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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 16

Election of Members of the Economic and Social Council (concluded)*

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to bring to the attention of delegations that the Asian group, following a meeting held today, decided that one of the two candidates here present, Iran and Syria, would withdraw, on the understanding that the country which withdrew would have the support of the Asian group in the elections to the Economic and Social Council next year.

2. The representatives of Iran and Syria met in my office and the Chairman of the Asian group, the representative of the Maldive Islands, drew lots between these two countries. The name of Iran was drawn. Consequently, Syria will withdraw from the present election, in view of the agreement I have just mentioned. We shall therefore proceed to the election to fill the remaining vacancy.

3. In accordance with the decision taken at the 1400th plenary meeting, we shall proceed in three stages. First, we shall elect one member to fill the last vacant seat. Secondly, I shall consult the Assembly on the procedure to be followed in deciding which of the new members will serve for three years and which members will serve for two years. I should like to add that all those concerned are agreed that this consultation, since it is directly connected with election procedure, shall be held by secret ballot. Thirdly, we shall follow the procedure decided upon by the Assembly.

4. We shall now proceed to the election of a member to fill the last vacant seat at the Economic and Social Council. You know what possibility you have of resolving the problem which it has not so far been possible to resolve.

At the request of the President, Miss Fletcher (Canada), Mr. Larrabure (Peru) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	104
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	3
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	101
<i>Abstentions:</i>	6
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	95
<i>Required majority:</i>	64
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
<i>Iran</i>	89
<i>Syria</i>	6

Iran, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, was elected a member of the Economic and Social Council.

5. The PRESIDENT: We have thus elected the nine additional members of the Economic and Social Council.

6. We are at the second stage of the procedure we have adopted. I shall consult the General Assembly on the method it intends to follow in choosing the three additional members who will serve for two years. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

7. I should like to clarify a point in connexion with the voting. Representatives will note that there is one blank opposite each formula. They are requested to be so good as to indicate their preference by putting a cross in the appropriate place.

8. As soon as this consultation has been concluded, I shall announce the results and we shall proceed with our task according to the procedure chosen by the Assembly.

At the request of the President, Miss Fletcher (Canada), Mr. Larrabure (Peru) and Mr. Bota (Romania) acted as tellers.

9. The PRESIDENT: Here is the result of the ballot we have just had: the General Assembly has decided by a vote of 60 to 44 that its President shall draw lots among the nine new members of the Economic and Social Council to determine which three of them will serve for three years and which three shall serve for two years. I shall therefore now proceed to draw lots.

The President proceeded to draw lots.

*Resumed from the 1400th meeting.

10. The PRESIDENT: Here is the result of the drawing. The following three countries will serve on the Economic and Social Council for three years: Iran, Morocco and Venezuela; the following three countries will serve for two years: Cameroon, Dahomey and India; the following three countries will serve for one year: Greece, Sierra Leone, and the United Republic of Tanzania.

11. I should like to express my gratitude to all those who have helped me, in particular to Mr. Sosa Rodríguez, in the intensive consultations which I undertook to resolve the difficult problems posted by this election.

AGENDA ITEM 34

Effects of atomic radiation: reports of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the effects of atomic radiation

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/6186)

AGENDA ITEM 99

Peaceful settlement of disputes

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/6187)

12. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: As Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, I have the honour to present the report of that Committee on item 34 of our agenda. The Committee devoted one meeting to the consideration of this item. The only proposal put before the Committee was one jointly submitted by nineteen Member States, which was adopted unanimously on 17 December. This draft resolution is contained in the Committee's report [A/6186], which is presented for the Assembly's consideration.

13. I also have the honour to present the report of the Special Political Committee on item 99. This question was considered by the Committee in the course of four meetings, and eighteen statements were made in the general debate. A draft resolution was submitted on 13 December by seventeen delegations, and on 16 December the Committee rejected a motion that discussion on the question be adjourned until the next day. It then adopted a proposal by the representative of Ghana that the discussion on item 99 be adjourned and that the item be remitted to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

14. This is, therefore, the recommendation of the Special Political Committee contained in the Committee's report which is before the Assembly [A/6187].

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Special Political Committee.

15. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 34. If no delegation wishes to explain its vote, I shall now invite the Assembly to take a decision on the draft resolution in paragraph 6 of the report of the Special Political Committee [A/6186]. This draft resolution was adopted by the Committee

unanimously. If there are no objections I shall take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

16. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now pass on to agenda item 99. In paragraph 11 of its report [A/6187], the Special Political Committee recommends the General Assembly to adjourn the debate on this item and to remit the question to the twenty-first session. If there are no objections I shall consider this recommendation adopted.

The recommendation was adopted.

17. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to take this opportunity of restating the motive and purpose with which this item on the peaceful settlement of disputes [A/5964] was duly inscribed before the beginning of this session of the General Assembly. My Government was glad to inscribe this item, and when the time came to submit a draft resolution, we were proud to do so in the company of sixteen other Member States.

18. Our purpose in inscribing the item and in co-operating with the sixteen other States in presenting a draft resolution was clearly stated. We were, and we remain, convinced that the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes is one of fundamental importance and universal concern and undeniable urgency. No one has sought to deny that the question is of fundamental importance and universal concern. We regret that it has not also been accepted that it is one of undeniable urgency.

19. In presenting the draft resolution we were anxious to emphasize the following propositions.

Mr. Collier (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

20. Firstly, we made it clear that in raising this issue at this session, we did so in a spirit of genuine international co-operation, believing that the subject of the peaceful settlement of disputes need give rise to no division or disagreement. It was surely a subject to which we all can and should bring open minds.

21. Secondly, we were at pains to explain that although we raised many important and pressing questions we did not endeavour to answer them at this stage. Our contention was that the questions required, and indeed demanded, thoughtful examination. We deliberately refrained from attempting to pre-judge the answers to any of the questions we raised.

22. Thirdly, we emphasized that the peaceful settlement of disputes was a basic and primary and fundamental obligation under the Charter of the United Nations, an obligation in which no one could claim that our past achievements have been adequate.

23. Fourthly, we suggested that the success of peace-keeping operations has sometimes postponed the search for a solution of the disputes which led to conflict. An uneasy peace as a result of United Nations intervention has sometimes been accepted as a substitute for permanent settlement. Temporary peace-keeping must never be allowed to become the enemy of permanent peace-making.

24. Fifthly, we stated that our failure to go to the roots of international disputes leads to appalling waste and a diversion of effort from constructive and productive achievement to the squandering of resources which the world so badly needs for its sustenance and its development.

25. And having emphasized the precedence of peace-making and the need for peace-making to precede, or at least to accompany, peace-keeping, and the waste which arises from neglect of our primary obligations of peace-making, we put forward a single and simple proposal. We proposed that this Assembly should decide to bring together a small and representative committee composed of men of the highest reputation and eminence to review all available evidence, to consider all proposals, to consider all the questions with which we are concerned on this issue and to make recommendations to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. We urged that this task should be put in hand with no sense of rivalry, still less of animosity, but in a spirit of universal co-operation and without delay.

26. If our proposal had been adopted, we should have been able to return to this question of such overriding importance at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly with the study completed and suggestions put forward for our further consideration.

27. We greatly regret that, after a hurried discussion, further debate was stifled and those who wished to speak on the subject were prevented from doing so. We were denied an opportunity to reply and deal with certain doubts and criticisms which had been raised. Our proposal that the time between the end of this session and the beginning of the next should be devoted to careful and impartial study was frustrated.

28. But we remain entirely convinced that it would be wrong, in spite of all other preoccupations and concerns and anxieties, to lose sight of the necessity of taking more effective and more efficient action to carry out the primary responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter. We are convinced that, as a result of the initiative which we took with sixteen other nations, there will be a growing realization that this subject should not be shelved and should not be pushed aside. Certainly we shall be ready to pursue discussion of this main subject at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

29. In the meantime, we shall continue to work with those who share our concern and our determination in preparation for that substantive discussion. We believe that our aim will command growing and general support. We are confident, moreover, that once our motive and purpose are better understood, any desire to prevent discussion and to stand in the way of advance will diminish and disappear. I say that in the confidence that it is the desire of the general membership of the United Nations that we should not fail to seek and to find every possible means to carry out more effectively and more courageously the first purpose for which the United Nations was established.

30. Consequently, we accept the recommendation of the Special Political Committee now before us, on which a decision has been taken. We have every intention and hope that this subject will be inscribed and fully debated at an early stage in the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. We confidently trust that when that debate takes place, we shall achieve the widest agreement.

31. The VICE-PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 99. On behalf of the President of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, I congratulate the officers and members of the Special Political Committee for work well done.

AGENDA ITEM 91

Question of Tibet (concluded)**

32. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): When the question of Tibet was placed on the agenda of this session my delegation expressed its opposition, based on a number of arguments. Nevertheless, since the Assembly has taken a majority decision to inscribe this question on the agenda, my delegation considers that there is still time for it to explain in somewhat greater detail the reasons why it considers that this is a false problem, a political problem, in which the intention is not to protect any human right whatsoever in Tibet, but to try and cause trouble for the Government of the People's Republic of China.

33. My delegation wishes to point out, first of all, that the delegations which asked for the question of Tibet to be inscribed on the agenda of the twentieth session [see A/5931] and those which submitted draft resolution A/L.473 are among those most bitterly opposed to the Assembly's restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights. This is a fact of great significance and it will be understood that what I have said about the motives inspiring those who have brought this question forward was well founded.

34. Since the eighteenth century, Tibet, because of its geographical situation, has been an ideal target for imperialist designs in Asia. Particularly for the British, who had been the victors in a war lasting from 1756 to 1763 against the French in India, and for other imperialist Powers of the time, the territory of Tibet had a twofold strategic importance: to assure the defence of India on the north and to form an ideal base for the eventual conquest of China.

35. Such were the designs of British imperialism. We can understand why, from that time on, Britain was for more than a century to challenge China's age-old ties with Tibet, ties closely woven through the years and resulting from a common Manchu invasion in the 17th century, when both China and Tibet had fallen to the onslaught of the same conqueror.

36. The fundamental fact in the relations between China and Tibet is that we know of the existence of documents, corresponding to treaties concluded between the two countries and having full legal effect, dating back to the year 730. Further, the presence

**Resumed from the 1401st meeting.

of a Chinese ambassador in Lhasa, capital of Tibet, and the close relations between the Dalai Lamas and the Chinese Emperors, relations marked by very frequent visits from one to the other, are further proof, despite those who wish to see only restrained antagonism therein, that in reality these were political and administrative relations, which from then on united Tibet with China. A Chinese authority over Tibet had in fact been created, an authority recognized by Great Britain, when in 1876 that country signed with China a treaty allowing a British exploration party to visit Tibet. Then, successively in 1890, 1893 and 1896, British imperialism acquired advantageous concessions in the territory.

37. This brings us to the Second World War. The problem of the autonomy of Tibet then arose because of an insidious manoeuvre on the part of the United Kingdom and the United States, in the form of a plan to establish supply lines between India and China. This concerted action was in fact the result of disguised attempts to annex a strategic point, namely, Tibet, a veritable turntable and point of contact between the north and the south of Asia.

38. These imperialist designs, however, would have caused no disquiet to those who today are talking about Tibet's right to autonomy, if the People's Republic of China had not been proclaimed on 1 October 1949, after the victory of the revolution led by Mao Tse-tung and his followers.

39. Since then we have been witnessing one of the most enormous campaigns of denigration ever undertaken against the new Chinese Government. The Dalai Lama, a puppet, a feudal lord, an oppressor who maintained a mediaeval form of society in his country, suddenly becomes a martyr of communism, while systematic subversion among the Tibetan people is openly organized from abroad.

40. The Government of the People's Republic of China, however, by signing an agreement in Peking on 23 May 1951, known as the Seventeen-Point Agreement,^{1/} recognized the fundamental rights of the people of Tibet. Article 11 of that agreement stipulates that:

"The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms"—agrarian, industrial, commercial, etc.—"of its own accord, and, when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet."^{2/}

Unless this is a case of patent bad faith and evil intent, it is impossible to read into these lines anything other than an expression of profoundly democratic ideas.

41. Further on, article 14 states that:

"The CPG [Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China] shall have centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet and there will be peaceful coexistence with neighbouring countries."^{2/}

^{1/} Agreement of the Central People's Government (CPG) and the local Government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

^{2/} Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic (Geneva, International Commission of Jurists, 1960), p. 228.

42. Despite the clarity of these texts, it is surprising to note that the States which constantly preach the rule of law in international relations are the champions of a theory aimed at denying that Tibet, in law as well as in fact, is just as much an integral part of the People's Republic of China as Texas is an integral part of the United States of America.

43. Consequently, any problem relating to Tibet is of its essence a domestic problem of the People's Republic of China. The cold-war experts, those who, as always, find special advantage in maintaining the permanent foci of the cold war, brandish the question of Tibet every time they want to attack the People's Republic of China. It does serve a purpose to repeat that the question of Tibet lies exclusively within the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China.

44. In the name of the sacred principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign State, it is unfitting and inadmissible that the Assembly should discuss the question of Tibet at the present session or at any other session, even after the People's Republic of China has taken its rightful place in our Organization.

45. I now go on to the draft resolution before us [A/L.473]. What is required of us in this draft resolution? First, to deplore the persistent violation of the fundamental rights and liberties of the people of Tibet. Why are we not asked to deplore the similar violations occurring in countries other than the People's Republic of China, in other sovereign States, Members of our Organization, the Governments of which subscribed to all the principles of the Charter when their countries became Members of the United Nations, those same principles which are denied to the People's Republic of China by its exclusion from the United Nations? Yet the People's Republic of China is expected to submit to every whim of an Organization which closes its doors against that State. Then, why should we not deplore those violations, not only in South Africa, but wherever racialism, for example, makes its appearance? Why cannot the Assembly be seized of a draft resolution deploring these flagrant violations of human rights in sovereign States, violations which are known, which are not mere figments of the imagination?

46. What further is required of us? The General Assembly, it is said, "Reaffirms that respect for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law". We are in complete agreement; we have said so on a number of occasions, we have always said so, because precisely in our continent human rights are trampled underfoot in several regions dominated by countries claiming to speak for liberty and democracy. These human rights are today trampled underfoot in Southern Rhodesia, whose imperialist Power is here among us; these human rights are trampled underfoot in South Africa, whose Government is represented among us; they are trampled underfoot in the Portuguese colonies.

47. But, yes, we do agree that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights must be

reaffirmed. It must be reaffirmed that those principles are essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law, but not only when we want to attack a country whose system of government we do not approve or whose ideology we do not share, even though that country may have transformed the lot of an unfortunate population oppressed by a mediaeval feudal system. But let not such principles be mentioned in draft resolutions as questionable as the one before us, because we should then be instigated to vote against principles which we fully share and in which we profoundly believe.

48. What else is asked of us? To declare that we are convinced "that the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet and the suppression of the distinctive cultural and religious life"—as if that had been suppressed—"of its people increase international tension and embitter relations between peoples".

49. It has thus already been proved that these human rights are constantly violated in Tibet, but this alleged violation of human rights was discovered only after 1949.

50. The Assembly is asked to state again that it "solemnly renews its call for the cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan people of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which they have always enjoyed". First of all, to whom is this solemn appeal, which we are asked to reiterate, addressed? The authors do not even dare to tell us to whom this call is made; it is launched into the air, because, when a Power is not recognized, an appeal cannot be addressed to it; when the People's Republic of China is not recognized, one refrains from making any appeal whatsoever to it. In these circumstances, a call for respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which Tibet has always enjoyed is made in a vacuum. But that is going a little too far. Fundamental freedoms and human rights were hardly respected under a régime as feudal as the one that existed in Tibet. To pretend that this people has always enjoyed those rights is to go a little too far.

51. Finally, the Assembly "Appeals to all States"—not, we see, to all Member States—but "to all States to take all measures and use their best endeavours to achieve the purposes of the present resolution". Naturally, I think that appeal is addressed to the People's Republic of China as well, although it is not convenient to mention the name.

52. We have tried to show that, first of all, the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the twentieth session was inopportune and harmful. We have just now tried to put forward arguments showing that discussion of this question is completely futile and that the accusation brought against the People's Republic of China, if not hypocritical, is in any case ill-intentioned. We have also just shown that in the draft resolution submitted to us, even though we profoundly approve the principles contained in it, there are intentions and motivations such that the delegation of the Republic of Guinea will vote against

this draft, for the reasons which I have already explained.

53. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria greatly regrets that the General Assembly is once again engaged in a sterile debate on a question which is nothing more than direct intervention in the internal affairs of one of its Members, the People's Republic of China.

54. There can be no doubt that in some circles there is still a desire to try and revive a non-existent question in order to poison the atmosphere of the twentieth session. We all see very clearly the purpose of such an attempt. At a moment when an ever-increasing number of Member States of this Organization is calling for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of that country's lawful rights, an artificial question is created; it is manufactured out of whole cloth for the express purpose of serving as a pretext to exert pressure on all Member States, in order to keep out of the United Nations the country with the largest population in the world. After the discussion in the General Assembly on the question of restoring to China its lawful rights in the United Nations, the instigators of that nefarious enterprise ought to have yielded to reason and withdrawn their request. Unfortunately, they did not.

55. It is beyond doubt that the attempt to get the General Assembly to deliberate on a question for the purpose of intervening in the internal affairs of a country is in flagrant contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations. In fact, Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter is perfectly explicit in that respect. It states unequivocally that nothing contained in the Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. In so far as Tibet is concerned, it is perfectly well known that Tibet is an integral part of the People's Republic of China. Admittedly, there were speakers, among those who took the floor here in order to introduce and support this manoeuvre directed against China, who claimed that Tibet was not a Chinese territory.

56. But it is not even necessary to dwell on these arbitrary, not really serious affirmations. What must be noted, in the circumstances, is the fact that a crude manoeuvre is once again being attempted in order to divert attention from the great international problems confronting the Organization, problems to which it should be finding a solution. An attempt is being made, by suspect means, to deflect the United Nations from its most urgent tasks, to which all the efforts of its Members should be directed.

57. It is worth pointing out also that the alleged question of Tibet has been raised at a moment when world public opinion has begun to realize that without the presence of China in the United Nations, without the restoration of China's lawful rights in our Organization, it would be truly difficult to find an adequate solution to certain important questions concerning international peace and security. But, instead of responding to the ever more urgent appeals of this international opinion and restoring the lawful rights of China, certain Powers—which, incidentally, are

less numerous than before, as the vote on the question of restoring to China its lawful rights in the United Nations has shown—certain Powers, I say, are still trying, through devious manoeuvres, to keep that country outside the United Nations. What creates a disagreeable impression is to see attempts made to raise such questions and to bring unjustified accusations against a founder Member of the United Nations, a permanent member of the Security Council, and to see this done in the absence of that State. Instead of doing what is needful to restore to China its lawful rights and so contribute towards creating a propitious atmosphere for the solution of great international problems, it is apparently easier for certain circles to make accusations against that great country in its absence; perhaps they would not dare to do so in its presence. Indeed, it would seem to be easier to speak thus in the absence of this Member of the United Nations. When that Member's representatives are here, I think it will not be easy for some to do this.

58. For all these reasons the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is firmly and resolutely opposed to the attempt, which any draft resolution like that of the seven Powers [A/L.473] would constitute, at intervening in the domestic affairs of China. That is the reason why we reject all the so-called arguments presented by a series of speakers and why we shall vote against the draft resolution in question.

59. Mr. AGUIRRE (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): The erudite historical commentary given us a few minutes ago by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Achkar Marof of Guinea, and his references to the cold war and to such juggling games as intervention in domestic affairs when it is convenient, and non-intervention when it is not, will not prevent my country from here expressing its views on the question of Tibet bluntly and briefly.

60. In our view, the question of Tibet is extraordinarily important and serious although, because of the attempts at cold war intimidation which are being made in this great building, we have tended to forget it in recent times. The present condition of the country is nothing less than the triumph of aggressive imperialism. On the one hand, we here are successfully liquidating the last vestiges of classical imperialism. On the other hand, my delegation does not believe that the United Nations, because of the pressure brought to bear by those endeavouring to intimidate us, is always giving serious consideration to its duty to face up to the neo-imperialism which, in a very special way, is spreading alarmingly throughout Asia.

61. Tibet, a small and defenceless country, succumbed to the domination of a Power which bases its domestic and international policies on force and aggression. Tibet is a captive nation which, like some other nations in the world—those dominated by former empires or those recently subjugated by the new empires—needs our help and, since things are as they are, we can for the moment do nothing more than give it our continuing attention.

Costa Rica's position with respect to the question we are debating does not prejudge the régime which existed before Tibet fell under the neo-imperialist domination which I am denouncing.

62. In any case, there is no evidence that the Tibetans are living better today than they lived then and, furthermore, they are being subjected to colonial servitude by an implacable metropolitan country; if there are people who live well in Tibet today, they are the colonizers and not the colonized as always happens.

63. Costa Rica asks the United Nations not to forget Tibet, not to evade the fact that its case represents an insolent challenge to our principles and purposes. Otherwise, our efforts to liquidate the old type of colonialism completely will be—and are being already, whether we admit it or not—dangerously neutralized by the immunity which our silence and inactivity is granting to the neo-imperialism which is evident in Asia and is such a serious threat to our collective work for international understanding and the settlement of the problems affecting mankind as a whole by peaceful means.

64. In addition to recovering its sovereignty, Tibet must then be able freely to decide its own political future. Our first duty as a world organization is to assist the country, a duty which has been entrusted to us at this difficult moment in the world's history, to throw off the yoke of foreign domination and then, in accordance with our well applied principles of non-intervention, exercise the influence of the United Nations so that Tibetans can decide their own future because, and this is also of the greatest importance for the prestige and effectiveness of our Organization, the United Nations must always be on guard against allegedly free decisions made by peoples which have been deprived of the full use of their sacrosanct right to freedom.

65. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.473] submitted to this Assembly by El Salvador, Ireland, Malaysia, Malta, Nicaragua, Philippines and Thailand, and it would like to thank the sponsors for the valuable efforts they have made to revive the forgotten or ignored tragedy of Tibet.

66. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): At the outset, I would ask your indulgence, Mr. President, and that of other Members, to submit an amendment to the draft resolution [A/L.473] now before the Assembly. The amendment relates to operative paragraph 5, which at present reads as follows:

"Appeals to all States to take all measures and use their best endeavours to achieve the purposes of the present resolution."

67. The attention of the co-sponsors has been drawn to the fact that, having regard to the context and the content of the draft resolution itself, it is rather inappropriate to call upon States or to appeal to them to take any measures. This appeared to us to be a very valid criticism, and in the whole context of the draft resolution, the paragraph would certainly be improved by the omission of the words "take all

measures and". As amended, paragraph 5 would read:

"Appeals to all States to use their best endeavours to achieve the purposes of the present resolution."

68. Mr. President, I ask for your indulgence to have this amendment recorded as orally made by me.

69. I think I should perhaps begin, having listened to all the statements that were made last night this afternoon, by saying what this draft resolution does not intend to achieve. It is more important that the representatives should understand what we are not about, before they can hope to understand what we are endeavouring to achieve. Representatives who have pursued the draft resolution would and, I venture to think, should have noticed that it keeps clear of all political pitfalls. But I realize the temptation to make it a political issue is perhaps irresistible in some quarters and they naturally gave full rein to the passions that political polemics inevitably produce.

70. This is neither the right time nor the appropriate occasion to discuss or examine the political relationship between the People's Republic of China and what that Government has itself termed the autonomous region of Tibet. Its political position we accept for the purposes of this draft resolution. The constitutional and political relations between China and Tibet are not in debate here today, under this item. I realize it provides a great deal of argument for people who wish to demolish something which is non-existent, but I should like to call attention to the fact, respectfully and humbly: we are not debating the political relationship between China and Tibet. Nor should this debate become the vehicle to express our indignation, natural or synthetic, with regard to imperialism and colonialism, and all their proliferating progeny.

71. All that this Assembly is required to do in adopting this draft resolution is to call upon the People's Republic of China to observe the ordinary standards that any humane Government owes to its own peoples, and particularly with regard to the people of Tibet whose ethnic origin and cultural tradition and religious beliefs are so different from their own.

72. Representatives have attributed all kinds of motives to the sponsors of the draft resolution, and, I venture to suggest humbly, they sometimes extend the bounds of courteous debate. But I shall not emulate them. I shall not even try, as I do not have the gift for vituperation to follow in their footsteps.

73. In political terms the People's Republic of China is a socialist State aspiring, as we all know, to the upper reaches of socialism evolving into communism. It is dedicated to the ideals of socialism in practice, and several independent observers of the Chinese scene in recent years have made the claim, on behalf of the People's Republic, that, in the practice of socialism, that State has attained a measure of success in certain sectors of human activity.

74. We do not question it. But doctrinaire socialism apart—of which, in terms of the governing authority, there are as many varieties as there are socialist

States—in essence and in terms of the peoples a socialist State begins by becoming a welfare State. I would define a welfare State, broadly, as a State whose administration extends far beyond the police functions of maintaining law and order, takes a wider and a larger view of its obligations, and undertakes all activities which are considered desirable and necessary to remove social evils and promote the welfare of the population in the widest area possible. As a socialist State, therefore, the People's Republic of China must needs have a great concern for the welfare of the peoples within its extensive domain, whether they live in the autonomous region of Tibet or elsewhere within its own direct administration. I therefore venture to suggest, in all humility, that the protagonists in this debate who hold the view that the domestic obligations of China within its own territory cannot be the subject of debate in this Assembly are doing no justice to their own protégé—if one could contemplate China as a ward of anyone.

75. As a co-sponsor of this draft resolution, I should like to answer briefly the main lines of criticism against it. I shall, of course, omit the vituperative embellishments with which its opponents have created spectres of their own imagination and then gone about vigorously destroying them. The reasons for objecting to this debate have always been, and usually are, twofold: firstly, because China is not represented in this Assembly, and secondly, because paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter prohibits such examination. The present debate has predictably fallen into that familiar pattern, as we noted all of yesterday evening and again this afternoon.

76. I shall take the second criticism first. It is too late in the day at the United Nations for anyone to attempt to argue that a discussion of the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms within a State is impermissible as a subject of debate in the United Nations. The classic case of South Africa proves that the contrary view is more in accordance with established precedents, and a discussion of domestic affairs—though theoretically falling within the internal sovereignty of a State—is in tune with the provisions of the Charter.

77. I should like to ask representatives who take the other view to answer this problem: were it otherwise, since all humanity must needs be found within the territorial confines of any one State or another, no discussion of the denial of human rights would ever be possible at all because of Article 2, paragraph 7, and the Charter provisions would be rendered entirely useless and nugatory. I do not wish to expand on that aspect.

78. I now take the first argument and criticism. That argument does not give adequate regard to the nature of the subject we are discussing or pay attention to the special provisions of the Charter in that respect. I briefly referred to that aspect of the matter at the time of the inscription of this item in the agenda of this session.

79. It is useful to remember that Article 55 of the Charter is drafted in these terms:

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

"...

"c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

That Article obligates the United Nations—and therefore every Member and every organ of it—to promote universal observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

80. Article 56 reads as follows:

"All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55."

That Article therefore emphasizes and reinforces that obligation, and by signing the Charter or undertaking at the time of admission to observe faithfully the principles and purposes of the Charter, every Member present here, whether it likes it or not, whether it is politically desirable or not, has taken a pledge—Article 56 uses the words "pledge themselves"—to take joint and separate action for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

81. I invite Members' attention to the phrase "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights" in Article 55. Quite obviously, and without doubt, this obligation that we have undertaken extends beyond the membership of the United Nations and cannot be limited to it. Promotion of "universal respect" cannot mean respect within the membership of the United Nations alone.

82. That is a sufficient answer to those who affect the posture of righteous indignation that by this draft resolution we are condemning China behind its back and in its absence. And, incidentally, this also answers the criticisms regarding the lack of legality in the initiation and conduct of this debate; such criticisms were made repeatedly last night.

83. Moreover, China's territory is so vast and its population so immense that any denial of human rights anywhere within its extensive domain demands and deserves international attention, because its opinions and attitudes have a greater impact on world public opinion than those of any other State. Indeed, China claims to be in the vanguard of ideological idealism and has always protested that it alone pursues its ideals with firmness and vigour.

84. Representatives who have preceded me at this rostrum have dwelt in detail on the violation of human rights still being perpetrated in Tibet, I shall therefore not repeat what they have said. But at least one representative—and I believe there were also others—questioned our credentials to initiate this debate. That representative called us a great many names, from a rich vocabulary; among other things, he said that we were nothing more than IBM machines

of the great Powers. Since nothing that I say will persuade him that we are neither machines nor missiles of any Power, great or small, I can only regret, and regret profoundly, that it was found necessary and felt desirable to descend to such depths in placing a point of view before this Assembly.

85. Speaking for myself, I may claim some acquaintance with the problem of Tibet, since Malaya was represented in the Committee of Experts which drew up the uncontroverted and incontrovertible factual report of the International Commission of Jurists, reference to which was made by the representative of El Salvador. Malaya was also the first State to request the inscription of this item, in 1959, and, with co-sponsors, brought the matter to debate after the infructuous attempt of 1951, to which reference has also been made.

86. But we are not presenting this draft resolution on the basis of any special rights that we have acquired; rather, we are presenting it in obedience to our inescapable duty under the Charter, as I have explained.

87. By an irony of geography, Tibet at all times has been a remote region of the world and not on the beaten tracks of world contacts or modern commerce. A visit to Tibet is normally regarded as being such a meritorious adventure that almost anyone visiting the jungle fastnesses of the Himalayan plateau has found it profitable on his return to write a book about it, with a reasonable chance of finding the book a best-seller, satisfying the ever-increasing curiosity about that part of the world and the wide world around it and below it. Precise information about actual conditions there today are not easy to come by, and the sponsors of the draft resolution are not in the happy position of being on the mailing list of the governmental authorities in Peking. The recent extension of Chinese hegemony over that area has shut the door and tightened the bolts of all entrances into Tibet from the wider world outside China. But the Tibetan refugees, who have in their tragic plight found asylum far and near, away from their own ancestral homes, keep their contacts and receive reasonably accurate information about happenings in Tibet. And they indeed present a sorry tale of human misery and deprivation and of man's inhumanity to man that have stirred the hearts of so many others. The shadow that fell across Tibet in 1951 by Chinese invasion has lengthened and darkened and a pall of night has descended on that unfortunate land. To lift that pall of darkness by ever so little, so that the conscience of the world may be stirred even as our hearts are, is the sole motivation—I repeat; the sole motivation—behind this draft resolution. I ask representatives to accept that statement and not to attempt to find ingenious but non-existent other motives behind it. We are certainly not submitting the draft resolution to criticize China for the sake of criticism; rather, we wish to bring some comfort to the toils and torments of an ancient people which, with its rights—if it has any left now—is being systematically, almost scientifically, suppressed and crushed.

88. Quite recently, however, a valuable source of information has become available as to China's intentions and achievements in Tibet in the official

text of an address delivered to what has been termed the First People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region by the head of the Central Chinese delegation to it. This session of the Congress is stated to be devoted to the inauguration of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The address was delivered on 1 September 1965, just over three and a half months ago. In its many thousand words of congratulations, felicitations, encouragements, admonitions and warnings, larded with apt quotations from Chairman Mao, it clearly makes at least the following points:

- (1) The liberation of Tibet in 1951 brought about the expulsion of imperialist and aggressive influence;
- (2) Rebellions were quelled and democratic reforms destroyed the most reactionary, the darkest, the cruelest, the most barbaric feudal serfdom;
- (3) An army of 25,000 workers, the first generation of the Tibetan working class, came into being;
- (4) The feudal privileges of the monasteries have been abolished;
- (5) The separation of religion from politics has been put into effect;
- (6) The people's freedom to believe in religion or not to believe has been fully protected;
- (7) A democratic transformation of religion has won great victories;
- (8) The Tibetan upper stratum has been cleansed of the clique of traitors headed by the Dalai Lama;
- (9) The traitorous Dalai clique is still struggling desperately, harassing and sabotaging the frontier areas under the protection of imperialism and Indian reactionaries;
- (10) Last year, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region repudiated and exposed the very serious crimes of the Panchen clique.

89. Among the crimes of the Dalai Lama is listed his having turned against the agreement between the Central People's Government and the former local Government of Tibet—the agreement by which, it is claimed, Tibet was liberated in 1951.

90. It is interesting to recall that this 23 May 1951 agreement, popularly known as the Seventeen-Point Agreement, signed in Peking—which has been referred to in our debate—contained, among others, the following provisions:

- (1) The Tibetan people were entitled to regional autonomy under the leadership of the Central People's Government;
- (2) The Central Government was not to alter the existing political system or the status and functions and powers of the Dalai Lama;
- (3) A policy of religious freedom was to be carried out and religious beliefs and customs were to be respected and lamas and monasteries were to be protected;
- (4) While the Chinese were to handle external relations, Tibet would be free to have commercial and trading relations with neighbouring countries.

91. Comparing what was agreed in those precise terms in 1951 with what have now been listed as the achievements over the short period of fifteen years as stated to Congress, the only comment one need make is to quote the famous words "Look on this picture and on that". Reading behind and between the usual jargon found in those ten points, one may not be far wrong if one is genuinely and honestly driven to the conclusion that Tibet's agony is far from ended. To a people who, in common with many other Eastern societies, built their cultural traditions around the passionate practice of a religion which, ironically, counted compassion as the core and centre of its faith, a reduction to the status in which they find themselves after fifteen years of "radical re-education and democratization", as was stated here last night, may perhaps be aptly described by adapting the language of the familiar quotation to read: "The old serfdom is dead, yielding place to the new".

92. I wish to emphasize once again that this draft resolution merely calls on the world to bear witness to the unutterable tragedy that has overtaken a simple, religious, ancient, unsophisticated people, untutored in the art and in the language of power or politics. If it does nothing else than stir our hearts to the realities of this situation, and if we persist in drawing public attention at this world forum to these mounting violations of human rights—ineffective as this effort may seem now—in God's good time there may yet come relief to the long-suffering people of Tibet. And their travail and torment, even if they do not come to an end tomorrow or even the day after, may be endured in the meantime, until deliverance comes, as it must. The spirit of endurance is neither a mental nor a moral virtue if it is only a passive, uncomplaining acceptance of intolerable conditions and if it does not develop the will to bear, to survive and to overcome. This process of endurance through which the brave people of Tibet are passing will be comforted, sustained and strengthened by our creating in them the confidence, or at least the hope, that they have not been forgotten in this world forum, a forum which lays claim to being the conscience of the world and, in its brighter moments, has so functioned in the past, and will, if only we will let it, do so in the future.

93. To conclude, we here at the United Nations, by adopting this draft resolution, will at least have the minimum satisfaction of having helped to turn the searchlight on the impenetrable darkness that is Tibet today and of having given expression to our deep-felt concern for the plight of its people; and thereby, incidentally, we shall be proving to the world that we have not by our conduct denied either the Charter or the obligations we undertook in its name.

94. Mr. EDWARDS (Norway): I understand that we are now nearing the vote, and I should like to give a very short explanation of vote on behalf of my delegation.

95. When the question of Tibet was considered by the General Assembly at its fourteenth and sixteenth sessions, Norway voted in favour of the resolutions then adopted (resolutions 1353 (XIV) and 1723 (XVI)). The limited information available on conditions pre-

vailing in Tibet seems to indicate that there is reason for having similar concern today regarding the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms in Tibet. Accordingly, my delegation has found it appropriate not to alter its attitude on the matter.

96. In consequence, we shall vote in favour of the resolution before us, whose first four operative paragraphs follow in substance the pattern of the previous resolutions. They deal mainly with questions of human rights, which are our principal concern in this matter. It is thus the humanitarian aspect of the question which has dictated our decision.

97. May I add a word of appreciation to the sponsors of the resolution for having amended the last operative paragraph, which was equivocal because of the inclusion of those words which have now been taken out. We still find that the language is somewhat vague and not completely satisfactory in this last operative paragraph, and we are not completely in agreement with it. However, in spite of that—and we read it in a non-controversial way—we shall, as I have said, vote in favour of the resolution.

98. The VICE-PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution submitted by El Salvador, Ireland, Malaysia, Malta, Nicaragua, Philippines and Thailand [A/L.473]. I have been informed that, in announcing the deletion of the words "take all measures and" from paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, the representative of Malaysia was speaking on behalf of all the sponsors of the draft resolution. We shall vote on the draft resolution as orally revised by the sponsors.

99. A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 4. If there is no objection, I shall first put to the vote that paragraph, in accordance with rule 91 of the rules of procedure.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 41 votes to 24, with 21 abstentions.

100. The VICE-PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution [A/L.475] as a whole. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta.

Against: Mongolia, Morocco,***Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali.

Abstaining: Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Tunisia, Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, Dahomey, Denmark, Finland, France, Ghana, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Maldiv Islands, Mexico.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 43 votes to 26, with 22 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

***The delegation of Morocco subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.