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**President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).**

**AGENDA ITEM 21**

**Report of the Committee on the Peaceful uses of Outer Space**

**REPORTS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5026)  
AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/5051)**

*Mr. Enckell (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee, and then spoke as follows.*

1. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee: The draft resolutions, which are contained in the report of the First Committee on this item [A/5026, para. 9] and which cover wide aspects of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, were approved unanimously by the Committee for recommendation to the General Assembly, after they had been brought, by a series of modification, to reflect the consensus of the Powers mainly interested in outer space. This draft resolution represents a major step forward and provides the essential basis for progress in international co-operation in this field. It defines a number of important aspects of this matter and widens the membership of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

2. I have the honour to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolutions contained in the report.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.*

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I would remind the members of this Assembly that they have before them a report of the Fifth Committee [A/5051] on the financial implications of the draft

resolution recommended by the First Committee [A/5026].

4. I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution which the First Committee recommends to us for adoption and which appears in its report [A/5026].

5. This draft resolution was adopted unanimously in the First Committee. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

**AGENDA ITEM 19**

**Question of disarmament (concluded)\***

**REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART III)  
[A/4980/ADD.2]**

*Mr. Enckell (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee, and then spoke as follows:*

6. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee: The Committee had decided to defer the conclusion of its consideration of this in order to allow the draft resolution contained in the present report [A/4980/Add.2, para. 6] to be jointly introduced as agreed upon by the two Powers principally concerned with disarmament. The draft resolution, as submitted on 13 December, received unanimous approval in the Committee, which decided to agree to adopt the draft resolution by acclamation. The consensus was that it represented a major step forward in the field of disarmament negotiations by setting down a number of basic principles for such negotiation and by establishing a new eighteen-member body for disarmament talks.

7. I have the honour to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution contained in the report.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.*

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution which the First Committee recommends to us for adoption and which appears in its report [A/4980/Add.2].

9. The First Committee approved this draft resolution unanimously and by acclamation. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts it unanimously.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

10. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The representatives who wished to speak in explanation

\*Resumed from the 1070th meeting.

of their votes on agenda item 80 (Question of Algeria) are not yet present in the Assembly hall. I suggest that we resume our discussion of item 83 (Question of Tibet), after which we shall take up item 80.

*It was so decided.*

## AGENDA ITEM 83

### Question of Tibet (concluded)\*

11. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly now resumes the general debate on this item. We shall hear those speakers who placed their names on the list at the last meeting and who have not yet had an opportunity to speak. I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union.

12. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): As the representative of the Soviet Union, who was to speak on this question, has not arrived yet, I would ask you to postpone the discussion of the question to a later stage of this meeting of the General Assembly.

13. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): To avoid any loss of time, I shall give the floor, pending the arrival of the representative of the Soviet Union, to the other speakers on the list who are prepared to speak. I call upon the representative of New Zealand.

14. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): In order to shorten the time of this debate by reducing the number of speakers, I have been asked to associate Australia with New Zealand in the remarks which I am now going to make.

15. More than two years have now passed since a mass insurrection of the Tibetan people was crushed by Chinese communist armies. The Tibetan Government, together with large numbers of its citizens drawn from all ranks and ages, was forced to abandon its capital and flee into exile. The appeals of this Government, reinforced by the authoritative findings of the International Commission of Jurists, gave undeniable proof that human rights in Tibet were being systematically violated.

16. In recognition of this, the General Assembly at its fourteenth session reaffirmed the autonomy traditionally enjoyed by the Tibetan people and called for the protection of their fundamental human rights [resolution 1353 (XIV)]. This declaration however, was defied. The Assembly's call was not heeded then, nor, to judge from recent reports of refugees, is it being heeded now.

17. It may thus be argued, as it also was in 1959, that to consider the question of Tibet is pointless, that nothing the General Assembly can say or do will have the least effect in alleviating the persecution of the Tibetan people. This is not the view of New Zealand. As my Prime Minister stated last month, it is a matter of profound regret to my Government that the Chinese authorities should have failed to heed the Assembly's appeal in 1959, but I am strongly of the view that the United Nations should not, on this account, allow its attention to be diverted from the tragic plight of the Tibetan people. It is true, as has been suggested, that it is not in the Assembly's power to impose a solution which will safeguard Tibetan rights and liberties. We may also doubt whether the Chinese communist authorities will respond to a new

appeal from world opinion any more than they did to the last one. This, however, is not a justification for silence. A violation of human rights on the scale which has occurred, and is still occurring, cannot be ignored by the United Nations without diminishing its own stature and prestige. The issue with which we are concerned is not a dispute between States, nor an ideological bickering between blocs. It transcends political problems to become a human one, an affront to man's essential dignity, expressed in his right to lead his life according to his own convictions. For this reason we feel that no doubts can be entertained about the Assembly's competence, and indeed duty, to keep the matter within its purview.

18. It seems hardly relevant to analyse the legal status of Tibet, to which even its conquerors paid lip service. We all know, as a matter of historical record, that it possessed and exercised through treaties and other agreements most of the attributes of sovereignty. But that is not the real issue. Human rights, religious and cultural freedom are surely to be protected without regard to the legal status of a people. No one would argue that colonial or non-self-governing peoples are beyond reach of the Assembly's vigilant concern for human rights. Indeed, the weak and the unprotected are precisely those who most need it. It has been our view for many years that when human rights are violated on so flagrant, fundamental and systematic a scale the Assembly has a positive obligation to involve itself in the problem. This applies to events in Tibet as it does to those in Africa, Hungary or anywhere else.

19. Nor can it be justly argued that because the Chinese People's Republic is not a member of this Organization it cannot be expected to heed any appeal from the General Assembly. It would be strange if non-membership of this Organization permitted any State to flout the accepted rules of international behaviour, to smash with a mailed fist through the thin crust of moral decency which generations of human minds have laboured to create, and international law to safeguard. At any rate, the Chinese communist authorities have themselves accepted the authority of the international community.

20. At the Bandung Conference in 1955 <sup>1/</sup> they gave their full support to a declaration which reaffirmed the fundamental principles of human rights, as set forth in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They also affirmed, only a year before the Tibetan uprising began, that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. In defiance of the very principles which they then affirmed, the Chinese communist authorities are now pursuing a policy of force and intimidation, the victims of which are a small nation whose citizens stand to lose not only their individual liberties but also their very existence as an ancient and distinctive people. The evidence of the tens of thousands of refugees who have fled from Tibet is that their native political, social and even religious institutions are being methodically eradicated, and there is no sign of any intention short of the complete extinction of the Tibetan personality. No justification for these harsh and coercive measures can be advanced by anyone who sincerely believes in the

\*Resumed from the 1084th meeting.

<sup>1/</sup> Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 1955.

self-determination of peoples. Though it seemed to outsiders a strange and long-sequestered theocracy, Tibetan society was a contented one which jealously preserved its customs. There was no case of a popular uprising in Tibet before that which lasted from 1956 to 1959. Can anyone deny that it sprang from an unwarranted and tyrannous interference with their traditional ways?

21. The resistance of the Tibetan people broke into open warfare, but though this has been put down there is no evidence of opposition being diminished or human liberties restored. If the flow of refugees has this year lessened somewhat it is a fact which the East Berlin wall has taught us to attribute to improved methods of frontier control rather than to a change of heart among the people. In such circumstances, and these facts are well attested, the General Assembly cannot fail to reaffirm with the strongest emphasis its adherence to the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This may not move the heart, or change the behaviour, of the Chinese authorities, although we still pray sincerely that it will, but even without such immediate or dramatic results it will serve to indicate the human concern and moral authority of the nations assembled here. It will proclaim the high standards set by this Organization and give some small recognition and encouragement to the Tibetan people.

22. Faced with a problem such as this, it is better to state the issues firmly than to stand in helpless silence. If we can do no more we must do no less.

23. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia): We are witnessing once again an attempt to impose upon us, at least at the conclusion of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the debate on the non-existent question of Tibet. The Czechoslovak delegation most resolutely protests such a procedure, aimed as it is at the poisoning of the atmosphere at this session, at the aggravation of the international situation, and at the intensification of the cold war.

24. The inclusion in the agenda of, and the debate on, this non-existent question in the forum of the United Nations is detrimental to the prestige of our Organization and represents an inadmissible and flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the sovereign rights of a State Member of the United Nations. Consequently, the adoption of resolution 1353 (XIV) at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly was illegitimate and invalid.

25. It is very deplorable that two Asian countries should have resorted to the requirement of including the so-called question of Tibet in the agenda. They should not forget that by so doing they contributed neither to world peace nor to their own interests. They assumed only the ignominious role of assistants to the aggressive imperialist forces which organize provocations against the socialist countries and other peaceful forces all over the world.

26. It is a well-known fact that since time immemorial Tibet has been an inseparable part of China. We understand that some people dislike the fact that the Chinese people liberated themselves from colonial and imperialist supremacy and that the imperialists in China and subsequently in the Tibetan region were driven from their positions and expelled by the people. That is a historic fact which can be changed by no one, particularly by the forces which tried to do so in Tibet in 1959. As is well known, an anti-

government rebellion of the reactionary feudal and slavers' clique was inspired with the direct assistance of the foreign imperialist forces. The objective of this conspiracy was to cause Tibet to secede from the People's Republic of China and to change it into a base for the imperialists' aggressive policy against the People's Republic of China. The rebellion of the reactionary clique was very quickly and resolutely liquidated. No one could expect the people of Tibet to support a group of feudalists and slavers who for centuries had held it in unimaginable subjugation and oppression. In Tibet a road was opened toward the liquidation of the medieval conditions which for centuries had prevailed there under the rule of the reactionary circles which today are described by some delegations as the representatives of the Tibetan people.

27. The fiasco of the rebellion, together with the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China was uncompromisingly supported by the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan population, caused fury and disappointment among the foreign advocates and allies of the Tibetan feudalists. The forces of international reaction, headed by the United States, which were raging over the failure of their plans to weaken China and which were deprived of the possibility of re-occupying a part of China's territories for use in their aggressive acts against the People's Republic of China unleashed a frantic campaign of slanders and provocations against the Chinese Government. They brought forward hypocritical fabrications on the so-called suppression of human rights and the violation of the traditional forms of life of the Tibetan people, and they demanded that the United Nations help restore those so-called traditional forms in Tibet. That is a very dangerous road on which the imperialists and their allies try to manoeuvre the United Nations. The General Assembly and the States Members of the United Nations should most resolutely denounce these dangerous attempts which are detrimental to the United Nations and which cause a decline of its prestige.

28. In the slanderous campaign against the Government of the People's Republic of China there participates also a so-called investigating committee of international jurists. The participation of this committee was, as is well known, instigated by influential reactionary circles in the United States concerning which the representative of the United States, as he demonstrated by his statement yesterday, seemed to be so well informed. This is not the first time that the enemies of socialism have tried to impress world public opinion by introducing reports of various groups of scientists who unfortunately are not serving the cause of progress but rather the interest of world reaction. In the statement of the representative of the United States [1084th meeting], in which he praised the report of the so-called International Commission of Jurists, he openly reflected the hatred of these enemies of socialism not only in the United States but all over the world. All those who hypocritically shed tears over the alleged suppression of human rights and the violation of traditional forms of life of the Tibetan people, and who demand that the religious and civic freedoms be restored, are attempting, in fact, to bring about a return of the feudalists and slavers who for centuries kept the people of Tibet in subjugation and poverty.

29. The campaign launched by the reactionary circles headed by the United States against the People's Re-



public of China cannot halt the democratic process which began in Tibet after the liquidation of the rebellion in 1959. Since that time the people of Tibet have made enormous progress, progress which would have been unthinkable during the rule of the feudalists. The feudal serf system has been eradicated in more than 90 per cent of the territory of Tibet and the land has been given to those who till it. Democratic freedoms and rights of the population have been restored all over Tibet. Now for the first time religious freedom is fully ensured and religious life is developing in conditions far more favourable than ever in the past. The feudal régime of exploitation and oppression has been eradicated in the monasteries, which now can serve only and solely for religious purposes. The well-known Potala Palace in Lhasa which, according to articles written by Western journalists, had been burnt, dominates the panorama of Lhasa. Only beggars, slaves and conceited feudalists have disappeared.

30 The economy of Tibet has been developed in all fields. In the country where there was practically no industrial production, today small industrial enterprises have appeared which provide the Tibetan farmers with equipment. The local people's authorities have furnished the farmers with over a million pieces of agricultural equipment and machinery.

31. In the field of culture there has occurred a significant and important development. The main emphasis has been laid upon the liquidation of illiteracy and the development of education. For example, in Lhasa, the capital, out of every ten persons, approximately nine were illiterate. Today there are new schools and centres in which thousands of young and old Tibetans are learning to read and write.

32. One hundred and twenty new hospitals and medical centres of various types, which had not existed at all in Tibet under the feudal rulers, have been built. Only since the liberation has the development of medical care been possible.

33. People in Tibet who only a few years ago served as slaves in palaces and monasteries, are today members of local governing bodies and share in the administration of the country.

34. Today, the Tibetan people do not need advocates. Today, when the country is moving upon the road of free development, hypocritical interest in Tibet on the part of imperialist circles does not represent anything other than a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China.

35. This course of action represents an attempt to defame the People's Republic of China before public opinion, to disrupt the solidarity of the Asian countries and to undermine the friendly co-operation of the People's Republic of China with other Asian countries, which has been successfully developed in spite of all the hostile intrigues of the imperialists.

36. The so-called question of Tibet which was enforced in the agenda of the General Assembly is a fabricated imperialist provocation which does not belong to the United Nations at all. The objectives of this provocative question are quite evident. It is ignoble for our Organization to consider this slander. The Czechoslovak delegation most resolutely opposes this interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, it rejects the attempts to misuse the United Nations for aims which are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

For this reason the Czechoslovak delegation rejects the draft resolution which is before the Assembly [A/L.376] and will vote against it.

37. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): It is with a profound sense of moral duty that my delegation has had the honour, in conjunction with the Federation of Malaya, to request [A/4848] the inclusion of the question of Tibet in the agenda of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. It is with a clear conscience that the Thai delegation welcomes the approval by the General Assembly, of the General Committee's recommendation that the Tibetan question be put once more on the agenda of the current session and discussed directly in plenary meeting. This significant decision, which was supported by forty-eight countries and opposed by only fourteen votes, portends a sympathetic support which the bulk of the Members of this Organization are prepared to give to this humanitarian aspect of the issues involving the very existence of the innocent people of Tibet.

38. In support of the draft resolution which my delegation is co-sponsoring with the delegations of El Salvador, the Federation of Malaya and the Republic of Ireland [A/L.376], I wish to recall certain facts and basic principles. It may be recalled that at the fourteenth session, after long discussion, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1353 (XIV) calling for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life. It is a matter of regret that despite the solemn appeal contained in that resolution, the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people continue to be systematically disregarded and flagrantly violated, and that the situation in Tibet today remains a source of common concern.

39. Since the resolution was adopted there has been no sign of improvement in respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On the contrary, the cultural and religious life of the Tibetan people continues to be destroyed. Reports coming out of Tibet confirm the fact that in Tibet the fighting is still going on today, that thousands of Tibetans are dying as a result of forced labour under inhuman conditions on roads, airfields and military barracks, and that the imposed régime has paid no heed to the appeal of the United Nations.

40. What is perhaps most alarming and should be emphasized here is the attempt on the part of the current régime in Tibet to put an end once and for all to the ancient religious practices and institutions of Tibet and to allow only an invisible degree of freedom of religious belief which would be compatible with the Chinese version of socialism. The collision between Buddhism and dialectic materialism on ideological grounds alone is apparently enough. The statements by Tibetan refugees themselves revealed the extent of that collision and the method used by the ruling Power to achieve what has been termed "socialist transformation".

41. There has been clear evidence of a systematic design to destroy religious belief in Tibet. A variety of methods have been used, varying from propaganda to arrests and forced labour, and the result has been the large-scale elimination of religious life and worship in Tibet. In particular, monasteries and their inhabitants have been secularized. The landed pro-

perty of monasteries have necessarily suffered from socialist transformation.

42. Among the statements submitted to the Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet, a large number recount acts and statements by the ruling Power which indicated a general design to destroy religious belief in Tibet. Some vividly recalled the stripping of religious images and various other acts of sacrileges in the monasteries, while others give an account of how Buddhist temples have been converted into barracks and armories. Lamas and monks have been persuaded and compelled to marry, and in many cases forced to leave monasteries and to engage in manual work. The monasteries as centres of devotion and worship have been closed.

43. The evidence produced in the report submitted by the Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet to the International Commission of Jurists<sup>2/</sup> leaves no room for doubt as to the ultimate aim of the activities in ransacking the monasteries. Calling upon lamas to perform superhuman feats or otherwise exposing them to ridicule was an important part of the plan to break their religious life. They have also been compelled to perform acts contrary to their religion and to the dictates of their conscience.

44. It may also be mentioned that the type of work in which leading religious figures were engaged was of the most menial and in the circumstances of the most humiliating character. In the light of these facts the proper inference is that the imposition of forced labour and forced marriages was for the purpose of breaking the religious faith of those in religious orders and of those accustomed to look to them as exalted examples.

45. In this connexion, I wish to quote from the preliminary report entitled "The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law", prepared and published by the International Commission of Jurists:

"On the basis of the available evidence it would seem difficult to recall a case in which ruthless suppression of man's essential dignity has been more systematically and efficiently carried out. Whether one hangs these particular facts on to particular legal pegs does not matter. The pegs of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whatever its exact legal scope, express a basic common understanding of civilized behaviour. There is evidence that the canons of that civilized behaviour have been systematically violated."<sup>3/</sup>

The important point to be emphasized here is that this bleak picture of human suffering has not changed and the repression continues unabated.

46. Besides flagrant violations of human rights, there is also evidence that the ruling power in Tibet has committed or at least has attempted to commit genocide which is the gravest crime known to the laws of nations. There has been widespread killing of Buddhist monks and lamas and, on an even wider scale, wanton killing of innocent people in Tibet, including indiscriminate air attacks and deliberate shootings of Tibetans who were in no way engaged in hostilities. There is also evidence of forcible mass deportation of Tibetan children to China for denation-

<sup>2/</sup> International Commission of Jurists, Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic—a Report to the International Commission of Jurists by its Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet (Geneva, 1960).

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law (Geneva, 1959), p. 59.

alization and in order to indoctrinate them to revolt against their own culture, traditions and religion, which is directly contrary to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948.

47. This problem is a matter of deep concern to all of us here in this Organization, and the responsibility rests with us to cope with this serious problem. I wish to refer to the exact words of the International Commission of Jurists in this matter:

"The Commission therefore earnestly hopes that this matter" the problem of genocide in Tibet "will be taken up by the United Nations. For what at the moment appears to be attempted genocide may become the full act of genocide unless prompt and adequate action is taken. The life of Tibet and the lives of the Tibetans may be at stake, and somewhere there must be sufficient moral strength left in the world to seek the truth through the world's highest international organ."<sup>4/</sup>

48. These violations of human rights are matters of daily occurrence in Tibet. Tibetan refugees, in increasing number, continue to leave their homesteads and wander in search of shelter in neighbouring countries. The figure has now reached a total of 75,000. I am convinced that the representatives who are assembled here today share the view that the Tibetan question is by no means an artificial issue. We are merely concerned with the fact that the unfortunate people of Tibet are still being suppressed on a mass scale. In good conscience, how can we possibly close our eyes to the plight and suffering of the Tibetan people and remain indifferent to the flagrant violations of their traditional liberties and creed? Violations of fundamental human rights, wherever they are committed, is a matter which cannot and should not escape the attention of the world.

49. The tragedy that is continuing in Tibet affects the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and therefore must be of particular concern to all freedom-loving nations. It is the conviction of my delegation that the General Assembly has not only the power conferred upon it by the Charter but also the obligation and the duty to address itself once again to this question.

50. There has been much stress in the Assembly on the right of all peoples to self-determination. At this session the Assembly has adopted resolution 1654 (XVI), which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor, a resolution which calls for the immediate implementation of the Declaration to end all forms of colonialism and its manifestations and to grant independence to all subjugated countries and peoples. My delegation therefore ventures to hope, and even to expect, that the four-Power draft resolution on the question of Tibet, which is now before us, will receive the Assembly's approval, and that no State will allow itself to act in this particular instance against its own conviction, or even in disregard of its own conscience, by opposing the present draft resolution. To do so, would be tantamount to denying to the Tibetan people the very right that has been advocated for all. To do so, would be to destroy what little hope and faith the Tibetan people might still have for the protection of their fundamental human rights, of their distinctive cultural and religious life, and for the restoration of the autonomy which they have traditionally enjoyed.

<sup>4/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

51. Once again, may I address an appeal to all representatives, for the sake of humanity, which we all cherish, to vote for the draft resolution now before us [A/L.376].

52. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation has firmly objected and continues to object, to the United Nations discussing the so-called question of Tibet. In fact, there is no such question: it is a problem artificially created and raised by the ruling circles of certain countries which are interested in maintaining at all costs the cold war and tension in international relations.

53. The whole world is aware of the true nature of the events which took place in March 1959 in the Tibetan region of the People's Republic of China, and which are now being used as a pretext for discussion. A handful of feudal serf-owners incited by international reactionary elements, started an armed rebellion against the legitimate Government of China. The purpose of the rebellion was to maintain a reactionary régime in Tibet and with its help to create on the territory of Tibet a base for a struggle against the People's Republic of China.

54. The Anglo-American colonialists have long hankered after Tibet. There is incontrovertible evidence that the threads of the criminal conspiracy of the reactionary Tibetan ruling clique were manipulated precisely by them. As far back as 1949, certain circles in the United States promised the representatives of Tibetan reaction military aid for a struggle against the People's Republic of China.

55. We know that the Government of the United States has established a centre in the United States with the object of conducting subversive activity in Tibet against the Chinese people and Government. It has helped the Tibetan reactionaries by giving them arms and other assistance. To this end the United States has made use of Tibetan emigrés.

56. But the rebellion in Tibet did not, and could not, have any success; for the population did not support the reactionaries. The people rose in defence of the legitimate Government—the Government of the People's Republic of China. In the space of a few days the rebellion was completely crushed and the conspiracy failed. A new path was opened up for Tibet and its people.

57. The Government of the People's Republic of China embarked on sweeping democratic and social reforms for the benefit of the working people.

58. That is the gist of what happened in Tibet. Yet we are asked here to discuss the so-called "Question of Tibet"—that is to say, we are asked to do nothing more or less than intervene in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China, although we all know that the Charter of the United Nations definitely prohibits any such intervention. Tibet has been, and always will be, Chinese territory; this fact cannot be disputed by anyone. China is master in its own house and no one can interfere with its sovereign rights and actions.

59. But the fact is that the United States will not abandon its aggressive plans against the People's Republic of China. It is true that, during the election campaign and in their pre-election speeches representatives of the United States frequently talked of their intention to change the policy of their country

towards the People's Republic of China. However, the recent debate here on the question of the restoration of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has revealed how great is the gulf between the statements of United States politicians and their actions.

60. The United States maintains its former imperialistic policy of supporting anti-popular reactionary régimes, and is still nurturing the hopes that the territory of Great China may be partitioned. That is why it is clinging tenaciously to the so-called "Question of Tibet" and trying to use the United Nations as an instrument of its bankrupt policy.

61. Representatives of the United States shedding crocodile tears here about the alleged violation of human rights in Tibet, the suppression of liberty, etc. But in actual fact it is the popular revolution in China and the democratic reforms introduced in Tibet which, for the first time in Tibetan history, has given the population human rights and freedoms.

62. One cannot but feel indignant at the fact that the role of the defenders of rights and freedoms is being assumed here by those very people who, everywhere where it is possible, support the oppressors of freedom and sponsor bloody dictatorships. These defenders of rights and freedoms recently expressed appreciation of the Spanish dictator, so provoking the indignation even of their own countrymen. The day before yesterday, in the Security Council, they supported the Portuguese dictator in his colonial claims to a part of Indian territory. They maintain and defend in the teeth of popular indignation, the reactionary Government of South Viet-Nam. These defenders of rights have for many years encouraged the dictator and executioner, Syngman Rhee, and they are now supporting the fascist military junta in South Korea.

63. With the help of bayonets these champions of freedom are maintaining in Taiwan Chang Kai-shek, that political corpse who has been rejected and expelled by the Chinese people. The American defenders of "rights and freedoms" prevented us at our session from adopting sanctions against the racialists of the Republic of South Africa. They have supported here the impudent claims of Dutch colonialists to West Irian. They have dispatched warships and marines to support the dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and are threatening revolutionary Cuba. And now here they are today appearing in the role of defenders of the reactionary Tibetan feudal lords.

64. Time marches on. The United States has a new Government. Its representatives make new speeches about peace and international co-operation, but the policy of the United States and its actions remain unchanged. However, we must say that there are fewer and fewer people prepared to support this "cold war" policy.

65. The representative of the United States referred here to the report on Tibet prepared by a group of jurists. But he did not tell us how much Mr. McCone's department paid the authors for their slanders against the People's Republic of China.

66. Quite recently, the United States Press reported that the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States pays out hundreds of millions of dollars for sabotage and propaganda activities and for the production of documents, similar to those which have been cited here by the United States representative.



67. The Press reported that Mr. McCone himself, the new head of the United States Central Intelligence Agency, was astonished when he discovered that the Agency had, for example, financed almost all the main international conferences of right-wing socialists which have been held on the continent during the past ten years.

68. Why talk about a few legal experts and their conclusions which have been quoted here? The cost of this document—if it can be so called—was, probably not very high. I would also like to say a few words about another champion of the United States "cold war" policy against China.

69. This is the third year in succession that the representative of Malaya has spoken here as a kind of "expert" on the question of Tibet. In this sordid business he has assumed the role of State Department attorney. Yesterday he echoed the various fabrications of United States propaganda and its slanders against the People's Republic of China, which are collected and disseminated so zealously by the Central Intelligence Agency to which I referred.

70. On this occasion, the representative of Malaya even quoted his own last year's statements, which, incidentally, are based on the same sources. We can assume that the time is not far off when this gentleman will have reason to be ashamed of these quotations, if only he is capable of realizing what a sorry role he has been assigned to play here. Could not the servile talents of this gentleman have been put to better use?

71. In his zeal, this representative even went so far as to refer to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. One must, indeed, be devoid of all sense of proportion, of all common sense, to attempt to justify, with the help of the Declaration, the claims of the imperialists and the reactionary emigrés in their pay to territory which from time immemorial has been and will in future remain an integral part of China.

It is, in fact, the Declaration which condemns (I quote):

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country."

72. And who is it that the champions of the Tibetan problem are taking under their wing? It is criminal rebels who have taken up arms against their own people, against the legitimate Government of their country. Everyone knows that the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan population was living in serfdom and suffering intolerably severe oppression. All lands, forests and other property in Tibet belonged to the feudal serf-owners, who formed a tiny minority of the population, while ordinary people groaned in slavery.

73. The peasants had no political rights. They were the property of feudal lords. Tibetan peasants and cattle-breeders bore a heavy burden of taxes and dues, which were fixed arbitrarily by the feudal lords. What are the champions of the "Tibetan question" trying to achieve? A return to the old order? So this is the wish of the people who are so fond of talking about progress and democratic freedoms! The representative of the United States has tried to prove here that a feudal regime is the very one best suited

to the native customs of the Tibetan people. This is tantamount to arguing that discrimination against Negroes in the United States is best suited to the national temperament and customs of the Negro people. No, Ladies and Gentlemen, the feudal and slave-owning régime in Tibet has gone for good. It has been abolished once and for all. And no amount of intrigue, no slanders against the People's Republic of China are going to help you to resuscitate the past.

74. The dawn of a new life has risen over Tibet. In the interests of the working people of Tibet the Government of the People's Republic of China has embarked on a wide programme of social and democratic reforms. For the first time in Tibetan history, the peasants have become owners of their own land, have acquired the right to dispose of the fruits of their labour: they have won civil and political rights, which were beyond their dreams under the old régime. The Government of the People's Republic of China has abolished the peasants' long-standing debts. The Government is giving generous assistance to the Tibetan people in its economic and cultural development. Agricultural production is steadily rising, the acreage under crops is increasing, irrigation works are being constructed. The wooden plough is being increasingly replaced by modern agricultural implements. Industrial production is also expanding. The number of industrial undertakings is on the increase. It is very typical, for example, that the production of electrical energy in Tibet has risen 3.5 times in comparison with 1959.

75. Much has been achieved, with the help of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the training of native personnel. Thus, in April 1960, the Panchen Lama reported at the fourth session of the Preparatory Committee for the creation of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, only one year after the suppression of the rebellion, that more than four thousand Tibetans had been appointed to posts in local government offices and in various public organizations. After the rebellion was put down all the necessary conditions were created for the development of popular education, which had formerly been discouraged by the feudal lords. Schools were very scarce in old Tibet, but tens of thousands go to school in Tibet today.

76. Much attention is also being paid to improving medical services for the people. Whereas, before 1951, there was not a single doctor or a single medical institute in Tibet, there are now 150 medical institutes where Tibetans are given free medical treatment.

77. The fabrications about offences against the religious sentiments of the Tibetans must also be categorically rejected. This is a wicked slander and a provocation, inspired by certain circles in the United States. In Tibet, as in other regions in China, there is full freedom of religion in accordance with the Constitution. Moreover, the State authorities give material and other aid to Buddhist temples and to members of the clergy, and, in particular, encourage their Buddhist studies.

78. The ridiculous and slanderous attacks of some representatives against the People's Republic of China, could, of course, best be refuted by the representatives of the People's Republic of China itself. But they are still deprived of the possibility of taking part in the work of the United Nations, although the majority of African-Asian countries and all the

socialist and many European States are demanding restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and expulsion of the followers of Chiang Kai-shek.

79. It is highly significant that the small group of sponsors of the Malayan draft resolution [A/L.376] on the so-called "Question of Tibet" has itself stated that this resolution will carry no weight at all, that it has no meaning and no substance. It is quite obvious that this resolution has been submitted with one end in view: to give some support at least to the bankrupt policy of the United States, so that at the close of this business-like and productive session of the United Nations, the State Department may have at least some results to show for all its efforts here in the General Assembly. True, these are pitiful results, but the United States has not so far been able to achieve anything better and in these days it is trying here to squeeze out these pitiable results.

80. The delegation of the Soviet Union has from the very outset spoken out firmly against the far-fetched and still-born question of Tibet being dragged into the United Nations and it urges that an end be finally put to such interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China. We strongly protest against the attempts made to drag in here any resolution whatsoever on the so-called "Question of Tibet".

*Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

81. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The General Assembly's consideration of the so-called question of Tibet, which is taking place at the very last stage of the first part of the sixteenth session, constitutes inadmissible interference by the United Nations in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China, under pressure from the United States.

82. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania protests vehemently against this calculated provocation of the People's Republic of China by the United States Government. My delegation considers that the General Assembly should devote itself to the very important problems relating to peace and international co-operation rather than waste its time debating issues which have been deliberately fabricated by the United States for purposes of the cold war and the further poisoning of the international atmosphere.

83. The consideration by the General Assembly of a question such as this, which is in fact a non-existent question, gravely impairs the authority of the United Nations. It has been well known since very ancient times that Tibet has always been an integral part of China. This is a recognized fact and one which the imperialists themselves cannot deny. We might mention that in 1903, Lord Hamilton, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, stated that Tibet must, as in the past, be regarded as a province of China. On 14 June 1904 the United Kingdom ambassador to Russia avowed that Tibet was a province of the Chinese empire. Recently, moreover, persons of importance in the United States have admitted that the United States never regarded Tibet as an independent State.

84. In so far as India is concerned, it should be recalled that after independence, that country issued many statements in which it recognized the sovereign rights of China over Tibet. It was, in fact, on the

basis of such mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty that on 29 April 1954 an agreement was signed between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China concerning trade and intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India.<sup>5/</sup> It was on that same occasion that the five principles of peaceful coexistence between the two countries were formulated.

85. Subsequent to the conclusion of that agreement, Prime Minister Nehru, speaking on the subject on 15 May 1954, criticized certain tendencies to disregard the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China over Tibet. He said in particular that for his part he did not know that there had been any State in the past few centuries which had failed to recognize the sovereign rights of China over Tibet.

86. The imperialist Powers are very much interested in Tibet, for they would like to transform it into a base for aggression. It was with this object that the United States and certain countries which support it developed plans to detach Tibet from the People's Republic of China. The hostile campaign of the United States against the People's Republic of China, which has been launched again at this session, is intended to detract from the ever-growing prestige and importance of the People's Republic of China in the international arena. All these ignominious attempts, however, are doomed to failure in the same way as the efforts of the imperialist Powers, headed by the United States, to detach Tibet from the People's Republic of China.

87. In the new historical context of today there has been repeated confirmation that Tibet is an integral part of the People's Republic of China. Moreover, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China sets forth the principles of that country's national policy and in particular the principles guaranteeing the regional autonomy of Tibet.

88. Consideration of the so-called question of Tibet at this session of the General Assembly is consequently a clear attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China and, hence, a violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. All the slanders drawn from the arsenal of imperialist propaganda regarding the situation in Tibet have been fully refuted by the facts and shattered by the force of truth. Until recent times, the people of Tibet were condemned to lead a life of despair under inhuman and even barbaric social conditions. All the land—including the forests, the streams and lakes, the pastures and other resources—was concentrated in the hands of the laity and the monks. This group representing 5 per cent of the population, controlled everything in Tibet, while the overwhelming majority of the people led a life of slavery. The people were forced to obey the orders of their feudal lords and to work for them three-fourths of the year without recompense. The feudal lords had all legal powers. They could impose on the peasantry all kinds of penalties, from imprisonment to the most savage tortures, such as the amputation of arms and feet. This, then, was the famous traditional way of life which certain representatives have spoken of here and which certain Western Powers, led by the United States, would like at all costs to perpetuate in Tibet.

<sup>5/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 299 (1958), No. 4307.



89. The hypocritical charges of certain reactionary circles that the People's Republic of China has impaired the religious and cultural autonomy of Tibet are likewise entirely groundless. These fabricated slanders in no way correspond to the true situation. It is an incontestable fact that the religious beliefs and the customs of the Tibetan people are respected by the authorities of the People's Republic of China, as is the case, indeed, in all socialist countries.

90. After the suppression of the armed rebellion in Tibet, which was designed to undermine the unity of the People's Republic of China, the Tibetan people demonstrated unprecedented ardour and enthusiasm. As a result, the people of Tibet, who had long been oppressed by the country's reactionaries, entered a new phase of their existence, a phase of rapid democratic and administrative reform offering them the possibility of emerging from their backward medieval state and of attaining an economic, political and cultural level equal to that achieved by the other peoples of the People's Republic of China. In consequence of the democratic reforms instituted by the People's Republic of China, the most important of which was land reform, the Tibetan people became the masters of their own destiny. The system of slavery and servitude was abolished for all time, and, as a consequence, there was a sharp rise in production. In 1960 the autonomous region of Tibet increased its output of cereals by 15 per cent in comparison with 1959, while in certain parts of Tibet production rose 50 per cent. The local authorities have reduced taxes and raised the buying price of wool and other agricultural commodities. The first industrial undertakings have already begun production. Many primary and secondary schools, as well as hospitals and health and veterinary centres, have been opened.

91. All the measures which I have just mentioned have given the people of Tibet the brightest prospects for a new and happy life. However, certain Western Powers which have tried unsuccessfully to detach Tibet by force from the People's Republic of China and which are disturbed by the successes of the Tibetan people are now attempting, from this rostrum, to distort reality and to slander the People's Republic of China. Yet all the hostile actions and all the slanders of these Western Powers against the People's Republic of China—including the obstructionist policy to keep the People's Republic of China from taking its place in the United Nations—and the slanders against Tibet, cannot stop the Chinese people from forging ahead in the socialist construction of their country. Indeed, the authority and importance of this people in the international arena will continue to grow.

92. The consideration by the General Assembly at this time of the so-called question of Tibet is a reflection of the aggressive policies being pursued by certain Western Powers against the People's Republic of China. The sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.376]—including the United States, and more particularly those, who take cover behind them—are endeavouring to increase international tension, contaminate further the international atmosphere, foment hatred among peoples and divert the attention of the United Nations from the important international problems which await solution. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania vigorously opposes the draft resolution [A/L.376], which constitutes a gross provocation and inadmissible interference in the

domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China, in violation of the Charter and to the grave detriment of the prestige of the United Nations.

*Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.*

93. Mr. CROWE (United Kingdom): I am making this statement in explanation of vote.

94. My delegation feels the deepest indignation and distress at what has happened, and is still happening, in Tibet. We are happy that at least this brief opportunity is being afforded to us and to others who share our concern to express in the General Assembly our sympathy for the Tibetan people in their suffering.

95. Since this item was discussed at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, my Delegation has read the report on the subject by the International Commission of Jurists which, as I think will be recognized by the great majority of the delegations here, is an independent, non-governmental organization comprising judges, professors and lawyers from many countries. This report contains horrifying and irrefutable evidence that China's policy in Tibet amounts to the deliberate and continuing suppression of the religious and political liberties of the Tibetan people. This has resulted in human suffering on a vast scale. Those who have spoken before me in the general debate have given the Assembly a picture of the appalling suffering inflicted on the Tibetan people. I shall not, therefore, weary or sicken the Assembly with examples or quotations from the jurists' report, which is there for all to read.

96. I shall confine myself to saying that Chinese policy in Tibet represents a systematic and calculated policy of oppression, continued cynically and ruthlessly despite overwhelming condemnation by the United Nations. The report of the International Commission of Jurists shows, moreover, that the actions of the Chinese Government in Tibet constitute a deliberate attempt to suppress permanently the autonomy of Tibet.

97. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have in the past recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet only on the condition that Tibet retained its autonomy. We cannot agree that any such suzerainty entitles the Chinese Government to claim immunity from the condemnation of the world and to be able freely to impose on the Tibetan people in the spurious name of progress the terrible sufferings to which I have referred. We are convinced that these policies of the Chinese Government have indeed resulted in the conditions described in the preamble to the draft resolution which is before us, with the effects described therein. We deplore them because they heighten international tension, and we deplore them even more for their inhumanity. My delegation will, therefore, vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.376].

98. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): I should like to say just a few words to explain my delegation's forthcoming vote.

99. The French delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the intentions which prompted the action of the delegations of El Salvador, the Federation of Malaya, Ireland and Thailand in submitting draft resolution A/L.376. These intentions were eloquently expressed by the sponsors and were supported by other speakers with equal conviction. My delegation lends all its sympathy and its moral support to this draft resolu-

tion. The sufferings endured by the Tibetan people have aroused strong feelings and shocked condemnation in my country. The abolition of fundamental human rights and the religious persecution of which Tibet has been the scene are censured by French public opinion, just as they are by the United Nations Charter. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion of which the unfortunate inhabitants of that country have been deprived has been solemnly recognized by our Assembly.

100. For reasons of principle which the French delegation has already had occasion to express at earlier sessions and to which it firmly adheres, my delegation cannot support this draft resolution. Some of the provisions of this draft are not soundly enough based on the Charter to dispel the doubts to which the proposals may give rise from the legal point of view.

101. Consequently, my delegation will be obliged, very regretfully, to abstain in the forthcoming vote.

102. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have come to the end of my list of speakers. I give the floor to the United States representative, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

103. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America): The representative of the Soviet Union has seen fit to attempt to paint for the General Assembly a fictitious picture of the situation in Tibet. That fictitious picture is entirely at variance with the true picture disclosed in the reports of the International Commission of Jurists, to which I referred in my statement of last evening [1084th meeting]. In addition, the representative of the Soviet Union has seen fit to try to impugn—I might almost say insult—the integrity of that Commission and its Legal Inquiry Committee.

104. I should like, if I may, to read the General Assembly the names of the members of the Committee, whose integrity and impartiality the Soviet representative has chosen to impugn. I ask the forgiveness of the Assembly for any mispronunciation of which I may be guilty. These, if you please, are the members of the Legal Inquiry Committee to whom the Soviet delegate has referred and who are the authors of the report whose integrity he has impugned: Mr. P. Trikamdas, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India; Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India and a former judge of India; Mr. R. P. Mookherjee, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India and a former judge of India; Mr. Bentsi-Enchill, a leading barrister of Ghana; Dr. A. A. Alafritz, of the Philippines, at one time a judge, and President of the Bar Association of the Republic of the Philippines; Mr. Ong Hick Lim, leading barrister-at-law of the Federation of Malaya; Mr. T. S. Fernando, a justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon; Dr. Rolf Christoferson, Secretary-General of the Bar Association of Norway; Mr. Seni Pramoj, at one time Prime Minister of Thailand, and a leading advocate of that country; plus Lord Shawcross, former Attorney-General of Great Britain and Dr. E. Maung of Burma. Lord Shawcross resigned for personal reasons and Dr. Maung resigned from the Committee upon becoming a member of the Burmese Cabinet. These are the obviously impartial gentlemen of distinction and integrity whose good name has been impugned by a speaker from this platform.

105. I would further point out that each of these distinguished jurists served without compensation, and as a volunteer—because they were interested in

fair play and in the rule of law throughout the world. I leave it to the Members of the General Assembly to decide whether they should believe the unsupported picture painted by the representative of the Soviet Union, or should accept the report of this distinguished group of completely impartial, independent jurists of Asia, Africa and Scandinavia.

106. Some of the communist representatives have contended that the United Nations should keep quiet and do nothing about the ravages of Chinese communist imperialist colonialism in Tibet, on the ground that if the United Nations should rise in the defence of the human rights of the Tibetan people international tension would be increased or the cold war protracted.

107. The United States would like very much to see a relaxation of the international tension and cold-war chilliness caused by the communist mistreatment of the Tibetan people, and it would like to suggest to the Soviet Union that it exercise its influence—still, I trust, considerable—on the Chinese communist imperialists to get them to respect the human rights of the Tibetan people and to cease violating the principles of the United Nations Charter. Until the Soviet Union succeeds in such an effort, I suggest that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution now before us.

108. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by El Salvador, the Federation of Malaya, Ireland and Thailand [A/L.376]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Ghana, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mauritania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Gabon.

*Against:* Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba.

*Abstaining:* Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, France.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 56 votes to 10, with 29 abstentions.*

109. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Poland for an explanation of vote.

110. Mr. MACHOWSKI (Poland): The Polish delegation voted against the resolution for the following reasons.



111. We find it deplorable indeed that the General Assembly, while having other and more important matters on its agenda, is forced to waste its time on the consideration of a matter placed on the agenda of the present session for the sole purpose of disturbing and poisoning the international atmosphere. An item of purely cold-war character, the issue has little, if any, backing in the United Nations. Characteristically, and even though the item had been inscribed on the agenda, the General Assembly did not consider it at its previous session. Also, it is but too well known that resolution 1353 (XIV) was adopted at the fourteenth session by a very small majority of votes compounded by the Western Powers.

112. Everything that pertains to the social structure and conditions of life of the population of Tibet is a strictly internal affair of the Chinese People's Republic. To consider the so-called question of Tibet here amounts to an attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and as such is inadmissible from the point of view of international law and order.

113. For ages Tibet has been an integral part of China. No one has tried to question it so far. The political and social system of the Chinese People's Republic and the achievements of the people of Tibet, who decided in free and democratic elections to build a socialist system in their part of the country, may or may not be to the liking of certain Powers. But their likes and dislikes can in no way warrant any infringement upon the inviolable rights of nations. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States is the mainstay of peaceful coexistence. It is one of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, explicitly laid down in Article 2, paragraph 7.

114. In the circumstances it might be helpful to find an answer to the question, whom and what is this debate supposed to serve? The Polish delegation wishes to state with all emphasis that the so-called Tibetan question has no legal or moral substantiation, and being exclusively a matter of cold-war propaganda, should not have been taken up in our debate in the Assembly. For this reason the Polish delegation voted against the resolution.

## AGENDA ITEM 80

### Question of Algeria

#### REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/5070)

*Mr. Enckell (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee.*

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.*

115. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representatives of Senegal, Ireland and Iceland for explanations of vote.

116. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French): The negotiations at Evian and Lugrin had allowed us to hope that a final settlement of the Algerian question would be reached before the end of the first part of the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, but that unfortunately has not been the case. Nevertheless, the Evian and Lugrin talks have not been fruitless. They have made it possible to progress towards a solution of the problem; they have

made it possible to cross the bridge from the notion of French Algeria to that of Algerian Algeria.

117. Of course, it might be said that, in the distant past of the Crémieux decree and the Violette projects, certain Algerians thought that their problem could be solved by political assimilation and by acquiring the status of French citizens on an entirely separate basis. But from 1946, on the eve of French decolonization, Ferhat Abbas, a deputy of the Moslem college and an authentic representative of Moslem Algeria, was already calling, in the constituent national Assembly of the Fourth Republic, for an Algerian Republic. We can still hear him saying, in the lofty forum of the French National Assembly, that what he was asking of France was not secession, but something which conformed with France's historical tradition. Among other arguments, he supported his thesis by quoting the maxim of a deputy to the National Convention of 1792, who said that one of France's historic roles was to create republics throughout the world. This dictum still remains valid, for it should never be forgotten that, wherever France has sown its culture and civilization, the political ethics of 1789, consisting essentially in the rights of man and of the citizen and the sovereignty of the people, have imbued the minds and hearts of men, whatever the colour of their skin or the latitude of their country.

118. There is, however, no longer any need to expatiate on this phenomenon, for General de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic, and with him the majority of the French people, have recognized Algeria's right to self-determination and independence. On the other hand, there are still several obstacles to be overcome. First of all, on the Algerian side, there are the guarantees to be provided for self-determination. Then on the French side there are, first, the guarantees to be given to the minority of French or European origin living in Algeria, and secondly, the guarantees to be given to foreign capital invested in the exploitation of the oil of Algerian Sahara.

119. These obstacles can, however, be eliminated by negotiation. Senegal's consistent view on the settlement of international disputes has already been explained here by our Minister of Foreign Affairs. It may be described as dialogue and negotiation. We are convinced that dialogue and negotiation are always more effective than the language of weapons.

120. As we have already said here with regard to Bizerta, we are convinced that on a basis of self-determination and of national sovereignty for the entire territory of Algeria, including Algerian Sahara it will be possible as soon as the gunfire has ceased and hearts and minds have become calm, to find a just settlement which will finally put an end to this fratricidal war.

121. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): Ever since Ireland became a Member of the United Nations in 1955, my delegation has steadily upheld, both here in the Assembly and in the First Committee, the right of the people of Algeria to self-determination and independence. Consistently with the attitude we have adopted in previous years, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

122. I feel bound to say, however, that the text recommended by the First Committee in its report



[A/5070] is by no means an adequate or even an accurate reflection of our point of view on the problem of Algeria as it stands at present. For some time now, those of us who are friends both of France and of Algeria have been watching with deep satisfaction the steady progress which is apparently being made towards a final settlement of the differences between the French and Algerian peoples.

123. For our part, we hope and believe that before many months a final solution of the Algerian problem will be reached and the relations between France and Algeria will be firmly established on a basis of sincere co-operation and friendship. To achieve that result, what is needed now is a spirit of mutual understanding, a readiness on the part of each side to take reasonable account of the viewpoint of the other and a willingness to make the mutual concessions which all international agreements must entail if they are to endure.

124. My delegation would have felt much happier if the draft resolution now before us, instead of simply endorsing one point of view, had breathed somewhat more of this spirit of mutual tolerance and understanding. The second paragraph of the preamble, for example, quotes General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 as requiring the ending of colonialism in Algeria and recognizing Algeria's right to independence. The draft resolution rather ungenerously, we think, makes no reference at all to General de Gaulle's speech of 16 September 1959, in which he specifically conceded Algeria's right to self-determination—a speech which we in the Irish delegation regard as a truly historic milestone in the history of Algerian freedom.

125. As all of us know, the most significant and encouraging development in connexion with the Algerian problem within the last twelve months was the establishment of direct contact between representatives of France and representatives of the FLN (Forces de la liberation nationaux). As all of us must recognize too, it is on the outcome of bilateral discussions between the representatives of France and of Algeria that the just satisfaction of Algerian national aspirations and the establishment of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation between the two peoples will finally depend.

126. My delegation regrets that this obvious fact is not recognized more specifically in the terms of the draft resolution now before us. Now that the parties seem to be already so close to agreement, our principle concern should be to emphasize our hope that agreement will soon be reached.

127. If this draft resolution is voted on paragraph by paragraph, my delegation will feel obliged to abstain in the vote on the sixth paragraph of the preamble. The Irish delegation earnestly hopes that the day is not far off when there will be not merely a provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, but a free Government of Algeria recognized *de jure* by all the other Governments of the world. When that day comes few nations will rejoice more sincerely than the nation which I represent. For the moment, however, the position is that, much as we sympathize with Algerian national aspirations, their desire for independence, my Government has not recognized any provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, and, that being so, I am unable to vote for a paragraph in the preamble which might be held to imply that we had done so.

128. While, as I said, my delegation—in keeping with its recognition of the right of the Algerian people to freedom and independence—will vote in favour of the draft resolution, it will do so with some misgivings for the reasons I have explained. No resolution of the Assembly can solve the problem of Algeria. The best way of solving it is by means of negotiations and agreement between the representatives of the French and the Algerian peoples. We are glad that these negotiations are underway. For our part, we would have been happier if the terms of the resolution before us gave clearer and more positive expression to that fact.

129. Mr. THORS (Iceland): Ever since the question of Algeria was first placed before the United Nations in 1955, the Icelandic delegation has constantly held the view that not only is the General Assembly entitled to discuss the situation in Algeria but that the United Nations has the duty to concern itself about conditions in Algeria and the future of its people. It should be remembered that in 1955 the views prevailing in the United Nations about the right to self-determination for dependent peoples, and in particular about the relationship between France and Algeria, were quite different from what they are today. The atmosphere in general was much less favourable for peoples seeking independence and freedom.

130. We consider that there can be no doubt that the debates in the United Nations in previous years and the interest shown for the people of Algeria by the United Nations has had a sound and awakening effect on all concerned and on all opinion in general. The concern of the United Nations and the views expressed in discussions during previous sessions have, to some degree, we venture to say, had a favourable influence on later progress and developments regarding the future of Algeria and its people.

131. The delegation of Iceland dearly cherishes the principle of self-determination of peoples and has always endeavoured in its speeches and by its votes here in the United Nations to enhance the universal application of that ideal. This spirit has guided our attitude by voting in favour of the draft resolution now before the General Assembly.

132. In this draft resolution we recall the United Nations resolution of 19 December 1960 by which the General Assembly recognized the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence, and also stress the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria. We furthermore express our deep concern about the continuance of the war in Algeria, and call upon the two parties to resume negotiations with a view to implementing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence respecting the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria.

133. The Icelandic delegation is happy to vote for this draft resolution and desires to express its fervent hope that the negotiations may lead to peace and ensure the independence of Algeria and true and lasting friendship between Algeria and France.

134. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution which the First Committee recommends to us for adoption and which appears in its report [A/5070] on agenda item 80. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Paraguay, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Austria, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan.

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 62 votes to none, with 38 abstentions.*

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*