

# **SAN FRANCISCO PROMISE**

## **Two Speeches of Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar from 1945**

Publications Division

**World Constitution and Parliament Association(WCPA)**

Admn Office: 107/1, MKCS Bldgs, Mt Joy Extn, Hanumanthanagar,  
Bangalore-560019

[secretariat@wcpa.world](mailto:secretariat@wcpa.world)

## Messages



Prof. Glen T. Martin, Ph. D  
President

In these two speeches, Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar shows himself as one of the great statemen of India. India has nearly always played a unique role of leadership in the world-drama of militarized nation-states. During the first Cold War it was a leader of the Non-aligned Movement, speaking for moderation and a world-system based on peace and human rights rather than threatening nuclear holocaust. In these speeches, Sir Mudaliar speaks for this same vision, which he calls, following Tennyson, “the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.” He states that the world order must be based on “the dignity of the common man, the fundamental human rights of all beings all over the world. Those rights are incapable of segregation or of isolation. There is neither border nor breed, nor color nor creed on which these rights can be separated as between beings and beings.”

Ultimately India’s vision, expressed here by Mudaliar, is for a world-system beyond “border” and beyond “breed, color and creed.” It demands a recognition of the common human dignity of all persons on Earth governed by a democratic World Parliament. In this he anticipates the Constitution for the Federation of Earth that embodies exactly these principles. Unlike the world Mandaliar addressed, which was premised on power relations, discrimination, and exploitation, his words speak to a transformed future later conceptualized in the Earth Constitution and yet to be accomplished by humanity. His vision remains an inspiration to later generations who continue the struggle to bring to reality a world system based on human dignity and human rights rather than power, greed, violence, and economic domination.



Prof. P N Murthy  
Vice-President

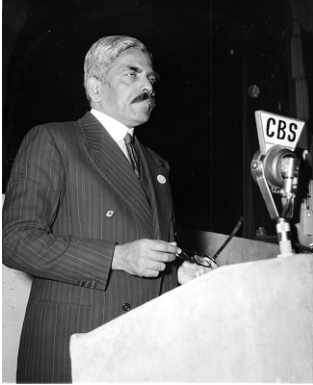
As a student interested in peace, global governance has been one of my subject of studies and always wanted to understand “Why Nations Fight?”. Soon found out that being pugnacious is an inherent trait of human species. This has made “Mankind” self-destructive. What happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki evidence this. Ancient Oriental wisdom had realised it ages ago and hence they enshrined the principle of “Shanti” in vedanta and handed over “Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam” (World is One Family) to us.

It is also interesting to note that the modern visionaries like Sri Aurobindo emphasised the need for a world federation, for a cohesive and sustainable living on this planet. What is further glaring in his thoughts are that India to take leadership in building such a Federation and peaceful world. WCPA took birth on this premise to achieve a political federation of the world through “the Earth Constitution”.

A few years ago, Dr. Shahr-Yar Mahmoud Sharei, President CUNCR lauded the India’s Contributions at UN, in the form of Art.109(3) of the UN Charter, which lead to my further research on it.

In 1945, when San Francisco Conference was held, India was also invited to participate, even though it was not an independant country. What the leader of Soviet delegation said is a statement to be etched on stone. Indian delegation was led by Sri Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar, a luminary. His two speeches (both inaugural and concluding) are historic statements, which are presented here.

## Lead Kindly Light



[This was the speech delivered by Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar, leader of Indian delegation to San Francisco Conference in 1945.

Source: [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1300969/files/](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1300969/files/File:UNIO-Volume-1-E-F.pdf) File: UNIO-Volume-1-E-F.pdf]

Mr Soong.: the Chair now recognizes His Excellency, the Chairman of the Delegation of India.

Sir Ramaswamy: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Sisters and Brothers of the United Nations. I stand here to represent the views of a people who have throughout their historic past being known as a peace-loving people. In all the long history of India, Whatever internal commotions may have taken place, the historian does not record a single instance of the people of India being aggressive or wanting to dominate over any people beyond their borders. On the other hand, India has been the refuge of all the persecuted of other lands from the days when the white Jews left their territory and came to the western coast of India down to recent times when, only the other day, the refugees of that first invaded country, Poland, found sanctuary in my country.

I remember with pleasure an incident only about three years back, in the last month of 1942, when I and a colleague of mine were in England--The incident when General Sikorsky, on behalf of his people, came and thanked us for what we had done for the Polish refugees in our country. And, Sir, this habit of peace-loving is not due to any fact that we are not able to stand up against the invader, or that we have not played our part worthily in the military conquests that have been waged from time to time for the preservation of human liberties and the extension of human liberties.

I need hardly referred to the part that India played in the last Great War when her military strength was utilized toward defeating the same aggressor 25 years ago. In the plains of Flanders, in the nooks and corners of Gallipoli, in the arid deserts of Mesopotamia, Indian blood has been shed for what is considered the liberty of the world. And it is a tragedy of the first magnitude, a tragedy to which the Mayor of this great city referred In his remarks the other day, that all that sacrifice has been In vain.

Twenty-Five years later, when the call came that Aggression should be put down, that the monster which had raised its head in Europe was likely, If unchecked, to dominate all the freedom-loving people of the world, The Indian people were ready to take their place among those who would fight for the preservation of the liberty of the human people.

And more, Mr. President, If I could vouch for the feelings of my people, it was not in 1939 alone but throughout that period that you refer to, When this War first began in 1931, when Democratic countries were still hesitating about the attitude that they should take, when in conferences at Geneva and elsewhere, the people of other countries were wondering whether they should take their part in putting down the aggression that then began, the Indian people at any rate, had no hesitation in showing where their feelings and where their sympathy lay-- with your Great Country, China. And they waited and watched, and they watched and waited, until at long last, the opportunity came in 1939, when even the tired countries of the West could no longer suffer the onward March of the dictators and they decided to take their firm and their last stand against Germany, the greatest aggressor in Europe.

Sir, I have said that ours is not merely a peace loving country in the sense that it could merely pray for peace and keep quiet with folded hands. In this war, in the north of Africa, at Dunkirk, in Italy and in Greece, in the Middle East countries, the armies of India have played their worthy part.

And it has been a matter of supreme satisfaction to us that our armies played the main part, if I may say so, at the Battle of Tehran and in liberating the country which was swallowed up by an aggressor country only recently, unaided, unsupported, almost

uncared for-- the Great and the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia. I know that my people were pleased-- more than pleased; grateful-- More than grateful-- that it had been given to them to free this ancient country, to their armies to be instrumental, in the main, in freeing this great and ancient country and relieving it from the Thralldom of an Aggressive power.

Mr. President, we are not met here at the invitation of the four great powers. They have they done there Utmost; they are doing their utmost to contribute to the success of this war. In fact, one may say they have almost won the war-- certainly in the West-- and the decision is no longer in the balance; The decision is no longer in doubt as to their winning the war in the east also.

We talk of the great powers and of small powers; We talk of the special responsibility of great powers, and the special privilege of great powers also. I should like to put in its proper perspective what India has done in this war. Two and a half million of the sons of India, soldiers drawn from every part of the country, drawn on a voluntary basis, are today fighting in the different parts of the world against the common aggressor.

May I point out, Mr. President, that, next after the great countries--the four inviting powers--next in strength to the armies of these four great inviting powers, is the strength of the Army of India which is fighting the aggressor nations today. I speak not in boastfulness but in utter modesty, and I should like to remind myself and others at this conference of one fact. I should like to be like the Laputan flapper Speaking with bated breath and with whispering humbleness, to draw the attention of the great powers to the fact that, by themselves, none of them individually could have stood against the great tyrant and aggressor; that In unity with others they have been able to achieve the success that they have done, and that, moreover, smaller countries by their contribution also have helped to achieve the present result.

We talk of independence, We talk of sovereign rights-- I'm one of those that believe in sovereign rights--But I believe in the world the world has come to a stage when the emphasis is not to be so much on independence as on interdependence.

None of us, not even the great powers, as I said, individually could foresee all the combinations or all the developments of even any single power, and be assured that by its own remorselessness strength, its own vital powers, it could always be secure and maintain its sovereign status. At this United Nations conference, While I recognize, and all of us who are called the smaller nations recognize, the essential features and basis of this conference, While we realize that the main responsibility is on the great powers, I should like humbly to suggest to the great powers themselves that they also serve who only stand and wait; that the smaller nations who have contributed a little one way or the other, may also at times of stress be not altogether a negligible factor in maintaining security.

Mr. President, there is one other aspect of the question that I should like to refer to. I was following the speeches of the four sponsoring governments, the speeches of representatives of the four sponsoring governments and I found that an aspect to which my country attaches the very greatest Importance was touched upon by the secretary of state for foreign affairs of the United Kingdom when he spoke of the constitution of the economic and social council under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. It seems to me that enough attention has so far not been averted to this aspect of the question, that when we are all thinking of security, of armed forces which will prevent aggression, we are likely to forget the basic factor in all these considerations, the cause which leads to aggression.

It is economic injustice, and even more, social injustice, that has bred for all time in the past the great causes of war, and has led to these great armageddons. Therefore, in this hour, when nations are going through the rack of conquest and therefore have much more emphasis laid on security and armed strength to prevent aggression, let us not forget for a moment the vast emphasis that has to be laid on the causes that led to the war, economic and social injustice.

And beyond that and more than that, there is one another factor, which is to be realized. we are all asked to be realists, we are asked to recognize various factors in the world set up as it exists today. There is one great reality, one fundamental factor, one internal verity, which all religions teach, which

must be remembered by all of us, The dignity of the common man, the fundamental human rights of all beings all over the world.

Those rights are incapable of segregation or of isolation. There is neither border nor breed, nor color nor creed on which these rights can be separated as between beings and beings. And, speaking as an asiatic, may I say that this is an aspect of the question which can never be forgotten, and if we are laying the foundations for peace we can only lay them truly and justly, to last for some time-- for a couple of generations at least. These fundamental human rights of all beings all over the world should be recognized, and men and women treated as equals in every sphere, sofar as opportunities are concerned.

Mr. President, I do not want to detain this Assembly very long. More speeches and speeches of much greater value are going to be delivered and I should like to listen to them. I do not therefore propose to go into the question of what amendments my delegation are likely to submit. I have given a free indication, in the general observations that i have made, of the kind of amendments that India is likely to suggest for consideration of this conference.

There is one aspect of the question again with which we fully agree. The Secretary of State of this great country stated in his speech that we must lay the foundations and prepare the plan, but it would be a mistake to expect that the full details would be worked out here, and that it is not right, not advisable, not safe, to put too many details in any plan that this conference may devise. I entirely agree with him. I myself believe that if we can lay the foundation firmly on the basis of justice, of equality and of fundamental human rights, Having a eye to the causes that create war, having an eye to the measures and mechanisms by which wars can be prevented, we should have done the right thing at this great conference, and we should have done the right thing by those people who have sacrificed, and by those people who are today sacrificing their all in the cause of liberty.

Mr. President, among all the features that attracted my attention at the opening of this conference the other day, was the line of young men and women who stood behind the President at that time-- the young men and women whose future we are planning, the young men and women who will have to play their

part, who have played their part at present, and who are asking what the aged people, who happen to be statesman and administrators of various countries, are thinking about the future. They are not going to come back Into that old rut of life, consented to pass smoothly under the dictation of what may be called the elderly advice, without questioning from the very beginning, the wisdom of all the actions that we are likely to take at this conference, and they will have a right to do so. The future world is theirs, the peace plan that we are planning is for them, not for us, and, in the days to come, it is to them that we shall be responsible if we do not achieve our purpose here and do not plan wisely.

I said that we agree entirely that it was not advisable to load too much work on this assembly, but that the main outlines, the fundamentals, should be agreed to in keeping with the ideals I have been developing during the last few minutes, and, if I might venture to quote a few lines, I agree with the spirit of the great Cardinal who said, "lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom; lead thou me on! The night is dark, and I am far from home; Lead thou me on..... I do not ask to see the distant scene; One step enough for me." Thank you.

\*\*\*\*\*

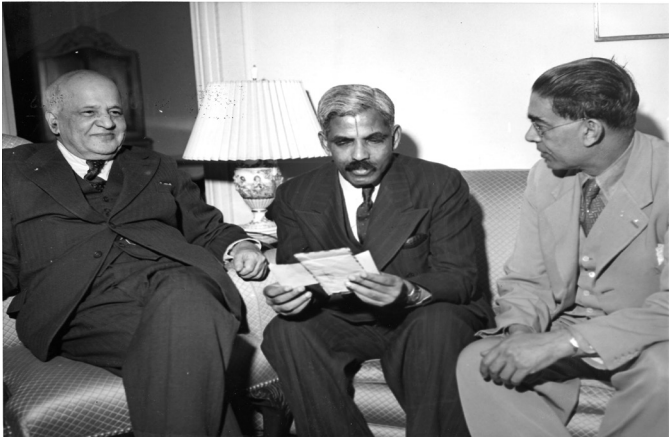
### **The Time will Come when the voice of an independent India will be heard.**

-Mr.Molotov  
Leader of Russian Delegation to SFC

....."We have at this Conference an Indian Delegation. But India is not an independent state. We all know that the time will come when the voice of an independent India will be heard, too. Nevertheless we share the view held by the British Government which suggested that representatives of India should be granted a seat at this Conference, imperfect though her status is.".....

(Source: Page 347, UNIO-Volume-1-E-F.pdf)

## UN....“Convocation of Parliament of Man and the establishment of the Federation of the World.”



[Following is the speech delivered by Sir. Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar, leader of the Indian delegation to San Francisco Conference in 1945. Source: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1300969/files/?ln=en> File name: UNIO-Volume-11-E-F.pdf ]

President. The last speaker on the list is the delegate of India. I recognize. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar: Mr. President, Fellow delegates, my apology for standing before you this evening is only that I desire to make quite clear the attitude that my country and my delegation has taken on various amendments regarding this particular section of the Charter.

The Rapporteur has done Good work and has produced an exceedingly important report under difficulties which were very great indeed, which the members of the Technical committee will appreciate. But, in spite of his best efforts, the picture that has been presented to you, particularly in regard to the manner in which the several countries have voted, does convey a somewhat inadequate idea of the motives behind these words. And, therefore, Mr. President, I felt compelled to come before this August body and to explain clearly the position which my country, and I believe a great many other countries, have taken in the matter of these amendments.

There were two clear issues raised before the committee, and I shall place these issues separately before this Commission for consideration. At very early stage it was recognized, after the initial

discussions on the subject, that the special agreement at Yalta, the special powers given to the five permanent members regarding enforcement arrangements, the application of economic or military sanctions, and all that followed in their wake, that these special arrangements for the time being, and probably for the next few years after the signing of the Charter, must remain with these powers. My honored colleague, Dr Evatt, of Australia, then concentrated on trying to see whether, in connection with what he termed the conciliation procedure and the conciliation matters which the Security Council had to adopt, the Yalta formula might not be made applicable. That was the first issue.

In the immediate future, after the coming into force of the Charter agreement, it would be possible, while granting to the Five permanent members the right of veto-- as I shall continue to call it-- with reference to Section B of Chapter VIII, Would it be possible to see that the right would not be exercised in connection with Section VIII, A, which refers to Conciliation? There was a great deal of discussion on the subject, much of which has been explained by the Australian Delegate and other members this afternoon, and at the end we came back to a statement by the five sponsoring powers, which, while it tried to explain many things and was an advance to a certain extent so far as explanations went, firmly stated that in reference to conciliatory measures Yalta formula would stand. In fact, they made it quite clear as the Prime Minister of New Zealand suggested, that if there were any change there, then it would be a question of no charter at all. This is the position that I want to explain in connection with the attitude that my country, along with New Zealand and other countries, took when we abstained from voting on the Australian amendment.

Last evening In the committee when the rapporteur's report was read, my Delegation tried to put in a sentence explaining this position. The representative of India moved that in the rapporteur's report The following passage should be added: "It should be stressed that during the debate the representatives of the sponsoring powers made it clear that there were neither prepared to accept any modification to the Yalta formula, nor to agree to a more liberal interpretation thereof than that contained in their joint declaration of June 7, 1945, and that any unfavorable action of the Committee on the

voting Formula would imperil the whole work of the conference. It was on this understanding that many delegations voted for or abstained from voting against the Yalta Formula." By a majority of one vote, The committee decided that this paragraph should not be inserted in the rapporteurs report. I'm not trying to re insert that paragraph, Mr. President, but trying only to explain what the abstention of Indian delegation on the Australian amendment really meant. Now, I come to the whole question of the Yalta formula, the veto power. The position that my country, along with many other countries, took was this: We realized that in the immediate future the five great powers should act together. We realize that that combined and joint action can best be secured by the formula that was involved at Yalta, and that we can try and understand the reasons why the five great powers wanted this particular provision. We try to see, not only our side of the case and how much we disagreed with this power of Veto, But we tried to see also what the Great Powers had in mind when they suggested this formula and were so firmly standing by it during all the discussions in the committee. we realize that the organization had yet to be set up; That it had yet to function; That its credentials had yet to be laid down; And that some powers, great though they may be, were yet not quite experienced in international affairs. We realized that it was quite justifiable that such power might feel rather exercised in their minds as to how these international conferences might ultimately turn out, and that it was legitimate on their part to wish to become members of such organizations with some safeguard like the Yalta Formula assured to them over a period of years.

On that understanding, my country was prepared to agree to the Yalta formula over a period. And I made my position clear, and that of my country clear-- and I believe several other countries did the same in the course of these discussion-- That while they were prepared to agree to the Yalta formula over the next ten years, it would be a very proper proposition on their part to urge that the whole position should be re-examined, Denouveau, without prejudice, and without commitments either of one kind or another, at the end of that period. That naturally took us to a consideration of the amendment sections and on what conditions amendment of the Charter may be proposed. And we felt that if this unanimity rule were not to be applied at the end of ten years to any proposal regarding the amendment of the Charter,

We could safely, and with good conscience and with complete trust and confidence in the five great powers, agreed to the complete Yalta formula during the intervening period of ten years.

It was on that understanding again Mr. President, that my country was one of the 30 or 31 that voted for section C. At that time the amendment section had not yet been taken up in another committee, and we voted in the hope that when the matter came up before that committee, the Great Powers would consider all the arguments, the earnest appeals, and everything that has been said by so many delegations from all parts of the world, with all kinds of affiliations to one or another of the great powers, and that they might find themselves in a position to accept the suggestions that the other powers, the non-great powers, had put forward.

As it turned out, Mr. President, our hopes were not realized. I shall be the first to acknowledge that, Thanks to the United States delegation members, some little advance was made in procedural matters with reference to the discussion of the amendment of the Charter. That in itself was an advance or was considered to be an advance by a great many delegates in the atmosphere and the spirit which prevailed In that other committee. I, for one, am quite willing to accept with gratitude the concession that was made. but, on the essential question whether at the end of ten years, the veto would automatically apply to any amendment, carried by even a two-thirds majority, by one of the five great powers which opposed it, that question was settled against the Proposals of such amendments. The result is that as far into the future as one can see, the Yalta Formula stands in the Charter, unless, of course, all the five great powers unanimously agree not to exercise that vote when a proper amendment to the Charter on this subject is adopted by a two thirds majority of the World Organization.

Now, Sir, I have stated this merely to clarify the entire position and to place the picture of the delegates who took different views at different times on these questions as simply and as fairly as I can.

Having said that, let me say, as most other delegates have done, what my own attitude, that of my own delegation, and, as I hope, that of my country, will be. We have placed our case frankly and freely before

this conference. Our view has not been accepted, as the views of so many other delegates have not been accepted, but we have no bitterness in this matter at all. We take the defeat in the spirit in which all such defeats ought to be taken. We realize as earnestly as anyone else in the conference that it is vital to bring into existence an organization, however defective, on which the hopes, the aspirations of the people of the world depend.

Sir, there are many who have held out hopes of what may happen in the future, and some who have suggested that those hopes may prove false. There are others who have expressed the fears of what may happen to us in the future. I am one of those who suggest that those fears also may prove to be false. I wish to give all credit to the big nations who have not felt it possible now to accept the position which has been put forward by so many of the delegates, to give them all credit, and to suggest that ultimately they will realize, in the course of the working of this Charter, That the position that we took was not unsound, and that they may themselves give up those powers or privileges which have now been conferred upon them by the willing acceptance of so many delegations.

Mr. President, whether we are great powers or small powers or middle powers, there is one thing that has been denied to us all-- the capacity to see far into the future, the divine events even before they come above the horizon. That is a capacity which is kept safely in the custody of the Great Providence himself. And therefore, let us, who's amendments have not been accepted, take a true and practical view of the situation. Let us, on the other hand, believe that in the course of time and the working of these things, there is a Providence that shapes our ends, How them. How we may, and that ultimately the essential purpose which so many good men and true have in mind will be carried out.

I was very glad to see, Mr. President, that this morning Senator Connelly, Who has done so much to contribute to our discussions and to Enliven our discussions in the committee, referred to Providence and to the working of Providence in the attainment of the objectives of the Charter. I read somewhere that some cynics suggested that the word "Providence" should not be introduced into the Charter. How can any of us, meeting here in this city, for a moment consider that it is not the hand of Providence that has brought us

all together and it is not the hand of the Providence that makes us, even in the framing of this Charter, do what we have done. I am one of those who believe that it is Providence that is shaping our destinies. How can we, who have seen what has happened during the last few years, and who have seen that, "Though the mills of God grind slowly, Yet they grind exceedingly small; Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all."; How can we who have witnessed the March of events during the past few years for a moment consider that it is not Providence that is behind the work of all delegations and of all conferences, and that whatever we may fear or whatever we may hope., ultimately, we are all in the hands of Providence and will be made to work out His will Above the wills of all powers, great are small.

Mr. President. There is only one last word that I should like to say. I said that I shall go back an enthusiastic supporter of the Charter that emerges from this conference, whatever defects I might have considered it to have at several stages of our deliberations. I go back in the belief that the time has come and will soon come when the drums of battle will cease to beat, when the battle flags of nations will cease to be unfold. I go back with the hope, maybe the assurance, that here at San Francisco we have taken a step, we have made a move; we have advanced; and that sooner or later, perhaps sooner rather than later, there will be that far-off Divine Event to which the whole creation moves: the convocation of the Parliament of man, the establishment of the Federation of the World.

Thank you.

\*\*\*\*\*



Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar , leader of Indian delegation to San Francisco Conference  
Siging the UN Charter on 26th June 1945

FOR INDIA:  
POUR L'INDE:  
印度:  
За Индию:  
POR LA INDIA:

*ARamaswami Mudaliar*  
*V. T. Krishnamo Chari*

Source: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf>