

Rotary Club speech on U.N. Day
on October 24, 1961.

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I

*Carl
Spencer*

Speak no ill of dead.

Economist, 23.9.61 "Dag Hammarskjold is dead. Is the United Nations
as an effective instrument for peace to die with him? "

Short term prospects bleak but shall take historical view.

Looking back, second blundering, groping step.

"If God did not exist, man would find it necessary to create Him."

Problem

Human ignorance

Myth of national sovereignty.

II

Hammaraskjold's testament, August 17, 1961. Introduction to Annual Report for June 60 to June '61.

Two Concepts:

The first concept. ^{Static} The UN is or ought to be ~~either~~ a standing conference of sovereign states.

The second concept. ^{Dynamic} The U.N. ~~is~~ a developing organism of a supra-national world organisation.

Hammaraskjold: "The first concept can refer to history and to the tradition of national policies of the past. The second can point to the needs of the present and of the future in a world of ever-closer international interdependence".

Hammaraskjold then refers to 5 principles of international ethics in Charter.

1. Equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.
2. Rule of Law
3. Justice
4. Outlawing of the use of armed forces save in the common interest.
5. Bringing about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes.

Hammaraskjold : Those who look upon the U.N. as a conference machinery

of sovereign states "do not pay adequate attention to those essential principles of the Charter to which reference has just been made."

Hammaraskjold concludes : "Those whose reactions to the work of the Organisation hamper its development or reduce its possibilities of effective action may have to shoulder the responsibility for a return to a state of affairs which governments had already found too dangerous after the First World War."

Whose responsibility? Illustrated by reference to 3 burning issues of the day.

III
 Appointing of S.G.
 Troika

Replacement of S.G. by "collective executive" of 3.

Universally understood last year to ^{be} ~~the~~ method of hamstringing the work of U.N. and putting it out of action in an emergency. Part of the attack on Hammarskjold by Khurshchev. Extending great power veto from the Security Council to Secretariat.

1960 model replaced by stream-lined vehicle of Zorin.

1. Deputies selected from among the various blocks of political group.

2. Who should be consulted and informed and mutual agreement must be sought. Veto under camouflage, cf. I.C.C. IN Viet Nam.

700 documented items of communist subversion. Not one investigated.

North Viet Nam asked about allegation. When denied, matter closed.

Violation of Article 100 of the Charter.

Killing I. Dumitru C.S.

IV

Banning of Nuclear Tests

Long negotiations bogged ~~down~~ on issue of inspection^d and control.

The U.S.S.R. wants:

1. No inspection for first 4 years
2. 'Politically ~~Determined~~ ^{only} quota of ³ inspections annually in a country where suspected explosion has taken place.
3. Control posts within boundry of a state to be subject to its own control.
4. Administration of the control posts subject to concurrence of all 3 members of the Troika. i.e. Veto.

Soviet attitude of wider issue of disarmament the same.

To expect anyone to disarm or abandone tests without guarantees of *similar return* other side is fantastic nonsense.

Problem not of disarmament but armed controls.

History teaches that men only lay down weapons when some stronger authority guarantees security e.g. village republics, city states and barons — Sovereign States.

Today no such authority because of great power veto. Korea happy accident. Even definition of aggression not established.

"No one can define a pretty girl but, thank heavens, we know one when *we see one.*"

~~we see one" Aggression like that.~~

What is required is to adjust pace of disarmament and degree of inspection so as to guarantee security. Disarmament can only proceed side by side with the building up of security forces of U.N.

Handwritten: "Bongers" "L" "K" "H" "S" "T" "U" "V" "W" "X" "Y" "Z"
Talk of disarmament or banning bombs is peace mongering as ~~peace~~ as war mongering. e.g. Krishna Menon's current resolution on moratorium on nuclear tests before the treaty can be established. Since 1st September, the Soviets have in violation of ~~once~~ pledged, not to be the first to start testing, ~~after~~ exploding several bombs. ~~Totaling~~ discharge in atmosphere no less than 100 megatons of nuclear explosives during the last two months.

Handwritten: "Krishna Menon" "Hints"
~~Krishna Menon~~ now ~~declares~~ that Soviets will ask for suspension of all tests just as U.S.A. makes preparations ~~for~~ its own tests. Krishna Menon's resolution comes at this time. Can there be any doubt as to whose purpose he is serving?

V

Right of Self-determination and
End of Colonialism.

Great advance

Membership to U.N. nearly doubled through admission of states covering 1,000 million people in Asia and Africa, but 800 million people victims of Russian and Chinese imperialism.

Issue brought into focus by what is referred to as Berlin crises. West Berlin has more inhabitants than one out of every five member countries of the U.N.

No Berlin problem, no Berlin crises. Happy, prosperous city.

What is the problem? — that of the freedom of East Germany under Soviet occupation. Freedom and reunification of East Germany and end of Soviet occupation.

Berlin crises artificially created by Khrushchev to divert attention and to use West Berlin, ~~as~~ ^{as} a hostage or lever to secure recognition and legitimisation of the Russian occupation of Germany. Liberty of 17 million people involved.

Timing set by threat of rebellion. Exodus reached such proportions that a wall had to be built. Insult to human dignity. Men and women jumped to death shouting 'freiheit', shot at in flight like slaves of old.

Czar in Pushkin's Boris Godunov gave instructions "Take steps at this

very hour, that our frontiers be fenced by barriers that not a single soul pass over the border, that not a hare be able to run or a crow fly "

Willy Brandt—— that wall must come down.

Khrushchev and Chou-en-lai, masters in double talk of coexistence. Berlin perfect example, why did they *stop it? Same on global scale.*

No doubt free nations led by Kennedy will fight on Berlin if necessary. Khrushchev climb down in postponing ~~the~~ signing of treaty first fruit of firmness.

That is good

But it is not enough.

Readiness to resist ~~the~~ selling out of freedom of East Germany and East Europe must also be there. Difficult to be equally sanguine.

Ugly chorus ~~of~~ certain western capitals suggesting certain formulae involving ~~selling out of~~ recognition of subjugation of East Germany as price to pay for survival of West Berlin. Trading apple ~~for~~ orchard.

Surely bigger surrender would involve lesser one.

D.G.B. (August 22 and 23) demanding:

"a free secret general plebiscite be carried out under the control

of the U.N. in the whole of Germany in order to enable the German people to decide by free self-determination on its re-unification in freedom and peace"

This note missing from British and American pronouncements

~~Bonn~~
~~Bonn~~ students who sent umbrellas to Kennedy hasty, but real danger
of another Munich in the making.

Krishna Menon prepares ground by reminding us that East Germany is a fact. of Portugal in Angola, France in Algiers, British in India till 1947. of surgeon and cancer.

Krishna Menon ⁺counter ~~proposed~~ in West, call for surrender of Germany as the most elegant form of defending West Berlin!

Cartoon in Western press:

"Khrushchev (suddenly): Give me Berlin

The Western Allies: No, no. Never.

Khrushchev: All right, then give me Germany

The Allies (perplexed, humming and hawing a little): Mhm, Mhm

All right".

Recognition of East Germany shameful violation of 1954 alliance between West Germany and rest. NATO alliance pledged to make cause of German reunification their own and to pursue it by all diplomatic means and meanwhile to treat the Government at Bonn as the only legitimate Government.

Considerable ~~consequences~~ consequences.

Germans, East and West, will feel bitter like the people of Czechoslovakia. NATO will break up. Khrushchev will offer unified ~~materialist~~ Germany. End of West Europe's freedom and shift in balance of power.

Alarm in Germany, natural. Adenauer and Willy Brandt.

Credit to France under De Gaulle, an example to others.

Fate of the U.N. will be decided by the solution of the issue of Berlin and Germany. Since purpose of Charter is maintenance of peace with justice and in freedom.

Silly question, red or dead?
Answer is neither, Quote Gandhi.

Certain values more important than life itself. Aristotle, it is not life as such or under any conditions that is of value, but the good life.

Man who declared ~~survival~~ survival at all cost, ~~as the end~~ ^{purpose} of existence is morally dead. U.N. can only survive as organisation of live and free men.