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**Address by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): This afternoon the General Assembly will hear an address by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, I shall now ask the Chief of Protocol to be so good as to escort the Prime Minister of India into the General Assembly Hall.
2. Today I have the honour to welcome in this Hall Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, who has expressed a wish to address the General Assembly.
3. The universal esteem in which Mr. Nehru is justly held, the traditional wisdom of India and the importance of this great Asian country in the world give the address which we are about to hear a special interest, having regard to the great problems which are engrossing us at this sixteenth session.
4. I therefore have real pleasure in inviting the Prime Minister of India to address our Assembly.
5. Mr. Jawaharlal NEHRU, Prime Minister of India: It is a little over a year now since I had the honour of addressing this Assembly. In the course of this year much has happened and this Organization, which represents the world community, has faced many crises. And among these crises has been the tragic death of the late Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld who, during the many years of his high office, shaped to some extent the working of this Assembly and enlarged its functions. I should like to pay my tribute and my homage to the memory of Mr. Hammarskjöld.
6. To you, sir, who occupy now this high seat of the Secretary-General, I offer my warm welcome and regard and greeting. And I can assure you that we, in common with others, not only welcome you here but offer you our full co-operation, for you represent the United Nations, to which all of us must offer co-operation.
7. These last years of difficulty and crisis have brought out more than ever before the importance of this Organization. Indeed, one wonders what the world would be like if the United Nations ceased to be or did not function. Therefore, it is of the highest importance that this great Organization should not only function but should function with effectiveness and with the support of the countries represented here.

8. I hope that under the Acting Secretary-General's guidance the United Nations will advance from strength to strength and will serve the cause of the peace of the world and the cause of removing the remnants of foreign domination from various parts of this world.

9. The General Assembly and the Security Council took many steps in the last year or more in regard to these matters and thereby somewhat enlarged the functions of the Organization and showed what it could do. Unfortunately, those steps did not immediately yield the results that we had hoped for, and that was true because of various difficulties and the rather obstructive methods which were employed by some. But I trust that in future we shall work with greater unanimity and effectiveness in carrying out the decisions of the United Nations.

10. In one place, the Congo, the United Nations has undertaken a great responsibility, and on the success of that venture of the United Nations depends in many ways the future of the United Nations itself, or its future effectiveness. It may continue, of course, even after a lack of success there, but it would then continue as an ineffective body whose mandate does not run far. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the work that this great Organization has undertaken in the Congo should succeed and should yield results. All the countries represented here are interested in this vital problem. We in India are to some extent a little more interested than some others, because, at the invitation of the United Nations, we have placed some of our resources and some of our armed forces at the disposal of the Organization for service in the Congo, and we are naturally concerned that their use should yield success.

11. I have referred to the Congo—and I am not going to refer to each individual problem facing the United Nations—because the Congo has become the symbol and the touchstone of success for the activities of the United Nations.

12. During the last year, many additions have been made to the membership of the General Assembly. New countries have come here, chiefly from Africa, and I am happy about this enlargement. More particularly I should like to mention the name of just one country because, for years, we have been suggesting that name and hoping that that country will be admitted. I refer to Outer Mongolia, and I am happy that at last that country has found a place in this Assembly.

13. When future historians write about this period in which we are living, they may well say that an outstanding feature of this period was the emergence of African countries, the new life that is coursing through the veins of Africa, which I think is, historically speaking, of vital importance today.

14. Because of that vitality and tremendous urge in the various countries of Africa, we find problems arising

that are problems of a new vitality, and not problems of a decadent people—they are the problems of a new life emerging. Sometimes they are troublesome problems, but we must recognize that they are problems of growth and therefore problems which should encourage rather than discourage us.

15. In Africa, there is the Congo, to which I have referred, and there is the nearby country of Angola under Portuguese rule. It is well to remember that while colonialism is a fading institution and, historically speaking, is a disappearing one, nevertheless today a fairly big empire remains in Africa and elsewhere under Portuguese rule when bigger empires have ceased to be. Apart from this theoretical question, practically speaking what we have heard of events in Angola has been distressing in the extreme. If it is distressing to us, we can imagine how much it must distress people in Africa. I earnestly hope that this remnant of colonialism will also peacefully change.

16. In the Congo there have been difficulties. The Security Council decided about eight or nine months ago on two basic principles about the Congo: one was the unity of the Congo, a republic, and the other was the removal of foreign mercenary elements. I have no doubt, and probably other members here present have no doubt, that much of the trouble in the Congo has been due to external encouragement and intervention. If this kind of activity continues, the problems will become more difficult of solution. Therefore, it is necessary that the problem should be solved as soon as possible and that these foreign elements should be removed or should be made to leave Katanga province and other parts of the Congo. There is really no half-way house to this: one either has unity in the Congo or not. If there is no unity, the Congo will split up and instead of one problem we shall have to face many problems, each more difficult than the other, and not only will the Congo split up, but the United Nations will suffer a serious setback.

17. Therefore, I would beg this Organization to consider what steps should be taken which would be effective and would yield quick results.

18. There are other colonial problems, of course. There is Algeria. I can only say that the terrible sufferings that the people of Algeria have undergone during the last eight years must end in fulfilment of that people's hopes. I am sure they will, but I would hope that they will do so soon, and that the story of their agony will not drag on. There are some indications that perhaps this may happen soon. I hope those indications point in the right direction.

19. I do think that at this stage of the world's history it has become impossible for colonies to continue without creating complications which may lead to major conflicts in the world. While that is so, it is a fact that as we stand or sit here today, the world is facing even graver problems, the problems of world survival, the problems of war and peace, and unless they are dealt with wisely and in a statesmanlike manner, the future that stares us in the face is a very painful one.

20. More and more we live under a kind of régime of terror. Terror of what? Terror of some kind of catastrophe like war descending upon us, some kind of disaster when nuclear weapons are used and the future of the world's survival is imperilled. It is an odd circumstance that in spite of this general knowledge, the full realization of this basic fact today perhaps has not come to us and is not appreciated by many Govern-

ments. The choice today before the world is a choice which has never come to it before: it is a choice of self-extinction, practical extinction or survival. Many people think and talk about escaping from the disaster of a nuclear war by burrowing under the earth and living like rats in a hole. Surely it is a strange commentary on our times that we should be driven to that conclusion, instead of diverting all our energies and all our strength to the prevention of that catastrophe.

21. The first thing to be realized is that there can no longer be any kind of normal existence unless we get rid of this terror that hangs over us. How can that terror be removed? There are basic problems before us—the German problem, the problem of the city of Berlin and other problems elsewhere which I believe are capable of solution, because I am convinced that no country deliberately desires war. I am convinced that the people all over the world are passionately in favour of peace. Why then are we unable to solve these problems?

22. It is difficult for me to say. The problems are difficult and they cannot be easily solved; nevertheless, the alternative, not to solve anything, is infinitely worse. No country, great or small, can easily agree to anything which wounds its honour and self-respect. Even a small country cannot easily be offended today—that is, its honour cannot be offended—much less a great country. No solution can therefore be found which is based on the wounding of the honour or self-respect of a country.

23. We talk about many problems like disarmament, and sometimes one has the feeling that although there is apparent agreement, really behind it there is not that faith in disarmament that is necessary, and that talks are some kind of attempt more to put the other party in the wrong rather than to achieve something while it is of the utmost importance that that achievement should take place. I am convinced that the modern world cannot continue for long without full disarmament. All these problems have come up again and again. Ultimately it is perhaps true that the material advance which has taken place in the world—and that is magnificent—has gone far ahead of the development of human minds, which lag behind.

24. They do not fit in with the modern age, and the mind still thinks, in its narrow terms of 100 or 200 years ago, of how nations functioned, how diplomats functioned and how wars took place. We know, we have heard and we have read about the new possibility of a nuclear war. Nevertheless, emotionally, we do not understand it fully; otherwise it seems to me that it is impossible that there should be these continuing deadlocks and impasses, because the fact is that under modern conditions either war must be ruled out, or the world, civilization and humanity have to submit to the ending of all that they have laboured for over thousands of years.

25. If that is true, then surely it is important and urgent that we should approach this question with speed, deliberation and a determination to solve it, rather than merely to show that the other party is wrong.

26. I mentioned disarmament. The Assembly at its fourteenth session decided almost unanimously [resolution 1378 (XIV)] in favour of general and complete disarmament. The great nations of the world have all committed themselves to that. The United States, through its President, recently put forward proposals

[see A/4891] which are in line with what this Assembly has decided. The Soviet Union has put forward proposals [see A/4892] to the same effect, varying slightly but essentially aiming at the same thing; even in broad outline they have a good deal in common.

27. If that is so, what is getting in our way? Why should we not grasp this opportunity when there is so much agreement, and remove this fear and terror from peoples' minds, and devote all the great energies and resources of the people to the world's advancement?

28. I do not know, except that, as I have said, we are quite unable to get out of old ways of thinking which ought to have no place in the modern world, old ways of hatred and violence, not realizing that violence today is not the violence of yesterday but a violence which could exterminate all of us, not realizing that there is no victory today for any country in a major war—only defeat and extermination for all.

29. If that is so, then surely this major and outstanding question must be dealt with speedily and those great countries, especially those which have the greatest responsibility because they possess the biggest weapons of warfare—nuclear weapons—should address themselves again and again to negotiations, to talks, to the consideration of this problem together to find some remedy, with the determination, of course, that they will not separate until they have come to some agreement.

30. Those agreements cannot be merely agreements of some countries, however great. They must represent all the Members of the United Nations. But I do think that it is better for those countries—a few of them—to deal with this problem rather than for a larger body to deal with it at the start. I feel, I may say, rather strongly on this question, although we in India are not situated in one of the major theatres of a possible war—probably not. Nevertheless, I feel that everything that man has striven for in the past thousands of years is at stake today. Strongly as I feel about these colonial matters, about the freedom of colonial countries and others, I do think that the major question and the biggest question today is this question of war and peace and disarmament. There is not conflict between those. In fact, the whole atmosphere of the world will change if disarmament comes in, and these present problems move towards solution.

31. How then are we to do it? I do not know. The President was good enough to refer to the wisdom of the East, or to my wisdom. It was kind of him to make that reference to me, but I possess no greater wisdom than each one of us here; only perhaps in some matters, some of us may feel a little more, some of us who have experienced many ups and downs in their lives may think more deeply about them. But it is wisdom that we want, it is the common wisdom that should come to everyone. It is no mystery. In the problems before us there are no mysteries. They are obvious problems, and the fear of war is obvious; the fear that grips mankind is obvious. How can we go on dealing with the secondary questions of the world and discussing them, when this basic problem eludes us?

32. As a part of this question of disarmament there is the particular question today of nuclear tests. The General Assembly passed a resolution recently about them. It was, I think, a great misfortune that, after a period of abstinence from nuclear tests, there has been a resumption. There can be no doubt that that turned the attention of the world in a wrong direction, apart

from the harm it might do. Immediately the idea of a possible war became more prevalent, immediately it became more difficult to have treaties for ending nuclear tests, because while treaties are essential to achieve this purpose, when the whole atmosphere becomes one of fear and apprehension, it becomes more difficult to produce a treaty.

33. I do think, and I would beg the countries concerned to realize, that they are doing a grave disservice to the world, to their own countries even, by not putting an end to this business of nuclear tests, and putting an end to it by treaty, as rapidly as possible.

34. The Assembly has passed a resolution [1648 (XVI)] in favour of some kind of voluntary moratorium. No one imagines that a voluntary moratorium is going to solve this question. There must be stricter controls, by treaty and otherwise. But while that should be aimed at and worked for and achieved as rapidly as possible, the door should not be left open, during the discussions for these nuclear tests to go on.

35. Arguments may be raised that one party or one country secures an advantage over the other and these arguments may have some substance. Yet my own reaction to these nuclear tests is a very strong one. I think they are basically evil, they encourage evil. Therefore, the sooner this evil is dealt with the better.

36. I cannot suggest any rapid or magic ways of dealing with the problems of the world. But I find that perhaps the worst difficulty we have to face is to fight something you cannot grip: an atmosphere, the imponderables of life, how people suddenly are filled with fear, passion and hatred. How can we deal with them? We live in this world of conflicts and yet the world goes on, undoubtedly because of the co-operation of nations and individuals.

37. The essential thing about this world is co-operation, and even today, between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields, there is a vast amount of co-operation. Little is known, or little is said, about this co-operation that is going on, but a great deal is said about every point of conflict, and so the world is full of this idea that the conflicts go on and we live on the verge of disaster. Perhaps it would be a truer picture if the co-operating elements in the world today were put forward and we were made to think that the world depends on co-operation and not on conflict.

38. A proposal has been made by various people to the effect that more attention should be directed to these co-operative ventures, especially for peace and in the interest of peace, so that there may be more positive thinking on this subject and people should realize that this co-operation is already taking place and can be extended. Some years ago it was resolved to have an International Geophysical Year. Although that was a specific subject, it has been suggested that perhaps this Assembly might resolve to call upon all countries of the world to devote a year, not to speeches about peace—I do not think that is much good—but to the furtherance of co-operative activities in any field—political, cultural and whatever fields there may be, and there are thousands of fields. That perhaps would direct some of our energy and some of our thinking to this idea of co-operation, which would create an atmosphere for solving the problems more easily. That by itself will not solve any problems, but it will lessen this destruction and conflict which now afflict the world. I make this suggestion to you not in any detail

but broadly, so that this Assembly may consider it and, if it thinks it worthwhile, perhaps appoint a committee to consider it further and make suggestions as to how this might perhaps be done.

39. As you will have noticed, the words I am using can easily be called hackneyed phrases or hackneyed thinking. There is nothing new or wonderful about them. There is nothing new or wonderful about the truths of the world, and the truth is that violence and hatred are bad—bad for individuals and bad for everybody. The great men of the world have been those who have fought hatred and violence and not those who have encouraged it, even in some supposedly worthwhile cause, and we have arrived at the stage where this, I feel, has to be checked. It really requires a new way of thinking, a new development of humanity. Possibly we are going through that process, and possibly this very crisis will wake up the mind of man and direct it to this new way of thinking. The old way of thinking has landed us in this disastrous situation. Even though, as I said, the world has made tremendous progress in many ways, progress which manifestly can cure its material ills, what shall it profit the world if it conquers the material ills and then commits suicide because it has not controlled its own mind?

40. Therefore, we have to undertake this vast task of encouraging this new thinking, this new approach, the approach of co-operation, and that not on a mere ideological basis but on the practical basis of sheer survival in this world. I would beg the Assembly to consider the matter from this larger point of view and not from the point of view of profit or loss to this nation or that nation, because the choice before us is not one of profit or loss, but one of survival or loss to everybody.

41. I realize that all this sounds very vague and amorphous and does not indicate anything very special. What are we to do? Here are these problems of Germany and Berlin and South East Asia. Undoubtedly there are those problems, and there are the problems of Africa. Even if I had some detailed ideas about these subjects, there is no occasion for me to put them forward. But I do think that the problems of Germany and Berlin, difficult as they are and involving something more than national conflicts—they involve large numbers of human beings and to me the human aspect of such problems is always important—difficult as they are, they are capable of solution, if they are approached with the intention of solving them honourably and without attempting to bring discredit or dishonour to any party.

42. With regard to Indo-China, you will remember the Geneva Conference^{1/} which was held five or six years ago. That Conference came to certain conclusions and appointed three International Commissions. The main conclusions were that the countries concerned should be kept out of Power conflicts, that they should be helped, that they should not be entangled in these major conflicts, because it was clear then that if they were

so entangled they would perish, whatever the other result of the conflict. To some extent the Commissions functioned satisfactorily and prevented this. Later some of those Commissions were not allowed to function as they should have done, and I think that much of the difficulty has arisen because they were not allowed to function. It is not an easy question, but I think that even these questions can be solved primarily on the basis of applying the old Geneva Conference policy, which was agreed to by everyone, and allowing the Commissions to function.

43. It has been very gracious of the President, to invite me to address this Assembly. I feel rather humble before it. I am no man of wisdom. I am only a person who has dabbled in public affairs for nearly half a century and learned something from them, and mostly what I have learned is, how wise men often behave in a very foolish manner; and that thought makes me often doubt my own wisdom, or whatever you wish to call it. I question myself: "Am I right?" I may have doubts about many things, but I have no doubt at all about some things, because I have been conditioned in that way; I have grown up in that way during long years of guidance from my old leader, Mahatma Ghandi, who taught that hatred and violence are essentially bad and evil, and anything that promotes hatred, therefore, is bad. One cannot solve questions by trying to destroy the other party but by trying to win him over. You may not always win him over 100 per cent, but there is no other way. Now apart from theory, apart from idealism, the practical approach to the problem is such that the choice offered to the world is: co-operate or perish. The choice is between peaceful coexistence or no existence at all. There is no doubt about it.

44. Therefore, I venture to suggest to the Assembly that these questions should be looked upon from this broader point of view and with the urgency that they demand. I am quite sure that the great nations and the small nations of the world feel that way, but somehow irritations come, difficulties come; and that prevents progress being made. But I do believe that the time is ripe for progress to be made in that direction and these great countries should seize this opportunity and proceed with it, not thinking too much about who makes the first move in this direction, because the person who makes the first move will do the right thing, will be respected, and it will not be considered that the first move or the second move comes from weakness. Countries are strong today. A strong country does not become a weak country by taking the first move. Everybody knows a country's strength.

45. I am grateful to the President, for the opportunity that has been given to me to address this Assembly. Again I would repeat that the future of the world depends so much on the continuance of the United Nations; without it, perhaps that future itself would end.

46. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I sincerely thank the Prime Minister of India for the important address which he has just delivered to our Assembly. I am sure that we shall all ponder carefully what he has said.

The meeting rose at 4.5 p.m.

^{1/} Conference on the Problem of restoring Peace in Indo-China, held 16 June-21 July 1954.