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Lecture Notes for speech at
U.N. Club on 10-12-1960.

Human Rights Day

Importance of Universal Declaration

Magna Carta for the world

No legal sanctions but morally binding

Unfortunately between 600 to 1000 millions not enjoying
benefit e.g. South Africa, etc.

Most of them behind Iron Curtain - in China, Russia,
Eastern Europe

Writ of Human Rights does not run for a third of
humanity

H. R. also denied in free countries

Censorship of books, art and paintings, films
Imprisonment without trial
Shackles on press

Eternal vigilance price of liberty.

Wider issue of U.N.

Outlook for its survival and growth - dark days

Nuclear weapons make war more than ever dangerous

No assurance that collective human intelligence can stop
catastrophe.

that with

Hope / Nobel and Gunpowder ~~that~~ war had become so dangerous that
it would end

But wars have gone on

Nor has humanity been blown out of existence by ^{high} heavy explosives

Natural that cry for disarmament loudly heard

Of course it should be there

But shouting not the way

Cool thinking required

History teaches men lay down weapons when some stronger authority
guarantees security

Thus, village republics and Barons yielded to growing nation
States.

Similarly, sovereign nation States can give up use of weapons only
when assured of protection by a world authority.

Today no such authority with power to enforce sanctions against
aggressor or violator of peace

Existence of such authority pre-condition to disarmament

Even Security Council hamstrung by veto freely exercised by one power

War-mongering bad, but peace mongering equally so

Sincerity must be tested.

e.g. Anyone who claims sovereignty ~~in a soil~~ over distant space which should belong to the world community as a whole, anyone who obstructs even modest progress made by assertion of uncontrolled national sovereignty, who misuses the veto on majority decisions, who opposes for ten years any scheme for international inspection or control of atomic weapons, who demands the disbandment of the office of Secretary General which is the only effective instrument of U.N., will, not qualified to talk of peace or disarmament.

Do we prefer freedom or survival? Can we accept peace at any price

Even Gandhi, Prophet of peace, often said that he preferred a man who stood and fought violently to the man who ran away. He similarly conceded that police force was necessary within a country. Similarly international police force essential pre-condition to disarmament.

Rather than ~~waste time~~ talking of disarmament, more practical to abolish great power veto and press forward with demand for veto-proof international inspection machinery

~~Another danger of peace mentality~~ *mongering*

Peace of grave yard

Certainly not

Higher value - freedom "the supreme good" (Lord Action)

Charter of U.N. - Peace with Freedom and Justice.

Only those who believe in all three loyal adherents of U.N.

III

During past year several new nations have jointed the U.N.
mostly African

Welcome to International family

Pity the latest, Mauritania, blocked by Soviet veto

Others still not free

Hope Algeria and other remnants of colonialism will vanish in
a year or two - *Be gentle withing life*

But new colonialism in past few years - Hungary, Poland,
Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria

Our own neighbour in Tibet where genocide added to colonialism

AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News : "The U.N. and Colonialism
- Old and New - (Brutus Coste)

"The facts are blurred in the minds of most people in the so-called uncommitted nations, and, unfortunately enough, in the West. Since 1939, indeed, no less than 35 new nations were born in Asia and Africa in consequence of the fact that the Western colonial powers have been responding increasingly to the aspirations of the colonial peoples to national freedom. Two additional former colonies will attain independence before the end of this year, while 18 are self-governing or about to achieve self-govt.

Altogether about 830 million people and an area of 11.5 million sq. miles were freed by the West. During the same period, 15 nations, more than 800 million people, in an area of 7.2 million sq. miles have fallen victim to Communist imperialism in Europe and Asia." Comparison

	1939	1960
Independent nations	1,100 million	984 m.
Western colonies and dependencies	815 "	45 "
Newly freed former colonies	-	830 "
Communist Empire	170 "	979 "

Anyone who refuses to recognise this colonialism or turns a deaf ~~xxx~~ ear to the anguished cry of these peoples not a genuine enemy of colonialism.

Happy resolution on Tibet coming up - will be passed

Distressed that Indian vote will not be on the roll of honour.

Double standard of morality: Hearts bleed for Cuba, Congo, Algeria and Laos but when Tibet mentioned, look the other way!

Congolese Parliament should be immediately convened but where is demand for Hungarian Parliament to meet?

Kashyap
Belgian Congo - one of newly freed countries

faced with problems beyond its capacity, appealed for U.N. help

U.N. authorities doing wonderful work, risking life, exposing themselves to physical attack and humiliation.

Quote Von Horn
Proud that Indians like Rajeshwar Dayal and Brig. Rikhi at the head

Unfortunate that they are ~~misguided~~ *through* backing of wrong horse
Indians in bad repute in Congo

Nehru
~~Contrary to~~ prophets of doom, ~~worse days over~~

Deplore brutalities whether chewing of fingers or gouging out of eyes by Lumumba's supporters (Songolo M.P.) - equally reprehensible but all the noise only about the ~~giant~~ *finger*.
But Lumumba "~~that~~ unsavoury demagogue" ~~out of the way, xxx progress~~ *more likely*.

Creation of stable authority in vacuum left behind by former rulers immediate task

Then, after years or so, fresh elections
/as I do Believing/in trusteeship in other spheres, nothing wrong with U.N. trusteeship of backward nations.

With admission of Congo into U.N. and seating of Congolese delegation nominated by President Kasavubu, ~~big~~ step forward taken

Pity misrepresented as Western move.

Carried by 53 to 24 with 19 abstentions
Of this 24 - 10 communist States.
Decisive majority

Breakdown - only 5 African States (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Togo and Morocco) voted against out of 22 African States.

All the rest either for seating Kasavubu's delegation or abstained.

Of 12 newly independent States, 9 voted for the resolution.

Similarly, of Asian countries, only 8 including India voted against while ~~big~~ majority supported or abstained

Thus an achievement

Made in the best interests of Congo and the world.

J.P.: Need for federal structure:

"I should like to emphasise that the nature of Asian and African society being what it is, it would be wrong to proceed on the basis that the mere fact of freedom from foreign rule would make modern nations out of peoples who have emerged from traditional societies. The modern nations of the world took centuries to achieve national integration. Therefore, it seems to me that if the territories that are acquiring their freedom are to hold together, it would be advisable to evolve a pattern of government that provides full scope for local and regional autonomy that is possible only in a federal and confederal structure. And imposed unitarian form of government is clearly fraught with danger."

Nigeria

IV

U.N. based on concept of collective security

Long way to go

Have to guard against red herring to divert progress
by talk of coexistence and Panchshila

We in India have found by hard experience what some people
mean by these terms

Their understanding is itself a process in which one side,
as has been so elegantly said by an eminent figure,
"buries the other" and that "the ^{red} flag ^{with} hammer and
sickle flies over it^{all}".

UN only hope towards Peace
