processes that would be let loose in a world war. Therefore, the spread of nuclear knowledge by itself creates the compelling conditions for complete disarmament and total prohibition and destruction of all existing stocks so that there will be no halfway house in this matter. There must be complete totality in this direction. That is our position.

### *Negotiations Must Continue*

It is necessary that we consider the ways and means of preventing a break in the disarmament discussions. Since the founding of the United Nations, from 1946 onwards, there have been various things done to make it possible for these discussions to continue. I will not go into the history of it. My delegation, although this may not always appear in resolutions, has taken a considerable part in helping to devise machinery of this character. We had the Committee of Five, and with the Committee, we had the Disarmament Commission of twelve members. Then we had the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament and my delegation, quite illogically - perhaps, and many people at that time had reservations on the matter - agreed that these discussions should go on between the two great Powers and their supporters in what was called Ten-Nation Committee, even outside the United Nations.

Now the Ten-Nation Committee has been stymied; it is not negotiating any more. It is the view of my delegation that no efforts can be spared. In fact, we cannot accept a situation where there is a gap in disarmament negotiations, because once those negotiations are left with a yawning gap in that way, the beginning of fresh negotiations would be even more difficult. It may well be difficult for example, for a new President of the United States to begin from a position of total negativity or something like it, whoever the President may be. Therefore, we are most anxious that, whatever may be the procedure, there should be some method by which disarmament negotiations are kept going, whether or not the Ten-Nation Committee meets again.

None of these things can happen unless the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies and participants on either side, their colleagues on either side, agree, because they have the possession of arms. Therefore, any kind of resolution that we pass which does not attract their co-operation at some stage would be of no value.

If the Ten-Nation Committee could continue its negotiations, my delegation would be pleased, even if past experience was against it, even if there were

misgiving on one side or the other. But we would not swear by this committee or that committee; we want negotiations. What we want is that the traffic for disarmament should go on, regardless of whether the proposal is that the Ten-Nation Committee should have other people added on to it or that the committee should be replaced by a committee of another composition where more than ten nations or less than ten nations join with others, whatever the forum, in order that the present suspicions may seek to be removed. It should be the purpose of this Assembly to use its influence mainly on uncommitted nations in order that the world may feel that the United Nations has not abandoned the fight for disarmament. We want to say with all the strength we can command that the effect of not allowing some machinery to operate would be to create despair and despondence in the minds of the masses of the peoples of the world. Even though we have thrown away not very fruitful negotiations, if you like, we cannot for that reason now throw away negotiations altogether. That was one of the purposes of the introduction of the draft resolution [A/L.317] by the five Heads of State some time ago,<sup>75</sup> which unfortunately did not get the total majority that it should have had.

So there should be some substitute for it. That replacement is possible either through the continuance of the Ten-Nation Committee in some form or other, with additions to it, through its replacement, or alternately - and I don't put this forward as a proposition; if the Assembly will permit me, it may be regarded as thinking aloud - it may be considered whether, on account of the tension that now prevails between the two sides, as an immediate and proximate step the Assembly may not be able to find a group of nations who would be able to talk to these two sides separately - I don't mean moderate - pending a more convenient committee being formed. This is a third suggestion which I would like to try out in the First Committee. So whatever the process be, there must be continuation of disarmament negotiations.

### ***General Assembly Should Give Directives***

We have spoken about two things. Therefore, the request of our delegation is that the First Committee this year, instead of merely being satisfied with draft resolutions submitted by one side or another, amended or not amended, and going through in order to avoid greater harm, should definitely give directives. It is necessary that the Assembly should take greater responsibility. This applies as much to the Secretary-General as to anybody else.

If I might digress for a moment; if the Security Council passes a resolution, the Security Council must bear with courage and activity the responsibility for giving directions in regard to implementing it, and not turn round afterwards and say it

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<sup>75</sup> Ghana, India, Indonesia, United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia presented a proposal on 29 September 1960 to appeal for a renewal of contacts between the Heads of State of the USSR and the United States.

was not implemented. It is open to the Security Council to devise the machinery as to how such a resolution should be carried out.

As by way of example, the General Assembly this time must give directions to whatever body there is, or make a request to the great Powers and say, first, the first directive should be the object before us, the total abolition of all arms so that we can live in a world without war, second, that disarmament should be accomplished within measurable time. I purposely said "measurable," because it must be done with speed and a time should be largely mentioned. As I mentioned a while ago, if there is too much delay, then it becomes impossible. It may mean three or four years. It must also give a directive, since the areas of agreement are so large, that progress should be made within those areas of agreement instead of putting those on one side and seeking for the different. The present approach seems to be to agree on something, put it on one side and see if we can find a difference.

Then it would be necessary, in the event of a crisis of confidence or anything else, in order to create that confidence, that the Assembly should formulate some kind of code which afterwards would become part of our international law and behaviour whereby an attack on one country by another country - not only the great Powers - a surprise attack by two neighbours, if you like, without adherence even to the older laws of war, would be regarded as a violent breach of international obligations. I am not saying that in the event of atomic war it means anything at all; but if we introduce into our international life the outlawing of the idea of surprise attack - as we did in the case of various weapons by the Geneva Convention - that may create the climate. This is not a reference to a technique for preventing a surprise attack. I think we are getting rather involved in techniques and forgetting the purposes.

I think technical examinations are necessary, but technical examinations must be directed towards a particular purpose, and this directive must include the idea that preparation for surprise attack as a weapon for domination is against the code of nations. That must become part of the accepted doctrine of international order. It may appear Utopian for the time, but unless we create this climate, we are not likely to succeed.

Second, the directive must include speedy agreement in regard to the termination of test explosions. Unless this is done, the danger to which I referred a while ago, the spread of these nuclear weapons, and the effects of ionising radiation, will so vastly increase as to endanger humanity.

Therefore, it is our request that at the end of these disarmament discussions there should be directives from the Assembly. The Assembly must find some medium, some machinery, some device whereby there will be no total gap. It is possible to create greater difficulties by allowing such a gap to grow. If those directives were given, then the Assembly would devise the method, even before the session



closes, and could see to it that those directives, by negotiations, could be implemented.

It appears to us that all this is probable, if we are conscious of the fact that what is required is, as President Roosevelt said in 1945, when war was still raging: "More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginning of all wars." That is what we have been trying to do.

Therefore, we must in these negotiations approach the matter with a new mind, and, realizing that we have come to a situation when this session of the Assembly, where great Heads of State and Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers were gathered, had no easy approach to these problems, but, at the same time, that in all conscience the troubles of the world were great and to disguise them might lead to catastrophe. We must set ourselves against the idea of men's natures wrangling for the inferior things though great ones are their object. This is the position that we must accept, and accept the responsibility this time for giving directives.

Until now the Disarmament Commission has been a post office. Its Sub-Committee has met and wrangled, as I said here when I read out from the Carnegie Endowment publication, and then met either the day previous or two days previous to the opening of the Assembly session, merely to pass on its report. I submit that the Disarmament Commission has defaulted in its activity.

Whether it be the Disarmament Commission of eighty-four or the Disarmament Commission of twelve, we should give a directive to this negotiating body or the Committee, whatever the machinery, and it must make a report to the whole Disarmament Commission within three or four months so that the Disarmament Commission can decide whether to convene a session of the General Assembly to carry on with the work. We are not supporting one proposition or another in this matter, but we believe that greater association of all members of the United Nations, the repeated expression of their concern, greater knowledge in the world of what is involved and the progress that we are making, and the publicity that will come upon what some of the public may regard as activities of obstruction, that would speed the way to disarmament.

### ***Draft Resolution Reaffirming Faith in the United Nations***

Now I come to the last part of my observations this morning, which has fallen to my lot because representatives will see before them a draft resolution [A/L.320 and Add. 1-6] sponsored by some fifteen or sixteen countries, including my own, whose names it bears. Just before I came to speak here Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Guinea, Nepal, Nigeria and Sudan asked me to say that they wanted to be added to the list, and I believe other countries also have put down their names. The Assembly will see that this is not an expression of aspirations or an expression of opinion that comes from one part of the world. Here are countries not only of Asia, where I come from, and Africa, with which my delegation is

closely associated - and where I feel sure, with one or two small exceptions, everyone would have been willing to sponsor the document - but also countries from Latin America, whose part in disarmament discussions has been notable. There are also the countries of Europe which are not involved in the present arrangements or Power groupings. There are Austria, Finland and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and, on the other, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela - I hope that I have not forgotten any. All these countries are also in it. There are the Arab countries, the African countries and the Asian countries.

This draft resolution has come before the Assembly not only with their good wishes but also with the appeal they make to the Assembly for its adoption. I do not think it is necessary for me to argue this at great length, but I would like to say that my delegation does not regard this as a kind of form of words with little meaning. It is not what is called a general draft resolution, giving everybody a feeling of escape into unreality. It has been put forward because we all know that tensions have increased in this world. The proceedings of the Assembly up till now have not been of a character which has left its mark by creating a different climate with regard to this, and some of us felt that it is necessary, both for ourselves and for world opinion outside, so that confidence in the United Nations might remain, so that the peoples of the world should not feel frustration and so that their expectations and aspirations should inspire even those who do not see eye to eye with each other to realize that there is a compulsive force outside which will not take account of their individual peculiarities, or even of their individual fears, and that this is a world problem, where the world stands before a catastrophe, where its economic and social progress also is being delayed by the continual threat of war and where relations between nation and nation, instead of becoming more tolerant and friendly, are becoming more grouped on one side or the other, and where the new nations which come into this Assembly, who should have a chapter of co-operation, are faced rather with a conflict of faith. Therefore, we have put forward this draft resolution without any desire to apportion blame or responsibility, but to enunciate positions which are in total conformity with the Charter and which take into account the factual situation. For example, the draft resolution says:

*The General Assembly,*

*Deeply concerned* by the increase in world tensions, and

*Considering* that the deterioration in international relations constitutes a grave risk to world peace and co-operation...

In the course of informal discussions on this matter - naturally, one looks at every side - the problem we posed ourselves was, "Does it constitute an alarmist statement on affairs?" It is not an alarmist statement, but the world does give cause for alarm. That is to say, it is right for a responsible body such as ours to say that the increase in world tensions - whether we take it among the countries

represented here or elsewhere - is so serious that in the present state of technical advance, and with the crisis of lack of confidence, there is grave risk to international peace. Even though it may not arise in the form of a declaration of war or anything of that kind, there is a grave risk to international peace. So we say that in fact it would be wrong not to face the situation. The right to do by the world is to take the world into confidence, if you can do so. Therefore, we do not stand for any reservations with regard to this.

We have said also that greater harmony among nations, irrespective of their economic and social systems, to which there are references in the Charter, would contribute towards greater harmony and tolerance between nations, and also that the United Nations should act as a centre for harmonizing the conflicting interests. These are among the fundamental purposes of the Charter, and therefore the third paragraph of the preamble fully sets out our position. Then we have urged that all countries, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, refrain from actions likely to aggravate these tensions. If we want to lessen tensions, it is obvious that we should not aggravate them, and aggravation may be by psychological warfare, it may be by preparations, it may be by forms of intrusion and threats to safety in one way or another - any of these actions - and it is not for the United Nations to prescribe who shall do what, but simply to appeal to the good sense of nations and their loyalties to, and obligations under, the Charter.

There we have gone on to operative paragraph 2, which we think is essential in the circumstances because, while we all recognize that the United States and the Soviet Union are the two major great Powers of the world - though the other Powers which have been involved in these discussions are equally concerned - the Organisation itself cannot escape its responsibility, and its responsibility and its powers come not from anywhere else but from its member States. Co-operation must be forthcoming in full measure so that it may become an effective instrument for safeguarding the peace, and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. At the present time one of the great achievements of the United Nations has been that - in spite of all that has gone in the world, in spite of all the great conflicts, in spite of the technological capacity for mass destruction and in spite of the crisis of confidence - the Assembly and the Organisation have survived. Its survival is a great achievement, and we may therefore do nothing which does not assist towards its greater strength.

The Secretary-General referred this morning, and also in the introduction to his annual report, to various aspects — to the more silent and less advertised work in the social and economic spheres. For all those purposes it is necessary that there should be a reaffirmation of these things, which should go out to the world, to the effect that, whatever may be the difficulties, we, the representatives here in the Assembly, and the member States, have not only not lost confidence, but place our reliance in the United Nations to carry on, and will make our best efforts.

Now we come to the appeal. I hope that this draft resolution will be taken cognizance of and accepted, and that the Assembly will become seized of it, and therefore I move it. I hope that the Assembly will give not merely a vote that is without opposition, but a positively unanimous vote, so that the world will know that, irrespective of all the differences, the aims are harmony and toleration, the creation of the necessary machinery for strengthening the United Nations and the necessary support, and also that we shall, in the coming weeks, address ourselves to particular problems, some of which I have referred to.

That is all I wished to say. I referred to the other nations which wish to sponsor the draft resolution, and it must be left to the President's discretion and wisdom how to proceed with this matter. But we would request that, before the general debate is technically concluded, the Assembly should be invited to express its opinion on this, so that it goes out to the world with some positive contribution by way of its support, and, as representative of one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I would take the liberty of requesting that every vote in this Assembly should be positively cast in its favour.

At the beginning of my observations I referred to this fifteenth session of the Assembly meeting in conditions of concern and expectation. I think it would be only right and appropriate - in fact, if I did not do it, it would be inappropriate - that I should refer also to the fact that, while there is concern, while there is expectation and while there are, perhaps, doubts, suspicions and so on, there is also in this Assembly the determination for us to keep together, the determination to pursue the ends of the Charter and the determination that the ills of the world arising from exploitation and imbalance, the ills of the world arising from threats of war, should be removed. We should proclaim that despite all our difficulties and despite the heat sometimes generated, there is also the determination in the minds of people that while people may strike they shall not wound, that here is a medium created by men after many failures, and that even if, unfortunately, failures should occur here or there, we shall not be daunted by them in the sense of throwing in the sponge, but shall go on from endeavour to endeavour and in the words of the poet, say:

*Ye rigid ploughmen bear in mind  
Your labour is for future hours  
Advance! Spare not! not look behind!  
Plough deep and straight with all your powers.*

I say this in all humility - the humility of a nation that does not seek power and does not seek to prescribe a remedy, but seeks to express its own position and to make its humble contribution to the world, irrespective of the risks we may have to take for peace.

## IX. TOTAL DISARMAMENT AND A WARLESS WORLD<sup>76</sup>

Owing to the change in the procedure it has not been possible for us to take an earlier opportunity to congratulate the one hundredth member of this Assembly, Sierra Leone. This country, with an area of some 28,000 square miles and a population of 2.5 million, comes into the picture of modern history with the advent of the Portuguese in the continent of Africa in order to capture slaves to be sold elsewhere in the world. For 200 years slavery went on. Ultimately Sierra Leone came into existence in the shape of Freetown - strangely enough, not as a colony in the beginning, but in order that liberated slaves might find somewhere to go. But, as history would have it, "Freetown" soon came under the commercial organisation of an exploiting company and subsequently passed under colonial rule, reminding one of what Abraham Lincoln once said:

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word 'liberty'; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty.

It was soon after Freetown was founded - and it is also interesting that Freetown came into existence soon after the American Revolution and just before the French Revolution, that is to say while in other parts of the world, the liberty of men was being proclaimed and republics were being founded - that another town also came into being in Africa in this way, originally as a sanctuary for the freed. Freetown did not, however, follow the course of the history of Liberia. It became a Crown colony, but over a period of 100 years, by gradual processes, it attained its present situation, its rulers and the colonials, in the same way as in our own history of imperial rule over us, in its last stages, came to an agreement to part company in friendship as independent States.

Soon after the establishment of Freetown, as in other countries, King Nambina ceded twenty square miles of land to Captain Taylor, on behalf of the free community of settlers, "in exchange for rum, muskets and embroidered waistcoats." Soon afterward the inhabitants rebelled against the Company's misrule; the rebellion was put down, but it had the result, as in the case of India and Warren Hastings and others, of attracting domestic attention in England, as it was then, to misrule and the character of the administration.

In 1807 the British Parliament made the slave trade illegal and the new colony

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<sup>76</sup> Statement in the general debate at the General Assembly on 4 October 1961

was used as a base of operations. From 1924 onwards institutions came into existence and by slow processes, over thirty or forty years, it has at last today become an independent and self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth with freedom to choose its own form of government today, tomorrow and any day it likes. We are glad to think that its later stages have followed the course of events in our own country rather than that of violence.

On 27 April 1961 Sierra Leone became independent, and on the same day the Republic of India recognised it as an independent State and established diplomatic relations with it

I would like, however, to draw attention to what the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone said in the Assembly the other day. Sir Milton Margai said:

When, in future, both within and without the United Nations, we [that is, the Sierra Leone] persistently champion the cause of a speedy and final end to every variety of colonial rule everywhere in the world, we wish the fact to be remembered that we do not speak out of bitterness, but out of conviction that the right of self-determination which we ourselves now enjoy is a right which all men everywhere must enjoy. We wish, further, to make it clear that we reserve the right to express ourselves fully and independently on all issues."

No one could have put this better, because very often, when those of us who are ex-colonials speak perhaps with more feeling than some others in the cause of colonial independence, it is likely to be regarded as past bitterness expressing itself. We believe it is not possible for this world to remain half free and half slave. It is not possible, either to restore the economic imbalances or to establish peace, co-existence and co-operation in this world, or indeed to restore the dignity of human beings, so long as there are subject peoples.

### ***Problem of Colonies***

And that takes us to the problem of colonies as such. We have in the Assembly made considerable advances in this direction in the last year or two. It has now been resolved in the Assembly that the whole regime of colonialism must come to an end, and while no date on the calendar has been fixed, it is the spirit and the intention of that resolution [1514 (XV)] that it shall come to an end quickly. And while we refer to this matter, it is only fair and right that we take both the welcome factors as well as the others in this way. In a short time, Tanganyika, a Mandated Territory originally, afterwards a Trust Territory, which only a few years ago was expected to take fifty years before it attained its independence, will apply for admission as an independent State to the United Nations. It may well be that before we disperse, we shall have added the one hundred and first State to the United Nations.

In the Caribbean there is British Guiana which has passed through some troublesome periods of recent history and which is also about to attain its independence. The Caribbean Islands are likely to take the same position. So in the whole of what was formerly the British Empire, there seems to be a process of - I would not call it disintegration - the resolving of the Empire into its proper component parts taking their places. We hope this process will speed up in East Africa and elsewhere.

My Government would also like to welcome without reservation the statement made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the United Kingdom, when he informed the Assembly that, although it had no obligation under the Charter to submit political information in regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories, the United Kingdom intended to do so. It is true that it will be only for a short period because all these territories, in the process of historical progress at the present time, should in less than even twelve months have become independent.

We are equally concerned about the fact that this independence should be real and should not be, as in the case of another part of Africa, independence for the few and not for the many. Therefore, when there are large populations, as in the Central African Federation or that part of Africa, if in the name of independence a large number of people are consigned to the rule of a minority which believes in a racial doctrine and a form of Government which the Assembly has disapproved so many times and condemned in no uncertain terms, then we cannot welcome that as independence. It is particularly so when these territories, though they are not members of the United Nations, are members of what may be called the "solar system," that is to say, of the various Specialised Agencies and so on.

We also look forward to the time when the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi will become an independent State. We hope it will not pass through the travail of the Congo, that there will be no rearguard action fought in order to regain a Trust Territory for an empire; that Australian New Guinea will similarly become independent; and that the many many territories in Africa and elsewhere, about fifty in number, will in a short period of time have gained the status of independence.

We ourselves have not put down a date by the calendar, but we go by the spirit of last year's resolution - it is not mere empty words - when we think that the United Nations, having decided on the end of colonialism, will now see to its implementation, that there will be machinery set up. Article 73 now acquires a new meaning, and therefore, when the Republic of Portugal refuses to obey the mandate of the United Nations to submit information, a new situation arises. Article 73 has to be read along with the new decisions of the United Nations, and we are entitled to obtain information with regard to Portuguese colonies from whatever sources may be available to the United Nations.

The three main slices of the colonial empires that still remain are that of France,

with its ten and a half million people, mainly in the territory of Algeria, where over a period of eight years sanguinary war has been going on in which a very considerable part of the French Air Force and French Navy is engaged, and where, according to where you get your figures, the casualties have been from 200,000 to 700,000. Equally, there seems to be no reconciliation of the points of view between the Algerian people who demand their birthright of independence, recognised by the United Nations not only in its Charter but by subsequent resolutions, and France, which denies them that right. Attempts at negotiation have so far failed. But my country stands four-square with the Algerian people in their demand for full and complete independence.

### *Portuguese Colonialism*

Portugal's is the largest empire today - the oldest ally of the United Kingdom - a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Portugal owns 13 million square miles in the world, the greater part of it in Africa, with small enclaves on the Indian continent, in the Pacific Ocean, south and east in Timor and Macao. We are not here to make any special pleading on behalf of a particular part of these territories, but Portuguese colonialism does not even have the characteristic of nineteenth century or twentieth century colonial rule. It is characterised by cruelty and repression which have resulted in - according to authoritative estimates - somewhat over 130,000 refugees fleeing into the Congo.

The Assembly knows that conditions in the Congo at present are not such that anybody would like to go there as if it were a sanatorium, but the conditions in Angola are obviously far worse and therefore refugees are driven into these areas, and they are going at the rate of 10,000 a month or so. These are not reports by political parties but by the International Red Cross, which is taking care of these people. They are mainly children driven from Angolan homes where men and women are forced into the modern slavery of forced labour. The view that is taken by the Portuguese Empire in this connection is something that is inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

Since 5 February 1961, there have been enormous casualties arising from the attack on the population by the ruling Power; neither the police nor the army recovered themselves from the troubles given by the Africans in resistance to oppression, and with armed settlers they invaded African quarters, beating up and shooting Africans indiscriminately.

An eyewitness who left Luanda on 6 February told of a count of forty-nine African corpses, hundreds wounded and hundreds more in prison. The massacre continues.

Picking up the story on 24 February 1961 the magazine *Time* reported, on page 22, that a Luanda cab driver had:



told reporters that he saw five trucks loaded with corpses driven out to a mass burial in the bush...

While tanks and armoured cars patrolled the streets at night Portuguese gunboats and planes combed the coastline, a doctor said wearily, "I don't know how much more of this I can stand. Every night we deal with men dreadfully wounded and cut up."

Another eyewitness said the following:

"On 29 July, on our way back, we passed through this village again. Three hours after we left the village that day, it was completely wiped out. Some other journalists later visited this village and said that there had been evidence of napalm bombs."

These atrocious methods are shocking enough when used by nations in wars against other nations, but they are even more shocking when used by nations against peoples over whom they rule.

We could go on recounting more stories of such atrocities. Africans are pulled out of their homes at night and shot dead for no reason except that they are African Angolans or other Africans living in their own territories.

What is the Portuguese theory about this? I think that we must understand this particular aspect of the question when we discuss article 73. The following is a memorandum which was written by the Portuguese Government to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in 1924:

In new countries, and particularly in the African colonies, the regulation of labour is an important consideration... Forced labour, for instance, is a form of slavery, and therefore measures should be taken to prevent it. Moreover, the European races which bring civilisation to the natives need their assistance to attain their aims: the work of the colonists must combine with that of the aborigines. It is not reasonable that the colonisation and development of uncivilised countries – [the question is: who is uncivilised?] - with the advantages which accrue to the natives therefrom, should be the result of the colonists' work and organisation alone, without any assistance on the part of the native. Why should the Negro be the only person in this world to be exempt from work? If he works of his own free will, he should be aided and protected by the law. If he does not, he must be induced to work by persuasion and by gently and kindly methods. But if even these means prove ineffective, we have to resort to the methods which civilised communities adopt against those of their members who desire to live on the results of others' labour - that is to say, vagabondage and idleness have to be punished.

In African countries the principal industries now being established are the exploitation of the subsoil and agriculture. Both of these industries require abundant manual labour. But colonists and authorities are interested in the industrial development of the country. If, therefore, manual labour is scarce, if a charter of labour has not been duly established, and if, for this reason, the development of the country is impeded, abuses are bound to occur, and, in spite of all laws and regulations, the natives will be the first to suffer.

While individual liberty should be respected and the principles of justice and equality for all should be upheld, we have some reason to ask whether certain philanthropic ideas are not sometimes, as applied to the Negro races of Africa, likely to produce an effect contrary to that intended. If we are to avoid forcing an evolution which in so-called civilised countries has taken centuries, we must see that tropical Africa does not come to full civilisation without passing through a number of intermediate stages.

To desire to convert the native of the bush, with his customs, habits and manner of life, into a man with all the rights and duties of a European is to provoke a situation which may cause bitter disillusionment. The Negro has to be civilised by his labour and must be made to co-operate by this labour in the process of civilising himself and developing tropical Africa. Kindly and humane methods must be used to induce him to co-operate, but that co-operation must also be a means of modifying his mental outlook. Such an undertaking requires great moderation, prudence and forethought. It is not an easy task, and it is a task which should be dealt with not only from the point of view of the treatment of the Negro, but also of the manner in which he responds to it.

I repeat: that was a memorandum from the Portuguese Government to the League of Nations in 1924. About forty years have passed, but the position is much the same. When a few years ago a Commission was appointed by the United Nations - a Commission on which a countryman of mine sat - it met with the same reaction, the same attitude, the same philosophy, on the part of the Portuguese Government.

Of course, there are some enlightened administrators in Portugal, also. One of them - Captain Henrique Galvao - said the following when, as a Senior Inspector of Colonies, he reported to the Salazar Government in 1947:

In some ways the situation [in Angola] is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery, after all, the native is bought as an animal: his owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse or an ox. Yet here the native is not bought - he is hired from the State, although he is called a free man. And his employer cares little if he sickens or dies, once he is working, because when he sickens or dies his employer will simply ask for another.

Africans have to carry out two kinds of forced labour. First, there is work for the Government. Under this heading, there are the following categories:

- (a) Work on the *chefe de posto*'s garden. This is an official garden, but the vegetables and crops are grown partly for his personal use and partly sold for profit. Every man, woman and child over fourteen years of age has to work for fourteen days on the *granja*. Workers get no pay and have to provide their own tools.
- (b) Road work. Again, every man, woman and child has to work - even cripples and old people - to get the work done. The Administration has moved villagers close to the roads to make it convenient to use them for road work and also to control them for forced labour. There is no pay for this work and the Government gives no tools or rations. People are called out for this work as required. It is never known when it is finished.
- (c) The Government uses forced labour on the harbour works at Luanda and on barrages on rivers for irrigation of the lands for Portuguese settlers. It also uses them on Government building schemes. An eyewitness has said that he remembers seeing them working on a Government housing scheme for Portuguese civil servants.

Second, there is work for private enterprises. There is not a great deal of difference between contract and voluntary work. A man may volunteer to avoid a contract that he is afraid of. Sometimes the volunteers are worse off than the *contratados* because they can be more easily cheated by their employers over wages and time of employment, which may be extended after the agreed term is finished or may be renewed for another full period without the workers' consent.

For a year's labour a man is unlikely to get more than \$14 by the time the native tax has been taken off and the other deductions which the *chefe de posto* imposes. When the *chefe de posto* is paying off a gang of forced labourers, the traders are called and they bring wine and goods for sale so that the worker shall not get away with his money.

It is almost impossible to think that such things can happen in modern times.

We now have a situation in Angola where we have actually moved away from the question of repression of Africans and their rebellion against such repression: we now have a situation which affects the peace and security of the world. The United Nations must now take up the situation not only from the point of view of the atrocities being committed in a colonial empire, but also from the point of view of the effect on Africa as a whole and on the world. In the name of law and order, weapons of war are being used to suppress populations. Some of these

weapons of war are made available to the colonial Powers - whether it be France or Portugal - because of their alliances with other nations. That is to say, countries that are against colonial rule, that certainly would not adopt these tactics, find themselves in a vicarious way in the company of countries that are suppressing populations, using not merely the time-honoured methods of war, but modern methods of war.

### *South West Africa*

In Africa, again there has been no progress with regard to South West Africa. It is not my intention to deal with this matter here, because it is a separate item on the agenda of the Fourth Committee. South Africa continues to apply the policy of racial discrimination known as apartheid in spite of repeated appeals and condemnations by this Assembly, appeals and condemnations voiced year after year.

### *Laos*

In the continent of Asia we have a spot of trouble in Indo-China. A Conference on this subject is going on in Geneva.<sup>77</sup> It is not my intention to deal with this subject in detail, although other people have referred to it. One hopes that the meeting of the Princes in Zurich, the desire of the Laotian parties to come together, and the view of the great Powers and others concerned in the Laotian Conference - at least as publicly expressed - that Laos should remain a neutral country will lead to the emergence of a Government of national unity in such a way as to bring peace to this war-torn country, this country that has not known peace for the last twenty-five years. It fought the Japanese in the great war, then the French colonialists, then the inhabitants have fought amongst themselves, with foreign intervention as the main promoting factor. It goes on in this way. For the last twenty-five years, war has been practically continuous in that country.

### *Berlin*

Every speaker from this rostrum has referred to the problem of Berlin. It is not my intention to go into the details of this question, because the parties mainly concerned are, apparently, according to newspaper reports, engaged in private discussions. It is not our desire to say anything that might in anyway come in the way of an agreement of some kind. Perhaps before the end of my observations I may have something more to say.

### *Congo*

Now we come to one of the most important problems before us, that of the Congo. In the Congo, the war still drags on after eighteen months, but in the last few months there has been progress. The appeal made in the Assembly time after

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<sup>77</sup> Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question opened on 16 May 1961.

time during the course of the last session, for the convening of Parliament and for the emergence of a Government that would have, after the death of Lumumba, some responsibility from Parliament, seems to have at last produced results. Today there is a Government of unity and we are glad that countries of the Eastern and Western blocs have decided to establish missions in Leopoldville, so that there is gradually a movement under the new Prime Minister towards unity and settlement.

The United Nations policy of integrity, independence, the maintenance of law and order and of economic assistance, which had been reiterated, is solidly supported by my Government which will give whatever assistance is possible in this direction provided it is used for those purposes. There have, however, been very considerable difficulties. The Government of India, at the request of the United Nations, has placed at the disposal of the Organisation considerable personnel for the purposes of the maintenance of integrity, independence and law and order, and for the facilitation of economic assistance. The Assembly has, time after time, asked for the withdrawal of those non-Congolese who are not in the country by permission of the Congolese Government, or through the United Nations, but the position of foreign intervention of this kind still continues. In spite of eighteen months of repeated pressure from various quarters, there is still trouble of this sort going on, and the serious trouble of the last few days has largely arisen from the operation of mercenaries who are assisting in the disintegration of the Congo.

In this connection, I would not be doing my duty if I did not say something with regard to the operations of the Indian troops in this area. Unfortunately, there have been mis-statements in regard to the performance of United Nations personnel. It is not my obligation to speak about all the others. Similar statements have been made about Irish troops, for no reason whatsoever. I regret that the first of these came out in the United Kingdom newspapers, though I would like to say at once that officially the Government of the United Kingdom not only has not condoned any of those reports but, what is more, has informed my Prime Minister that it does not share the views that have been stated.

What has actually happened, however, is that in this territory there have been operations against the United Nations forces by those who ought to know better. On 15 September 1961, Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, called upon free countries of the world without delay to demand a cease-fire in Katanga to restore the Tshombe Government. There is no objection to anybody demanding a cease-fire anywhere, because we do not want to see any fighting, but to operate against the United Nations policy - this, by someone who no doubt in due course aspires to come here - is another matter. And, if one may say so, the United Kingdom is responsible for the defence and external policies of the Rhodesian dominion. Sir Roy also said the fighting was bound to get worse.

On 15 September 1961 a French Government spokesman charged that the United Nations had exceeded its mandate and possibly violated the Charter by

intervening with force in Katanga. Considering that the operations of the forces for which we have some responsibility were ordered by the United Nations, at the request of the Congolese Government and Parliament, this does not correspond with the facts. I think the best comment on this comes from a New York newspaper which says:

The sudden entry into the picture of Sir Roy Welensky, leader of the white settlers in the neighbouring Rhodesian Federation, is a reminder that even before the Congo became independent, African leaders were warning the United Nations of a Rhodesian plot to annex Katanga. It is inconceivable that Welensky will try by armed force to prevent unification of the Congo. If he does, what has up to now been the crisis of the Congo may well turn into the crisis of Rhodesia.

It says at a later date:

The current bloody struggle in Katanga, the first time a United Nations force has been involved in fighting, is not, as reports to the Security Council make clear, a result of a United Nations effort to end Katanga's secession by force...

This is basically a struggle between the United Nations and a group of freebooters and adventurers - including French ultras exiled from their own country because of participation in the thwarted military rebellion in Algeria.

For months now the United Nations has been engaged in patient, persistent efforts to fulfil repeated General Assembly and Security Council directives that foreign mercenaries be evacuated from Katanga. Despite all its pleadings there were still some 500 left less than a month ago. They were the backbone of Katanga's resistance to national unity.

African nationalist leaders have supported the action of the United Nations in the whole of that region.

Then we come to certain matters to which I must draw attention. There have been charges of Indian troops firing on Red Cross vehicles. I would like to say here, on the basis of completely checked information, that this is entirely false. General McKeown<sup>78</sup> told a Press Conference, "Indian troops are well led, well disciplined, and conducted themselves well." He said that the Indian troops had the hardest job, having to take radio and post office installations, and come under heavy fire and sniping. But they were restrained. He denied that Gurkha troops fired at a Red Cross van. The General said that the Red Cross van was mounted with a bazooka by Belgian paratroopers. A Red Cross van does not become a Red Cross van because a cross is painted on it. It fired on and killed the Irish crew of a United Nations armoured car.

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<sup>78</sup> Major General Sean McKeown of Ireland

General McKeown referred to the allegations of a British correspondent that Gurkha troops had inflicted heavy casualties on the other side during the capture of the radio station. "I do not accept any charge against them," he said.

Then we come to more recent matters in this connection. During the recent fighting in Elizabethville a Red Cross ambulance car carried a bazooka and fired on soldiers in the same incident. Here is another one: on several occasions European civilians travelling in cars carrying Red Cross flags have been seen to carry machine guns. An Italian Red Cross medical team who were working for the United Nations was arrested in Elizabethville by Katangese soldiers under their European mercenary officers. This Italian Red Cross team was giving aid and succour to both Katangese and United Nations troops. The Italian Red Cross hospital which was supporting the United Nations troops was constantly under fire and had to be evacuated. At Albertville, Indian soldiers captured two Belgians in civilian clothes manning a gun. They were later identified as doctors. A gentleman in priestly garb - I do not like to say a "priest" - was apprehended in the United Nations Italian military hospital in Albertville under suspicious circumstances. When he was searched a bayonet and hand grenade were found concealed in his robes.

By early September half the mercenaries had been removed by the United Nations. Consuls concerned in Elizabethville gave the United Nations assurances that they would help in removing others. The Belgian Consul undertook to repatriate sixty odd who had taken shelter in his consulate building. When fighting broke out, it was these who led elements of the Katanga *gendarmarie*. These Belgian army officers are members of the regular metropolitan army. Rhodesia has permitted the full use of its territory in support of Tshombe. It has helped with technicians, and has permitted passage of arms and ammunition.

I think I would like to stop there, because otherwise it will take too long at this late hour. I want to point out that this is a United Nations operation and, that being so, whoever is ordered by the United Nations to take part in it ceases to be a national of his country for that purpose and is entitled to the protection of the United Nations. The symbol of the Red Cross being used as a cover for other purposes is more than can be accepted as an excuse. There has been no question of Indian troops firing on Red Cross officials - except where the Red Cross has been used by others in this way, and a crime has been committed.

### ***Nuclear Tests***

I now come to a more important aspect of the items we are to consider. The first of these, which disturbs my Government greatly, is the resumption of nuclear tests. We are a country that is normally known as "uncommitted." We do not take our instructions from either of the war blocs. Nor do we, in spite of differences that may arise in regard to either of them always fail to express our opinions in a matter of importance. With regard to these nuclear tests, it is necessary, however,

not to take this thing at a particular stage but to look at the thing as a whole.

It was first brought here by the Government of India in 1954,<sup>79</sup> and from 1954 it incurred the opposition of the United Kingdom. When first India brought the idea that nuclear tests ought to be suspended, it was opposed by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom for three reasons. First of all, Mr Selwyn Lloyd said it was not disarmament and therefore it need not be discussed. Secondly, it was said by the permanent representative at that time that the fall-out was negligible; that there was natural radiation, there was always radiation from luminous wrist-watches, and therefore, it did not matter whether there was more radiation. Therefore, there was no such thing as radiation hazard. That was the second reason for which our appeal was not to be considered. Third, in the second or third year, when these things were wearing down, it was said that tests were not detectable; in other words, you could explode an atom bomb in your pocket! That was the idea. For those three reasons, our proposal was opposed.

Ultimately, after four years, there was a Conference in Geneva,<sup>80</sup> and the United States and the Soviet Union together came to an agreement, which had been discussed here also, that perhaps the technical parts of this problem could be investigated. A Conference thus took place, and just before that the USSR stopped explosion - in March of 1958 - and the United Kingdom and the United States stopped them in September of the same year. And, until September 1961, so far as we know, there have been no explosions except by France, which proclaimed what is called atomic isolation. In other words, they claim the liberty to explode atomic bombs in the Sahara, which is African territory.

In the course of these negotiations in Geneva, there were attempts - of course, we are not a party to them, we can only obtain news of them from such published information as is available - to bring them into the general ban. Our submission was that nuclear explosions, in whatever form they may take place, are bad, and that they ought to be stopped - and completely stopped. The reasons are twofold. One is the effects of radiation, and the other is that nobody explodes these bombs just for amusement; it is only preparation for nuclear war. So, for one reason or another, these explosions should be stopped.

Then, at that time, there came a dent in the idea of the general blanket prohibition of explosions that was being pursued. The Western side proposed that underground explosions might be permitted, and there seems to have been disagreement about it. Since this will come up in the First Committee, I will not go into details about it. It was also said in the West that it was difficult to detect these underground explosions.

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<sup>79</sup> See *Disarmament Commission, Official Records, Supplement for April, May & June 1954*, document DC/44 and Corr.1.

<sup>80</sup> Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, opened on 31 October 1958



Ultimately, in the March of 1959, the United Kingdom Prime Minister went to Moscow and proposed to the USSR that they might establish a principle which would permit underground blasts below a prescribed level.

My Government thinks that it was a great mistake to have gone away from the idea of a blanket prohibition and to say that there may be good explosions and bad explosions. We are familiar with this argument in the Assembly. I remember that, two or three years ago, it was between the “clean” bomb and the “dirty” bomb. Which was the clean bomb, I do not know - but there it is. Now, it is the nice explosions and the not-so-nice explosions.

Anyway, in May of 1959, the United States agreed to study some proposals - in regard to the inspection quotas, and so on.

To make a long story short, this year there came the renewal of explosions by the Soviet Union. My Government, without reservation, regrets this and regards it as a setback to peace. The moment it was confirmed, we made no reservations in this matter - because we think that the only purpose of these explosions is to prepare for atomic war. It is not only a question of more radiation or less radiation, whether radiation is harmful or not so harmful, because, according to some United States scientists, even if there was a nuclear war, in the first year only two million people would die, and it would become 160 million in one hundred years: there are different calculations. These Government scientists are like the bishops of the eighteenth century: they reflect the opinions of their Governments. And therefore we need not pay exclusive attention to it.

Our position with regard to the renewal of explosions by the Soviet Union is that it is highly regrettable. We have heard all the explanations; we are prepared even to consider the fact that they might have known that somebody else was preparing. But these do not change our position. Equally we think that anyone else who explodes a bomb because the Soviet Union did so is also wrong in doing so. Our position is one of 100 per cent opposition: no explosions under any circumstances, because the explosions are merely preparations for nuclear war, irrespective even of the question of radiation alone.

Therefore, we have brought to the Assembly an item, “Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal,” which differs from the one put down by the United States, “The urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests under effective international control.” The treaty and such things may come afterward, but there should be a stopping of these explosions if we are to move toward disarmament or even toward the lowering of tensions.

We have been told in one case that it is because of all the troubles in regard to Berlin and general activity on behalf of NATO, the proposals of the West to give

nuclear arms to West Germany, and so on. All this may be true. We are not one of the great Powers, we are not among the great killers of the world - we are among the minor Powers - so we cannot take effective responsibility in this. But irrespective of the fact whether the nuclear power of the United States and its allies has increased or not, our answer is that the resumption of tests is regrettable, is a setback to peace. A little later I shall quote Mr Khrushchev on this, which is perhaps the best thing to do.

It has been said - it was said by the Secretary of State the other day - that the fact that these tests are taking place now means that there must have been preparations for tests in this way beforehand. Obviously there had been preparations for these tests. That appears to apply to both sides, because it so happens that, with the system that prevails in the Western world, all these things are published, and in the Congressional inquiries in regard to underground test explosions, it is pointed out that it takes two or three years to make one of these big holes in which explosions are made. The question whether these underground tests radiate anything or not is a different one. I do not know the answer.

At a hearing before the Sub-Committee on Disarmament of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate held on 4 February 1960, Dr Panofsky made the following remarks to Senator Hubert Humphrey:

First, the length of time has been estimated to be between two to four years to make a hole for seventy kilotons.

Senator Humphrey: Two to four years?

Dr Panofsky: Right.

Now let me make one other remark. We keep focusing our attention on salt.

Now, there is nothing magic about salt. The reason one talks about salt is because that is the medium in which engineers believe it would be easiest to make such a big hole.

It is not the properties of salt which make the muffing better, but it is just the fact that salt appears to be the most economical way of producing such a hole.

Senator Humphrey: It would take two to four years, in other words, in the salt area -

Dr Panofsky: Yes.

Senator Humphrey: And if you happen to run into something a little more

difficult than salt, it would take longer?

Dr Panofsky: It would take longer and cost more.

Senator Humphrey: Where do the salt areas of the world predominate?

Dr Panofsky: Everywhere.

We know the Russians have large solution-mining operations and they are, therefore, familiar with the technique...

Actually the question of naturally occurring holes is not so critical because the naturally occurring holes we know about are small. They are only useful for concealing explosions of one kiloton or so, which are difficult to identify anyhow.

No really thorough engineering studies have been made which give reliable cost figures, but just as rough guidance, several hundred thousand dollars per kiloton for the hole is the kind of figure which the engineers discuss.

This means that for 50 kilotons you might end up with figures in the general order of \$10 to \$30 million.

These were figures which were produced by a rather brief study of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Statements have been made in the Soviet Union by way of explanation - and I am not going to read out the explanations given - that the need arose against their will because of the situation with regard to Germany or because of threats against the Soviet Union. We have been told here time after time - and I shall point out and give the figures when we come to talk about disarmament - that there are enough atomic bombs in the world to blow up the world several times over. Then what is the point of having more of them? We have not been able to understand this even from a purely power point of view.

Therefore, my country stands entirely without reservation in condemnation of the renewal of tests, whether they be by one party, by two parties or by three parties. The French always keep out and make it difficult to draw any kind of tight cordoning in this matter.

Then there is the proposal made with regard to the abandonment of tests under water and in the air, to which the Russians reply: "Yes, you are quite prepared to do that, but it is the other one we want to see abandoned." Then we come back to the same position, that whether it be underground or over-ground, with the amount of material available it is quite obvious that there are all sorts of diabolical weapons with either side which can be released from one place or the other. There

is only one way of dealing with the atomic weapon, and that is to do away with it. There cannot be any kind of half-way house.

From 1945 to 1958, the United States has been responsible for 169 explosions, the Soviet Union for 55 explosions, the United Kingdom for 21 explosions and France for four explosions, making a total of 249. Of course they are of different sizes. The total yield is estimated to be 170 megatons, which is equal to 170 million tons of TNT. Today, so far as nuclear testing is concerned, with the renewal of tests by the Soviet Union, two or three tests by the United States and the continuation of tests by France, we are in a much worse position than we were in 1959.

We hope that the efforts which were made by the Geneva Conference and which nearly came to a successful conclusion can perhaps be renewed. We may quote what was said recently on the one hand by Mr Khrushchev and, on the other hand, by Mr Stevenson. In January 1960, Mr Khrushchev told the world:

It should not be hard to realise that consequences would follow if, in the present situation, any country were to resume weapon testing. Other nuclear powers should be obliged to follow suit. This would spur resumption of an absolutely unrestricted drive in the testing of nuclear weapons of any capacity and under any conditions. The Government that would be the first to resume testing would be assuming grave responsibility to the nations.<sup>81</sup>

Mr Stevenson, some time before that, said the following:

The recent proposal by some of our leaders that the United States resume underground nuclear tests, just when the first break in the deadlock seems possible, shocked me. I can think of few better ways to chill the prospects, deface our peaceful image, and underscore the Communist propaganda that they are the peacemakers and we the warmongers. We should extend our test suspension so long as negotiations continue in good faith and Russia maintains a similar suspension.

I am confident that some at least of the Russian leaders are anxious to halt testing and development of nuclear weapons before the danger becomes even more uncontrollable.

The good faith of the negotiations is decisive, because indefinite suspension amounts to a test ban without inspection.

...the argument goes, disarmament is impossible until political settlements have been reached and confidence restored.

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<sup>81</sup> Report by N. S. Khrushchev to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 14 January 1960, published in *New Times*, 4 January 1960, Supplement, p. 9

I disagree. I believe the nuclear arms race with weapons of mass destruction is a new element and in itself a cause of tension... fear will not vanish until the arms race is arrested.<sup>82</sup>

It is quite true that there are reservations in the statements, but they both show an attitude of mind which, if I may say it with respect, coincides with the views we have expressed, namely that there cannot be a half-way house in this matter. Either there are to be nuclear explosions or there are not to be nuclear explosions. It is not sufficient if somebody says that the radiation is greater in Minnesota than somewhere else. It makes no difference to the world as such, because apart from the radiation there is a stepping up of the nuclear arms race, and that concerns us even more than anything else.

### *Disarmament*

With regard to disarmament, our Prime Minister recently expressed his views. The ruling party in India yesterday passed a resolution with reservations expressing appreciation of the agreement or whatever you would like to call it - resulting from the exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, speaking here the other day referred to the communiqué of the Commonwealth Conference [A/4868 and Corr.1]. I wish he had not, because it is my duty to say that while we have subscribed to that communiqué, my Prime Minister has made it clear beyond any doubt that my country stands by the twelve-Power draft resolution<sup>83</sup> that was submitted to the First Committee in 1960 and is still under discussion. We are glad to think that the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations issued by the United States and the USSR [A/4879] in very large measure adopts the substance of the phraseology of the draft resolution. But there are some very significant omissions and significant additions to which I shall briefly refer today. My delegation will no doubt take this up in the First Committee if it comes there for discussion and if the discussions are not taking place among the great Powers outside that context. We have felt that the only way to get anything worthwhile done in the United Nations on one world issue or another is for the United States and the Soviet Union to come to agreement on it. We have found this to be the true, factual position and from 1952 onwards we have made the appeal each year that unless the United States and the Soviet Union come to an agreement, we are not likely to move forward. We still stand unreservedly by that position.

It is quite true that we are all equal here in status, but as the late Lord Balfour said, equality of status does not mean equality of function. It is in the hands of the powerful nations that the peace of the world immediately rests. Therefore, we

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<sup>82</sup> Adlai Stevenson, "Putting First Things First," in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 38, No 2 (January 1960), pp. 200 and 201

<sup>83</sup> A/C.1/L.259

hope that this agreement will come about. However, I am sorry to say that already annotations have come out in the way of two statements, one by the United States [A/4891] and one by the Soviet Union [A/4892], which already show the difficulties involved when we embark on a question like that of full and complete disarmament.

This is the policy which has been put forward in the twelve-Power draft resolution. By full and complete disarmament we mean full and complete disarmament. I shall come to that in a moment. We may look at the whole of this discussion on disarmament from 1945 onwards. There is no doubt that there has been a considerable amount of debate. At one time it looked as though we would go further and further. But, as my Prime Minister said at Belgrade the other day, looking at the world we see more and more arms and not disarmament.

### ***Rise in Military Expenditure***

On 25 July 1961, the President of the United States asked for an additional grant of \$3,247 million of appropriations for the armed forces. To fill out present army divisions and to make more men available for prompt deployment, he requested an increase in the Army's total authorised strength from 875,000 to approximately one million men. He requested an increase of 29,000 and 63,000 men respectively in the Navy and Air Force. These are all published figures, so there is no harm in repeating them.

Then we go on to the other side. We read in the *New York Times* of 5 September 1961 in a dispatch from Warsaw:

Marian Spychalski, Defence Minister, disclosed today that other Soviet-bloc countries, as well as the Soviet Union and Poland, had taken steps conducive to the strengthening of defence readiness.

“Defence readiness” is what it is called politely. The article continues -

General Spychalski, addressing a graduation ceremony of the Czarniecki officers' academy at Poznan, reported in general terms that a military alert had been ordered within the Soviet bloc.

In 1955, 1956 and 1958 the Soviet Union claims that its armed forces had been reduced by 2,140,000 men. On 14 January 1960, a decision was taken on a further reduction of the numerical strength of its - the Soviet Union's - armed forces by 1,200,000 men. Then it is stated in a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR that it will not fulfil this decision if there is an intensification of war preparations in the NATO member States, threatening the security of the socialist countries.

We are not concerned with the reasoning in this matter but with the facts. The fact

is that in 1960, instead of a cut-back of 1,200,000 men, they remain. The statement continues:

Taking into consideration the necessity of strengthening the defence potential of the Soviet Union in these conditions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR found it necessary temporarily to retain in the armed forces of the USSR soldiers, sailors, sergeants, sergeant-majors and petty officers of the appropriate arms of the service and qualifications, who have completed their term of military service established by law and are subject to transfer to the reserve, to the amount necessary for securing that combat readiness of the Soviet Army in case of any possible provocations by the aggressive quarters of the Western Powers.

Thus, irrespective of the reasons, the facts are that on both sides armaments expenditure in money goes up more and more and more. An estimate of national defence expenditure for arms, armaments and personnel shows that the world is spending \$14 million an hour for arms and armies. All this may not concern the great Powers so much, but I think that the peoples of the world, if they know more and more what is going on in these directions, will less and less use the legalisms and all the arguments, all the "pros" and "cons," all the finding fault one way or another.

This is \$40 a year for every man, woman and child on earth. That is very much more than the *per capita* income of the African population of the Congo. At least 15 million men are members of the various national armies, and a total of 75 million men are engaged in tasks directly connected with making war. Not included in these totals are an uncounted number of scientists whose research is more or less directly aimed at producing weapons or at improving existing weapons.

Of the total arms expenditure, the United States and the Soviet Union together account for 73 per cent, \$88 billion a year. The United States has the largest armaments expenditure of any nation - \$46 billion a year. This is 55 per cent of the total Federal Budget. However, it has been estimated that the Soviets spend as much as \$42 billion a year for military expenses, among which would be expenditures titled "Heavy Construction," "Education" and "Scientific Experiments." The Soviets claim to be spending only \$10.2 billion a year for arms and armed forces.

Ending the arms race absolutely would make it possible to double the incomes of 1.2 billion people who now make less than \$100 a year. Or it would enable adequate housing to be provided for 240 million families which are now inadequately housed.

Thus while there has been all this talk of cutting down on arms, if you take the

year 1950, as regards expenditures on arms of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR, you will see that the expenditure on military budgets in France has gone up from \$1.55 billion to 3.2; in this particular case largely because of colonial wars. The United Kingdom has gone up from 2.38 to 4.2. The United States has gone up from 14.6 to 46. The USSR has gone up from 20.72 to 24.0. I suppose that is because of different calculations. Anyway, in every country there has been an increase in military expenditure.

We explain the military expenditure in our country as irrelevant for this purpose because it does not come into this particular arms race. However, as a matter of interest it has decreased in the last three years from 0.613 to 0.510, so in a small way one makes whatever contribution one can.

### **Twelve-Power Draft Resolution**

With regard to the disarmament position, in 1946, directives [Resolution 41(I)] were given by the United Nations and then we came to a period of deadlock. Again in 1952 directives [Resolution 808 (IX)] were formulated. Last year, my delegation, in common with eleven others, tried to persuade the Assembly to accept the giving of directives to the people who were engaged in disarmament negotiations. For the first time there was an attempt on both sides not to kill the draft resolution but to have it considered. It has been discussed now for a long time and certainly there is the advantage that there has been an agreement put out between the United States and the Soviet Union with regard to the goals of disarmament. And here may I say this. There are two ways of looking at a goal; one is a goal of something you try to reach; but if you look at a goal from the point of view of a goal-keeper, to prevent the other fellow from getting there, then the word "goal" has a different meaning. That is the difficulty in using this word because "goal" means that if all difficulties are overcome they will get there.

So far as the goal of negotiations is concerned, both countries, as in the draft resolution<sup>84</sup> before the Assembly, have agreed to accept general and complete disarmament, which indeed was accepted even two years ago [Resolution 1378 (XIV)].

However, as far as our draft resolution, the twelve-Power draft resolution, is concerned, there is a paragraph in it which "enjoins and urges countries to refrain from actions likely to aggravate international tensions." This has been taken out and has been substituted by "reliable procedures for the settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace."

Now we go on to the other side with regard to the maintenance of international forces. Until there is international law in the world and until the One World principle has been agreed upon this is an impossibility. We are not, as Lord Home tried to persuade the Assembly, ready to accept the doctrine of the balance of

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.



power. It is not possible for small countries to accept the idea that the great Powers would have armed forces which would be placed at the disposal of the international authority. The draft resolution as it is put out, and the agreed principles both contemplate such a force, a police force. In the twelve-Power draft resolution national contingents, constituting the international force, should, it is contemplated, exclude the possibility of their being used for purposes inconsistent with the Charter, including their use in the interest of one group or another. There is no such provision in the agreed principles. Here is the trouble. International forces had to be used at various times and unanimity could not be obtained in the Assembly, not necessarily as between one bloc or the other, but even as between countries.

Another important difference between these agreed principles and the draft resolution is in regard to nuclear stockpiles. The draft resolution refers to the elimination of nuclear stockpiles and means of chemical and bacteriological warfare.

The agreed principles between the Soviet Union and the United States talk about the elimination of nuclear stockpiles. It is not said that once eliminated you cannot replace them. However, the draft resolution asked for the prohibition of these means of war, and this has been the position of the United Nations since 1952, when we accepted the prohibition resolution [502(VI)]. In that sense, unless it is merely a verbal change, it is something on which we will have something to say afterwards.

Then we come to one of the main controversies on which there was a possibility of reaching an agreement, in 1960, and that is with regard to what was called partial disarmament and complete disarmament. We are one of those countries who, on the one hand, think that it is not possible in today's world to reach any agreement on disarmament without controls, without inspections and without everything else agreed to. But, equally, we have always stated that any form of disarmament, however well-intentioned or desirable, will take time, whether it takes one minute or one year or ten years; it will take time. But in this twelve-Power draft resolution it is clear that the first part of it is not supposed to be a sort of probationary period or trial experiment, to see how it works - that is, if everybody behaves properly, to go on to the next step. It seeks to commit the world as a whole to disarmament.

There has been discussion about this, and that part is still left in ambiguity in the statement of agreed principles.

According to the agreed principles, the international inspecting officers would have unrestricted access, without veto, to all places necessary for the purpose of verification. This is a great advance as compared with the resolution which we submitted. and we welcome it - unrestricted access to all places, without veto. It would work out if there was agreement on general and complete disarmament.

On the other hand, the agreed principles omit altogether the provisions contained in the sixteen-Power draft resolution which relate to the use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes. No doubt that may well be a simpler matter, because there are only two countries concerned.

There was also a provision in the draft resolution with regard to surprise attacks. It was stated that all countries should refrain from all forms of surprise attack and preparation for the same. This has also been eliminated in the agreed principles.

### *Weapons Development*

I have now dealt with most of these matters. All that now remains is an aspect or two with regard to the drift towards war. Now, we are not ourselves directly concerned in the Berlin dispute, in the narrower sense. It is not before the United Nations either. We have not sought to bring it before the United Nations because we think that if the great Powers concerned could bring about a settlement - and we hope they will - from all that has been heard that would be the best thing one could think of.

However, having regard to what has become part of present thinking, the imminence of a nuclear war and the preparations for the same - such as the resumption of test explosions - while we may not be contributors to such war, we all have the common concern of being the common victims of it, and therefore from the victims' point of view we think we have some reason to say something about these matters.

I do not propose to read from the pages and pages I have here that relate to various types of weapons. For the first time we have been able to get the particulars on Russian weapons, which were recently published, and on American weapons. There are these surface to surface, air to air, ground to air, water to air missiles - missiles all over the place, beautiful names with a great destructive capacity. And on top of it there is also the prohibition of the use of the moon for this purpose. This is purely a lunatic effort.

There was a society in the eighteenth century which met on a day wherein there was a full moon. The reason was that various people wanted to get back to their homes which were thirty and forty miles away. They were called the "lunar society." They were the beginning of the scientists of the world.

Now I have here an extract from testimony which was submitted to the House Armed Services Committee, which says that the United States Air Force intends to establish a missile base on the moon. There is nothing exclusively lunar about this. It is considered that the warhead would be fired from the moon to the earth without an enormous expenditure of energy, since the moon has no atmosphere and little gravity.

The extract goes on to say that General Putt testified that the moon would provide a base of retaliation of considerable advantage over earth-bound nations. Sounds rather mystic, does it not? He pointed out that an attack upon the moon by the USSR would have to be launched a day or two before an attack upon the terrestrial United States if the United States was to be unable to retaliate from the moon. Such a preliminary attack upon the moon, he considered, would warn Americans of their danger. If, on the other hand, the Russians did not demolish the United States lunar installations, it would be possible from these installations to destroy Russia, although the terrestrial United States had been obliterated - a grim prospect.

General Putt's testimony was reinforced by Richard E. Homer - the extract goes on - Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development, who saw in the establishment of lunar bases an opportunity of breaking through the nuclear stalemate.

It is further stated here, and it is curious, and typical of militarist mentality everywhere, that both these two eminent gentlemen seemed at first loath to admit the possibility of Russia also installing missile stations on the moon. It is obvious that what one side can do the other also can do, and the only result of such plans, if they are carried out, must be warfare from the moon. General Putt, it is true, did in the end acknowledge that what the United States can do on or from the moon Russia can also do, but the moral which he drew was that the United States must also occupy Mars and Venus which, apparently, he considered to be beyond the reach of the Soviets. We are not told why.

The extract further states that all this curious speculation received much less publicity than might have been expected and that the writer would not have known of it but for the fact that it has been reported.

I have not yet seen an account of similar plans of the Soviet Union, but I must look out for it!

### ***Position of the Secretary-General***

I shall now dwell on a matter which has engaged the attention of the Assembly very recently, and that is the situation which has been created by the sudden death of the Secretary-General. I have been asked by my Government to make our position entirely clear. We desire a United Nations that will function strongly. Last year when Mr Khrushchev put forward the proposal of a tripartite Secretariat, my Prime Minister spoke in opposition at that time to it, and our position with regard to the troika is the same today. I used the word "troika," because it has been generally used here and elsewhere in this connection.

In other words, we do not believe in an executive which provides for the

functioning of three heads that would cancel out each other. Therefore, we are against a Secretariat which possesses these three heads.

We are also against what the Americans call an arrangement which contains a built-in veto. We are against any kind of arrangement whereby forward movement would become impossible. At the same time, however, we believe there is some element of merit in the collective idea, because mistakes of various kinds have been made in the past. There is no reason at all why, through the ingenuity of the statesmen who are gathered here, a solution of this character could not be brought about.

We think that it is possible to find a solution. In the statement put out by the Soviet Union, it would appear, so far as we understand it, that it has come away from the idea of the veto. It has also moved towards the idea of having one person - of course, with certain modifications.

We are not at present putting forward any proposals - because we do not want it to be thought that we are in any way hindering any bilateral agreement in regard to these proposals - but I should like representatives, particularly those with strong views, to look at the history of this matter. This idea of more than one Secretary-General is nothing new. In 1946 the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations submitted a report to the United Nations; and what is more, it was accepted - its proposals have never been carried out. At that time it was said:

...the Secretary-General should be authorised to appoint Assistant Secretaries-General and such other officials and employees as are required.. . The Assistant Secretaries-General should have responsibility, etc.<sup>85</sup>

Before that it was proposed that:

...there should always be one Assistant Secretary-General amongst those referred to in recommendation 11 below, designated by the Secretary-General to deputise for him when he is absent or unable to perform his functions.<sup>86</sup>

Looking back, after the event, it would seem that if this recommendation had been followed, we could have avoided our present difficulty. What I am trying to point out is that this idea of having more than one person carrying responsibility, in whatever form, is nothing new.

In 1952, Mr Trygve Lie submitted to the General Assembly his report on reorganisation.<sup>87</sup> In that report we find the following:

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<sup>85</sup> See *Report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations* (Pc/20) Chapter VIII, recommendation 11

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, recommendation 8

<sup>87</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Annexes, Agenda item 3, Document A/2214*

The Secretary-General believes that many advantages would result from the introduction of a simplified scheme in which three Deputy Secretaries-General would replace the present Assistant Secretaries-General and more responsibility for day-to-day administration would be delegated to the Principal Directors. The main features of the plan would be:

- (a) To enable the Secretary-General to devote his entire energies to the most important problems of policy and programme formulation by freeing him from questions of day-to-day operation, administration and co-ordination.
- (b) To provide the Secretary-General with a small group of deputies of the highest competence and prestige to collaborate with him. Although these persons should each be responsible for the functioning of a part of the Secretariat so as to ensure that their policy considerations would be rooted in realities, their main duty would be the development and overall co-ordination of policies and programmes.
- (c) To delegate through the Deputy Secretaries-General to the next supervisory level ... the maximum responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the several areas of the Secretariat."

I have no desire to go into a great many details nor into Mr Hammarskjold's report, because it was intended for him to argue it, and since he is not here, it is not necessary. The same idea is carried through with different modifications.

So the idea of having a collective factor is nothing new. While we are against any kind of arrangement which divides the world in three, while we are against any arrangement which provides for a built-in veto, we think that it is impossible for this Organisation to function except by agreement between the great Powers. That is the basis on which the United Nations was founded. The United States was the main delegation responsible for the veto at San Francisco; no more powerful speeches could have been made than those by Senator Connolly at that time - for some time the Russians did not seem anxious about it in those days. Therefore, we think that the private talks being carried on by these great countries with minor and smaller people as well as between themselves have probably moved them nearer.

There is no reason why, in our submission, with a degree of the understanding of the position of the large number of nations in the Assembly, many of which would not want to be driven into the position of subscribing to a railroaded draft resolution - because we have seen resolutions in this Assembly adopted by fifty-five votes to five and nothing happened after - a solution could not be reached. Especially when the chief executive of one of the Charter organs may have to be appointed, such appointment must carry with it both moral and other consent of

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practically the entire body of people, and not become an issue wherein we merely count votes and get nowhere.

Therefore, we would be willing to support any agreement that is reached between the main contending parties, irrespective of our own views or desires on any aspect of this matter. We think that it should be possible for them to come to an agreement on some individual, and for that individual to appoint five or six deputies, according to geographical or other considerations. If it is felt to be more closely in conformity with the Charter if the appointments are made by the Secretary-General himself, these things can be easily provided for. We believe, therefore, that if a common individual can be agreed upon and that individual can go on immediately to accept the position and, in general, pour oil on troubled waters, then we shall be able to proceed.

The Indian Government is a little concerned about the fact that an arrangement of this character must come through the Security Council - and for this reason. The Government of India has today 7,000 personnel in the Congo. For the first time, the armed forces of India have gone beyond their shores with lethal weapons. It is true that they went to Korea, to Gaza, to Lebanon and elsewhere, but today they are in Congo as a fighting force on the demand of the United Nations. Increasing demands are made upon us each day and we have responsibilities to our people and our Parliament in regard to their performance and conditions. The whole of the Congo action emanates from the Security Council's functions and decisions. It would be a bad day if things of this kind were to be decided by a majority vote in the Assembly and not by the Security Council. We are not a member of the Security Council, but we are a member of this Organisation and, therefore, if the Secretary-General is merely a creature of the General Assembly appointed by a majority vote or even a unanimous vote and not related to another Charter organ, the Security Council, it would put the Security Council outside the competence of the appointee and *vice versa*. This is a serious matter. I have tried speaking privately about it, but so far with no results.

I think that it is necessary for me to say, on behalf of the Government of India, that we would support any arrangement on which there is comparative agreement between the great Powers, an agreement which would enable things to function. We think that it is possible to reach such an agreement because the Soviet Union has moved away from the "troika" position and a built-in veto: it said in its statement of 1 October 1961 that it was not asking for a veto. It has agreed to an acting appointment of one man as Secretary-General. Therefore, I hope that, in the next few days, it will be possible to come to some agreement. It will depend on the two sides being able to have confidence not only in each other, but in the kind of person who would come in, a person who would not be pushed one way or the other. Any person who is likely to be not totally objective and not have the courage to maintain correct positions, would find himself in difficulty.

Given this background, we do not see any difficulty about these other functionary

and collective factors being brought in on the basis of geographical considerations - five or six as the case may be by agreement - if the countries behind them do not try to condition those officials.

For its part, whether it be in the Congo or in the Secretariat, the Government of India has never given an instruction to any Indian personnel either here or in the field of operations. Once they are handed over they are international civil servants, and we have scrupulously respected that position. Even with regard to the Congo operations my Government collected all its information from other sources and not from anybody within the United Nations, because there were Indian officials in charge and we did not want to embarrass them.

That would be our position. Therefore, I make this suggestion that it may be possible for the representatives of the great Powers to come together on this basis and to be able to earn the gratitude of large numbers of people, especially people like ourselves who do not want to be divided in this manner and who would like to see a unanimous decision somehow or other taking place.

Whatever decision we take, it will not be in conformity with the Charter because the authors of the Charter - in their great anxiety to say something in a few pages, or whatever it may have been - did not make any provision for this contingency. Perhaps they thought that Secretaries-General would not die! That is also possible. But, anyway, there is no precedent which can help us in the present context. It has been said that there are precedents. I do not want to argue that. If the time comes when it is necessary, we will argue it but there are no precedents - so that whatever arrangements were made would not be on all fours in terms of the letter of the Charter or precedent. Certainly they could be in the spirit of the Charter, in the sense that the Security Council and the Assembly may be able to subscribe to them.

The man must be able to work instead of having one party or the other being suspicious of him so that he will be unable to go forward in other ways. We hope that any further progress between the great Powers with regard to the issue of war and peace agitating the world-which is really disturbing people far more than anything else - will be helped by some movement towards that end.

We are a country with little capacity to influence these decisions between the giants either by force of arms, by economic power or even by the power of persuasion. Even when a proposition is submitted on merits and without partisanship it usually takes six or seven years for it to become even acquiesced in. We find that very often the approach is the same in this matter. We have made this appeal in this way in the hope that, in the next few days, having come so far - that is, the idea of a veto having been eliminated and the idea of one man not being agreeable at all being now not the case, the idea of one man plus having come into being - we shall, with a degree of give and take, find that action will be possible, especially if in the intervening period we can have five or six, or

whatever number is required for the purpose, to go on with the duties as they are at present.

### ***Put an End to War***

The world is exercised about the situation in Berlin, but not because people do not understand why a city should be divided like this or otherwise. So far as we are concerned, when any country makes peace with anybody we shall not say “no.” If the Americans want to make peace with East Germany we shall not object to it, and if the Russians want to make peace with West or East Germany we shall not object to that. In spite of such instructions as I have, I have refrained from going into any detail in this matter, because the situation changes from day to day, and for us to make observations on details would not be of any assistance. But it would be a bad thing for people to be told, as they are constantly told in the lobbies of the Assembly, that the world is getting accustomed to the idea of a nuclear war, so let the other side take care. Each side says, “Let the other side take care” — not that it itself should take care.

I conclude with two quotations. Normally one goes back to history, to somewhere else and to remote periods. Living people may perhaps not be effectively quoted since they may change their opinions next day. I remember a gentleman with whom I was discussing a particular article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. I quoted the article against his position. At the end of it he said, “I have changed my opinion, since I wrote that.” So there is always that danger.

However, Mr Khrushchev said, when he visited us here at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly:

The people are thirsting for peace; they want to live without fear for their future, without fear of losing those who are dear to them in the conflagration of a new war.

For centuries, the people have dreamed of putting an end to the destructive methods of waging war.

We say sincerely to all countries: As against the slogan “Let us arm!” which still enjoys currency in some places, we advance the slogan “Let us disarm completely.” Let us compete as to who builds more homes, schools, and hospitals for his people and produces more bread, milk, meat, clothing and other consumer goods; let us not compete as to who has more hydrogen bombs and rockets.

President Kennedy, speaking to us only the other day said:

Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind.



Let us call a truce to terror. Let us invoke the blessings of peace.

And, as we build an international capacity to keep peace, let us join in dismantling the national capacity to wage war.

The President went to say:

Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman, and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation, or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us.

I do not think that I could conclude my observations in this general debate on a better note than by placing before the Assembly the sentiments in the two quotations I have just cited. I submit these observations to the Assembly for its consideration.