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The stage has now been reached when academic discussions and theoretical probabilities have to be laid aside and the practical application of those principles to which fifty-one nations have put their signature has to be realized. In accordance with that, today we have established the various organs of the Organization of the United Nations, and it is but appropriate at this stage, that representatives of various nations should come forward and express their views about those organs and about the manner in which they hope and pray that those organs will function.

We are glad and happy to see that the great Powers, one after the other (and I believe that France will have its say tomorrow), in accordance indeed with the signature that they have put to the United Nations Charter, have come forward once more and from this platform have reiterated their desire, nay, their anxiety, to see the cause of peace preserved and the Charter, to which they have been parties, faithfully operated by each one of those nations. It is not surprising that the smaller nations have also come forward to reiterate their faith in the Charter and to express their determination to do what they can toward fulfilling the obligations they have undertaken by that Charter.

For my part, I valued one statement more than anything else which the Secretary of State of the United States said in the course of his speech; for, in addition to saying that his country and his people were pledged to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter, he made one further very signal statement, to my mind, when, in his closing remarks, he said: "Twenty-five years ago we in the United States were not fully aware of our responsibility. But, with others, we have learned from experience." That is a reassurance, if reassurance were necessary, that the people of that great country, about whose opinions on international organization there was some doubt at one time, have once for all and for all time discarded the policy which was pursued twenty-five years ago and they have today come forward, without any mental reservation whatsoever, to adhere to the principles of the United Nations and of security based on an international organization of this kind.

Many delegates who have come to this platform have recalled the birth of another organisation twenty-five years ago, the hopes that inspired the promoters of that organization, the expectations that were held out to the Governments and to the people of various countries when that organization was established. Today there have been regrets expressed over the course of events during the last twenty-five years, but there should also be thankfulness for the great services of those whose names have been mentioned by Mr. Byrnes, of Dr. Woodrow Wilson himself, the great champion of international peace and international security, and other great souls, some of whom have earned eternal bliss and some of whom are fortunately still with us, great men, great

seers, men who could see beyond the horizon and below the horizon, men who were the torch-bearers for humanity, pillars of smoke by day and pillars of fire by night. What a sad reflection it is that humanity did not heed what they so emphatically and so firmly stated - that we would be heading for the precipitous descent of annihilation if the principles which they tried to put forward then were not carried out.

Fortunately, out of the travail, the torture and the suffering of humanity, a new realization has come to all of us, to the peoples of all countries, and, out of the ashes of the old League of Nations, phoenix-like, may we not hope that the United Nations has emerged stronger, with greater faith, with firmer resolve to see that the objectives for which this great Organization has been established will be carried out?

There have been cynics, there are cynics, pessimists, men who always foretell disaster, who even now here and there, with bated breath perhaps, are speaking and thinking in terms of the possible futility of establishing an organization like this. Let us ignore them, for when in the world, when in honest history, has a pessimist or cynic been able to do anything constructive or helpful for himself or for mankind? Let us put them aside, not indeed in a spirit of foolish optimism and, as the delegate for Czechoslovakia said only yesterday, having our head in the clouds and our feet in the air, but standing firmly on the ground, realizing that the most realistic of all things is that peace is indivisible, realizing that the most fruitful of all notions is that, aggression never pays. Let us in that spirit try to organize and work this great United Nations and its organs so that humanity in the future, our children and our children's children yet unborn, may have the blessings of peace and of progress.

We have now established some of the organs of the United Nations: the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. The Security Council has been described by some as the most powerful of all organs. I venture, respectfully and humbly, to dissociate myself from that description. No, the Security Council is the most responsible of all our organs. On it falls a burden greater than the burden on any other organ of this Organization, but it is not a powerful body. If, in the course of its deliberations, any single member of the Security Council thinks so, and I trust and fully believe none of them thinks so, it will find itself groaning with burdens and with wider responsibilities, and without power and influence. On the Security Council, certainly, depends the solution of many of the problems that will arise from time to time. On its perspicacity, on the level at which the problems are approached, on the courage with which great nations and small nations try to tackle the problems that will come day after day before it, on these will depend the efficient functioning of the Security Council.

There have been suggestions, and such suggestions have met with great deprecation, that nothing should be done hastily which in any manner changes the Constitution to which the United Nations have subscribed. I am one of those who believe that, that is the right policy, who venture to accept that position, and I do so without any qualms of conscience because, among many

other nations, India found itself, very antagonistic indeed to some of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The provisions about the veto, over which there have been so many historic fights in what has been described as the Madison Square Garden of San Francisco, these provisions have not always been acceptable to many nations, and among others, to India, but we have reached the stage, after all we have said and after all the controversies we raised over the question, of signing the Charter and I think it is not the correct policy to try to take up the plants which we planted there day after day to see how they are growing. Rather let us leave them, and see that for the next ten years we act on the Charter as it is. We look willingly to the great Powers to discharge their responsibilities, not to exercise their rights; let us hope that during the next ten years, on the one hand, our apprehensions and fears we may not have, will not be realized either, so that, at the end of the ten years' period when we re-examine the Charter, there will be unanimity again, and that this United Nations Charter will not require all the safeguards which big nations sometimes claim and small nations so unwillingly give.

The other Council that we have set up is the Economic and Social Council. On its functioning, on the way in which it decides its duties, still more on the manner in which it promotes those specialised agencies with which it is associated, the co-ordination of its policies over those agencies, and on the manner again in which the specialized agencies function, depends that great day of the economic prosperity of the world. It has been truly said over and over again, and recently in the statement by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, that the Security Council has a negative role (and I trust it will never come to the stage of its positive function of actually suppressing aggression) to see that aggression does not, in any form, raise its head again in this world.

The positive function of securing human happiness, human progress and prosperity is laid heavily on the Economic and Social Council. Wars are but the outward result of something far deeper, a malady far greater! an injury more widespread, the injury that comes from, the malady that spreads out of economic maladjustment and social injustice. Remove those things that always are at the bottom of all this trouble, see to it that between man and man, and between nation and nation, there is a common economic, fundamental unity. See to it again that among men and women of all races and creeds there is justice based on social equality. Then the fundamental causes of war will be far removed indeed.

It may be that the Security Council, instead of meeting every month and instead of having its permanent sessions, may have to go into recess and allow the Economic and Social Council to function continuously. At any rate that is my hope, my dream and my prayer, that as we advance the economic prospects of all people, of the underdog in particular, of those who have suffered and travailed without avail for centuries, there would be cessation of all war, and man would come to a stage when he could hold his head erect and walk boldly into life, working without fear of anyone. Such is the Economic and Social Council which we have set up, and such is the hope with which we have

set it up.

There is one other Council that we have to set up. I refer to the Trusteeship Council. The basic problems of the Trusteeship Council are closely associated with the problems of the Economic and Social Council; in fact, it would not be too much to say that the Economic and Social Council cannot function satisfactorily unless there is a Trusteeship Council also, and that a Trusteeship Council can function most effectively in close cooperation with the Economic and Social Council. We have not yet been able, for various reasons, mostly, I understand, legalistic, to set up the Trusteeship Council, but it has to be set up. It must be set up. One of the basic objects of the Trusteeship Council is to promote international peace and security and if they feel that the Trusteeship Council is one of the organs by which it has to be secured, which of us dare say that the Trusteeship Council should not come immediately into existence?

It has pleased and gratified me more than I can say to hear the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom state in his speech yesterday that, on behalf of his Government, he was prepared immediately to place certain territories in charge of the Trusteeship Council and to enter into the necessary agreements therefore.

This is a place where frank speech is desirable. High diplomacy has not carried us very far for decades. This United Nations, this General Assembly Meeting, has been called the Town Meeting of the World, and you will forgive me if I speak quite frankly about this Trusteeship Council.

The war has been waged by the Axis Powers in the West and in the East. The impact of war has been felt by almost every individual in every nation in the world. It, in practice, has been felt as much in the nations in Asia and Far Eastern Asia as anywhere in Europe. Here are represented various countries of Europe; there is not one country of the continent of Europe represented here at this gathering which has not had its sacred and sanctified soil trod on by the enemy, the invader, the oppressor. Here are men and women who have had to bolt into their foxholes and lead a life such as we should not like our worst enemy to lead; in fear, in trepidation, thinking of the enemy, of the barbarian, the Hun, who disturbed the peace of the world, the security of small nations and great.

There is not one country, great or small, on the continent of Europe which has not felt in some portion or other of its territory, the deep degradation of having an invader on its soil, which has not gone through the valley of humiliation and despair and at long last caught a glimpse of those famous uplands of peace and security into which it hopes to enter, into which it has entered now. And I am not dreaming when I suggest that the nations of Europe have a new realization of what it is to be a dependent territory, a new understanding of the problems of dependent peoples, a new outlook on the problems today of what are called Non-Self-Governing Territories and Non-Self-Governing Peoples.

I do not want to be misunderstood; there is no comparison between the trouble

and the travail, the agony, the blood and the tears that have been shed by the peoples of the various countries of Europe and the conditions under which, before the war, the people in Non-Self-Governing countries in most parts of the world

have lived. I do not suggest for a moment that there is any parallel between these conditions. But I am certain that I can take back from this hall, from the many speeches that have been made by the delegates of European countries, the message to the people of Asia and Far Eastern Asia that there is a quicker realization of their problems in European countries today than there ever has been, that there is a greater understanding of those human privations, those throbbings of the heart, even more than of the head, which have come to the people of these countries. And may I not take also with me the assurance, if assurance were needed, that relations between the Non-Self-Governing countries and others will be on a more satisfactory basis? And may I not hope that the Trusteeship Council, which we at San Francisco, after a great deal of deliberation, sought to establish, will be an accomplished fact, that the lead given by the United Kingdom, and I believe by that great little country New Zealand, will be followed by others?

With reference to territories under mandate, comparatively a simple proposition in itself, with reference to new territories which after the peace treaties doubtless will come under mandate, and lastly with reference to those dependent and Non-Self-Governing countries which are to come under the trusteeship system, the sooner that happens the better it will be for the good understanding of all the people of the world and for the prevention of those permanent and lasting causes that lead to misunderstandings and troubles in the world.

There is one last item on which I should like to speak a little. We have been very much exercised - all peoples and all nations - over the question of the atomic bomb and we have been relieved to find that the question of the control of atomic energy is to be one of the subjects for consideration in this Assembly and later by a Commission which may be set up. The five great Powers have sponsored the resolution by which they hope to devise, through this Commission, safeguards for the proper utilization and control of atomic energy. I, for my part, wish every success to this attempt. I hope that the safeguards will not be like the safeguards to which I am accustomed in another connection, but that the conditions and safeguards will be real - they must be efficacious when they are most needed, at time of crisis - that they will not prove to be illusory just at the time when their efficacy is most needed. We of all nations, small and big, will hope and pray that this new atomic energy, which can be a blessing to the world, will through the instrumentality of the Commission and the wise judgment of this Assembly and of the Security Council tend to be an unqualified blessing.

But if I may be permitted to say this, I should like to voice one thought that has been repeating itself in my brain. Time and again, ever since I heard of atomic energy and of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I have asked myself, and I ask myself again: are we not being too much upset with this problem of atomic energy? Are we not forgetting something fundamental when we pay so much attention to the conditions that have been created,

undoubtedly very difficult conditions, namely, the possibility of the world itself being wiped out, civilization being lost for ever, through the misuse of atomic energy. Standing here in this hall, consecrated by a great faith, speaking from a platform from which evil has been violently and boldly deprecated, I find it difficult to believe that all the horrors that have been predicted about the misuse of the atomic bomb are as great, or will come about, as has been suggested.

To listen to some it would look as if a vital change, a change beyond all calculation, has been brought about by the discovery of atomic energy. Can atomic energy, if I may say so with great respect, bomb out the Sermon on the Mount or the Ten Commandments? Can the best designed U-boat sink the Holy Koran? Can the most heroic human torpedo put out of existence the most ancient of eastern scriptures, the Gita and the Kuran? Is there anything that has been devised, or that could be devised which would obliterate for ever the teachings of Buddha or the great tenets of Confucius?

Are we not likely to lose all sense of proportion, even when we regard the main horror of the misuse of atomic energy, and when we fail to realize that beyond all these things, there is a Power which looks upon people and upon nations and which, in its own inscrutable way, carries out its purposes for all eternity and to all eternity? I remember the days when the great people of this land were subjected to bombings and tortures beyond all description. I remember the days when, as has been so well put by that inimitable master of the English language:

"Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."

I remember men and women going to their retreats, to their foxholes, on hearing the siren, and I remember how much they owed those heroic individuals whose valour is unforgettable and will be inscribed in letters of gold, and whose heroism is immortal. I remember those men and women in their shelters, kneeling and praying, and praying, and yet again kneeling. I venture to think that we all are grateful for the human element that preserved them from danger and disaster. They also realized that there was One beyond who was the cause of their salvation, and whose will was being performed in saving them.

On that note I wish to express the hope that the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the General Assembly itself, and every one of the fifty-one nations, and other members of this great United Nations organization, will perform their duties and discharge their responsibilities. There is one great thought which we can never forget and which has been so well put by the poet:

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;

Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds He all."