

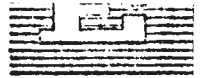
UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL



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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Eleventh Session

UN/SA COLLECTION SUMMARY RECORD OF THE FIVE HUNDREDTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 21 April 1955, at 10.30 a.m.

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Present:

Chairman: Mr. CASSIN (France)  
Rapporteur: Mr. WAHEED (Pakistan)

Members:

Mr. HARRY	Australia
Mr. ORTEGA	Chile
Mr. CHENG PAONAN	China
Mr. GHORBAL	Egypt
Mr. JUVIGNY	France
Mr. EUSTATHIADES	Greece
Mr. DAYAL	India
Mr. AMMOUN	Lebanon
Mr. CAMPOS ORTIZ	Mexico
Mr. COLBAN	Norway
Mr. LOPEZ	Philippines
Mr. BIRECKI	Poland
Mr. ASIROGLU	Turkey
Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Mr. MOROSOV	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Mr. HOARE	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Mrs. LORD	United States of America

Observer for the Government of a State Member of the United Nations:

Netherlands Miss LUNSINGH-MEIJER

Representative of a specialized agency:

International Labour Organisation Mr. DJAMALZADEH

Also present:

Mr. WEIS  
Office of the United Nations  
High Commissioner for Refugees

Representatives of non-governmental organizations:

Category A

International Confederation of Free  
Trade Unions

Mr. PATTEET

International Federation of  
Christian Trade Unions

Mr. EGGERMANN

World Federation of Trade Unions

Mr. DRINKWATER

World Federation of United Nations  
Associations

Mr. ENNALS  
Mr. KHOSHKISH

Category B and Register

Catholic International Union for  
Social Service

Miss de ROMER

Commission of the Churches on  
International Affairs

Mr. REES

Consultative Council of Jewish  
Organizations

Mr. MOSKOWITZ

Co-ordinating Board of Jewish  
Organizations

Mr. WARBURG

Friends World Committee for  
Consultation

Mr. WOOD

International Federation of  
University Women

Mrs. FIECHTER

International Union for Child Welfare

Mr. THELIN

League of Red Cross Societies

Dr. DAUBENTON

Liaison Committee of Women's  
International Organizations

Miss NOBS

Open Door

Mrs. BAER

Union O,S,E.

Mr. BERENSTEIN

Women's International League for  
Peace and Freedom

Mrs. BAER

World Jewish Congress

Mr. RIEGNER

World's Young Women's Christian Association

Miss DAS

World Union of Catholic Women's  
Organizations

Miss de ROMER

Secretariat:

Mr. Humphrey

Representative of the  
Secretary-General

Mr. Lin )  
Mrs. Bruce )

Joint Secretaries to  
the Commission

1. REVIEW OF PROGRAMME AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITIES (General Assembly resolution 533 (VI); Economic and Social Council resolutions 324 (XI), 402 B I and II (XIII), 451 A (XIV), 497 C (XVI) and 557 (XVIII)) (item 3 of the agenda) (concluded)

The CHAIRMAN invited any representative who wished to do so to explain his vote on the resolution submitted jointly by the delegations of Chile, Egypt, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines and the United States of America, which had been adopted at the previous meeting.

Mr. HARRY (Australia) said that most of his votes called for no comment, but he would like to explain why he had abstained from voting on the last paragraph of the preamble. The resolution was not in fact based on a consideration of the Secretary-General's memorandum mentioned therein, and the Commission had not prepared a programme of work likely to meet his requirements or to further the objective he had in mind when submitting his memorandum.

Mr. CHENG PAONAN (China) had two points to make. In the first place, although he had voted for the resolution as a whole, he felt the Commission had little reason to be proud of certain of its provisions - for instance, the second paragraph of the preamble, on which he had commented at the previous meeting.

His observations largely related to the Indian proposal which the Commission had adopted as paragraph (C) of the resolution, concerning respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination. It now contained, as the result of a proposal made by the Soviet Union representative, the words "as this right is mentioned in the Charter and in the covenants on human rights", and went on to mention in the same breath measures for implementation, a wording he could not accept because the covenants were still in process of drafting. He had accordingly voted first against inserting the words in question, and then, because they had been inserted in it, and despite his delegation's great interest in the subject of the right to self-determination, against the Indian proposal as a whole.

Mr. JUVIGNY (France) said that, although his delegation was in favour of a great many of the provisions in the resolution, it had preferred, in view of the French Government's fundamental objections to the provisions concerning the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, to vote against the relevant part of the resolution rather than to accept it subject to far-reaching reservations.

He hoped the programme of work set forth in the resolution would enable the Commission to fulfil the important role assigned to it under the Charter and by the Economic and Social Council.

Mrs. LIRD (United States of America) said that her delegation had voted in favour of the resolution on review of programme and establishment of priorities because, although it did not fully agree with every provision thereof, it supported whole-heartedly the main features of the Commission's future programme as described in it.

Her delegation had voted against the Polish amendment adopted by the Commission as the second paragraph of the preamble, because it was an inaccurate statement of the main task of the United Nations in the field of human rights. As she understood it, in that paragraph the Commission was simply exhorting the General Assembly to carry on its work on the draft covenants on human rights with all speed. The position of her Government with respect to those covenants was the same as that announced to the Commission two years ago, and the affirmative vote cast by her delegation for the resolution as a whole was not to be interpreted as implying any modification whatsoever of that stand-point. Moreover, her delegation had voted against the Polish amendment adding to paragraph (A) of the resolution an introductory phrase concerning the continuation of efforts to establish all the human rights proclaimed in the draft covenants. As those rights had not even been finally formulated by the General Assembly, the reference to them was meaningless.

Her delegation had voted in favour of the substance of the Indian amendment to paragraph (C), but as finally adopted after the incorporation of the Soviet Union proposal, that amendment had spoken of the principle of self-determination as mentioned in the draft covenants and her delegation had therefore been forced to vote against it. She felt that there again the Commission was accepting a standard that had not yet been formulated, and her delegation's support for the resolution as a whole in no way committed it to acceptance of the formulation, particularly of paragraph 3, of article 1 of the draft covenants, which were to be examined at the next session of the General Assembly.

In spite of any such differences of view, however, her delegation felt that the Commission had taken a most important decision about its future programme, and was especially gratified to find included in that programme the consideration of

human rights reports from governments and the undertaking of studies of specific rights. Some members might continue to oppose such measures although they had voted for the resolution as a whole, but the fact remained that they had been adopted by vote of the Commission after thorough debate.

Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines) said that, as one of the co-authors of the resolution adopted at the previous meeting, he would like to express his gratification at its adoption, and to explain his delegation's opinion on certain parts of it.

With regard to the second paragraph of the preamble, his delegation would have preferred the last clause to state that completion of the work on the draft covenants on human rights was one of the main tasks of the United Nations in that field. If it were described as the main task, it would appear that on its completion the Commission would be able to rest on its laurels.

He pointed out that paragraph (I) made provision for the introduction of new topics into the programme of work, and he would like to support the appeal made on behalf of the High Commissioner for Refugees for inclusion of the right of asylum among the human rights to which the Commission should give consideration.

Finally, his delegation reserved the right to suggest, at some future date, that the right of freedom to seek, impart and receive information, mentioned in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be included in the programme of activities of the Commission, should direct action by the Economic and Social Council in the matter prove unfruitful.

Mr. BIRECKI (Poland) said his delegation had voted for the resolution as a whole despite its defects, since it considered that the adoption of certain amendments submitted by his own and the Indian delegations had transformed the original text into a more satisfactory statement of the Commission's programme of work. Thus the adoption of the first Polish amendment had the effect not only of emphasizing the importance of the draft covenants by mentioning them in the way it did in the preamble to the resolution, but also of laying down a definite policy for the Commission's future work. That amendment also made it clear that it was absolutely essential for the United Nations to pursue its task in the field of human rights in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, and for the Commission not to exceed its terms of reference.

Furthermore, the incorporation of the first sub-paragraph of the third Polish amendment in paragraph (A) of the resolution was a direct call for the establishment of all the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration and in the draft covenants. Similarly the adoption of the first Indian amendment, in favour of which the Polish delegation had withdrawn its own relevant proposal, would enable the Commission to undertake important work to ensure observance of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination.

The Polish delegation had asked that paragraph (D) be put to the vote part by part because it had wished to place on record the fact that it was in favour of organizing technical assistance. As he had made clear at the previous meeting, his delegation had been the first to stress the need for mentioning technical assistance in the field of human rights in every resolution affecting the Commission's programme of work. The Polish delegation had abstained from voting on the remainder of paragraph (D) because its provisions seemed inadequate.

By and large, he thought the resolution as a whole gave the Commission the possibility of fulfilling its mission and acquitting itself of the tasks laid upon it by the Charter and its own terms of reference. The Polish delegation did not however consider itself bound by those provisions of paragraphs (D) and (E) which were contrary to the Charter.

Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said the reason why he had voted for the resolution as a whole was that adoption of the Polish and Indian amendments had introduced in it a number of important provisions to the effect that the United Nations' main task in the field of human rights was to complete work on the draft covenants on human rights and also to take steps to promote respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination. His delegation had voted against paragraphs (A), (D) and (E), which contained provisions which might have the effect of deflecting the Commission from the task imposed on it by the Charter.

The CHAIRMAN declared that the Commission had completed its consideration of item 3 of the agenda.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES AND NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION (General Assembly resolutions 637 C (VII), 738 (VIII) and 837 (IX); Economic and Social Council resolutions 472 (XV), 510 (XVI) and 545 G (XVIII)) (item 4 of the agenda) (E/2573-E/CN.4/705, E/CN.4/708)

The CHAIRMAN invited the Commission to take up item 4 of its agenda: recommendations concerning international respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination.

Mrs. LORD (United States of America) said that it would be difficult for her country to deny or disregard the principle of self-determination, since it had achieved its own independence by asserting that very principle - perhaps the first time in history that had been done. Its leaders and statesmen, from George Washington to Woodrow Wilson, had consistently upheld the basic principles of self-determination.

She had recently visited ten countries which had achieved full independence during the last half century, and had been deeply impressed by the spirit with which the new Governments were tackling the problems that confronted them as independent States. She had met, in Burma, Egypt, India, the Lebanon, Pakistan and the Philippines, men and women who were dedicating their skill and energy to the improvement of conditions in their own countries and to the general cause of human rights. Those new States, proud as they were of their growing self-reliance, were still desirous of maintaining ties with the old nations of the West which had once ruled over them, and of preserving what they had acquired of the culture of other civilizations.

By the signing of the Pacific Charter at Manila on 15 September 1954, representatives of Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand had joined with those of Australia, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in a joint declaration of their devotion to the principles of self-government, self-determination and independence for all countries whose people desired it and were able to shoulder the accompanying responsibilities. Those principles were also embodied in the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, also signed at Manila in 1954. The Foreign Ministers of the same Powers had met in Bangkok some six weeks ago and reaffirmed their belief in the principle of self-determination, which was, moreover, expressed in general terms in the Charter of the United Nations as adopted ten years ago, and had later been confirmed in debates in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights itself.



There were, of course, many widely divergent views as to how self-determination should be achieved. Some were in favour of granting immediate independence to all countries, regardless of the chaos that might result, others considered that gradual economic and social development might form the basis for eventual independence, and some members had expressed the view that the question of self-determination did not come within the competence of the Commission at all.

There was, however, the danger of a new form of colonialism seeking to extend itself to peoples emerging from dependent status, and she quoted in that connexion the President of the Republic of the Philippines, who had said that healthy Asian nationalism and co-operation among all Asian peoples in the maintenance of their political independence were a good defence against the threat of world communism. There was yet another risk implicit in the view that every national ethnic and political group, however small, had a right to secede, which, in her opinion, was carrying the right to self-determination too far.

If the Commission on Human Rights was to submit recommendations for the implementation of that important right, as requested by the General Assembly, some kind of agreement would have to be reached on the meaning of the term "self-determination" as used in the Charter. Many complex problems had arisen in cases of specific application of the principle, and all States Members of the United Nations should seek means whereby the most effective use could be made of the organization in arriving at some uniform solution to such problems. Recently, too, the concept of self-determination had been extended to the economic sphere - for example, in the utilization of natural resources - and that use of the term raised questions of property rights under international law, as was explicitly recognized in General Assembly resolution 837 (IX), adopted at the ninth session, which directed the Commission to give "... due regard to the rights and duties of States under international law and to the importance of encouraging international co-operation in the economic development of under-developed countries...".

Her delegation believed that an analytical study must be made of the principle of self-determination, its meaning and limitations, particularly as applied to economic questions, before any recommendations could usefully be made to the General Assembly. The scope of the study should include the examination of the essential elements of the whole concept of self-determination, such as: the concepts of "peoples" and "nations"; the essential attributes of the principle of

self-determination, including applicable rules of international law; the relationship between the principle of self-determination and other relevant principles enunciated in the Charter; the applicability of the principle to peoples and nations who had by force or subversion been deprived of their right to exercise it; and the economic, social and political conditions under which the exercise of the principle would be facilitated. That study could be satisfactorily carried out by, say, three members of the Commission, by the Secretary-General or by an expert appointed by the latter.

The United States delegation would like to hear the views of other delegations on that approach to the question, and, if sufficient support were forthcoming, would submit an appropriate proposal.

Mr. DAYAL (India) said that by a remarkable coincidence the Commission was taking up the most important item on its agenda at the same time as the representatives of twenty-nine sovereign States of Asia and Africa, representing almost 1,500 million human beings, were meeting in Bandung. The awakening of those peoples was one of the most significant developments of the age, and he would recall that since the end of the second world war no fewer than 700 million people had regained their independence in the exercise of their right to self-determination. That constituted a vast force for progress and world peace.

The Commission would therefore understand the supreme importance the Indian delegation attached to item 4 of the agenda, an importance shared by those who had framed the Charter itself of the United Nations, as was instanced by Articles 1, 55 and 56 thereof. The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in those Articles had been carried further in a series of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly (545 (VI), 637 (VII) and 738 (VIII)).

He would recall that, in accordance with the instructions of the General Assembly, the Commission had considered that item at its tenth session, when the Indian delegation, jointly with four others, had submitted a resolution which had been adopted. The Economic and Social Council had subsequently taken an unfortunate decision to refer the Commission's recommendations back to it for reconsideration, without giving any indication of its views on those aspects of the Commission's proposals that had led it to take such action. Fortunately, the General Assembly had itself considered the Commission's proposals at its ninth regular session, when there had been considerable criticism of the Council's handling of the matter.

The General Assembly, in resolution 837 (IX), had requested the Commission to complete its recommendations concerning international respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination.

That, therefore, was the task before the Commission. Each of the two draft international covenants on human rights contained as its first article a clear affirmation of the right to self-determination, and in both cases the same article laid down that that right was also to include permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural wealth and resources. By resolution F. I, adopted at the tenth session and addressed to the General Assembly, the Commission had decided that a full survey should be made of that basic constituent of the right to self-determination, and had further decided that that could best be done by a commission appointed by the General Assembly, with the assistance of the regional economic commissions and appropriate specialized agencies.<sup>(1)</sup> There were precedents for such a procedure, such as the decision taken by the Commission earlier in the present session to ask governments to furnish statements for inclusion in the Yearbook on Human Rights, and the proposal submitted under item 5 of the agenda calling for reports from governments on the application and evolution of specific rights. He found it difficult, therefore, to understand the misgivings of certain delegations with regard to resolution F. I, for there were surely ample safeguards in General Assembly resolution 837 (IX), which recommended that due regard be paid to the rights and duties of States under international law and to the importance of encouraging international co-operation in the economic development of underdeveloped countries. In the opinion of his delegation, that provision, which of course it fully endorsed, was self-evident. He hoped that, if the first part of resolution F. I were suitably modified to incorporate the ideas suggested by the General Assembly, it would commend itself to the Commission.

The provisions of resolution F. II had been criticized on the grounds that they conflicted with the jurisdiction of the General Assembly and encroached upon the powers of the Security Council. It had been argued that their adoption would increase tension and even thwart the legitimate rights of peoples and nations to self-determination. He was quite unable to share such fears. The resolution sought to set up machinery for the implementation of the provisions of Article 14

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(1) See document E/2573-E/CN.4/705; Annex IV.

of the Charter, according to which:

"... the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from the violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations".

How could it be argued that the setting up of machinery intended precisely to implement one of the basic aims of the Charter was in conflict with it? If, in the exercise of its good offices for the peaceful rectification of any situation, the commission set up by the General Assembly on the lines proposed in resolution F.II found itself unable to effect the necessary adjustment, it should so report to the General Assembly. How could such a procedure impair the authority of the General Assembly? As to the Security Council, whose functions were specified in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter, the provisions of the resolution would prevent a situation arising that would call for the intervention of the Security Council. Such action was fully in accordance with the basic purposes of the Charter. Further, the method of conciliation and mediation, which had been employed with varying degrees of success by the United Nations, could scarcely accentuate tension. It was obviously more sensible to take peaceful measures in good time through a commission of good offices, such as the one proposed, than to let a situation deteriorate to a point at which it might threaten international peace.

The issue was not an academic one, and, in reply to one of the points made by the previous speaker, he would emphasize that the question of self-determination far transcended the problem of defining the term. A preliminary semantic study which would hold up any practical action until it had been completed would indeed be Dead Sea fruit. The United Nations' experience of framing definitions - he would mention only the Commission's own struggles with the term "minorities" and the General Assembly's efforts with "aggression" - had not been particularly happy. The lack of a definition, however, had not prevented the Security Council from taking cognizance of situations in which it considered that there had been aggression. In fact, the peoples who were impatiently awaiting the exercise of their right to self-determination would not wait on definitions. The authors of the resolution would give the most careful consideration to any constructive proposals intended to promote the implementation of the right to self-determination,

and he would appeal to its opponents to reconsider their attitude. Surely it would be wiser to concede that fundamental right peacefully, than to imperil the very objectives of the Charter? The issue of self-determination was of the deepest immediate concern to hundreds of millions of human beings, and the Commission's responsibility, not only for the formulation of that right, but also for the initiation of action, was very great. Resolution F.II sought to enable it to discharge that responsibility. In all sincerity and friendliness, he would appeal to those great States which had it in their power to promote the peaceful realization of the fundamental right to self-determination, to join actively in the great adventure of releasing the full creative energies of peoples not yet free so that they too might make their due contribution to the progress of mankind.

Mr. ASIROGLU (Turkey) observed that recognition of, and respect for, human rights was a sphere in which the United Nations was called upon to translate the principles of the Charter into great achievements, one in which it had already recorded very notable successes. However, it had not yet reached the goal fixed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It could even be said that it had barely begun on a task which would still need much time and effort to bring to fulfilment. The Commission on Human Rights was, however, pursuing its mission in the conviction that, thanks to respect for human rights and the abolition of oppression and slavery, social and political relations between the nations would gradually improve. Within the framework of that mission, the Commission had been endeavouring for some time to draw up recommendations to ensure international respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination. Born of the French Revolution, that right had since symbolized the aspirations of peoples and nations bereft of liberty and independence. While it was true that the just and equitable application of that principle had enabled millions of human beings to shake off the yoke of oppression and gain their independence, it was also a fact that in the hands of political agitators that same principle had served as an instrument of discord and disintegration.

For its part, Turkey was sincerely attached to that noble principle, which, if applied objectively and disinterestedly, would help greatly in relieving international tensions and in the achievement of the aims of the Charter. But it must

not be allowed to serve the interests of those who in fact contemned the liberty of peoples and the independence of nations. That was why the Turkish delegation had opposed the transmission to the Council of the two draft resolutions on the subject adopted by the Commission at the tenth session. A much more thorough study should, it thought, have been made of a principle with such vast implications, and of the relevant proposals, and the Commission ought to have avoided hasty decisions which might have deflected it from its ultimate aim.

The Turkish delegation was glad that the Commission now had enough time to make a full study of the question, and hoped it would be able to submit useful recommendations to the General Assembly.

He wished to make some preliminary observations about the analytical study of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination suggested by the United States delegation, which would cover the five main aspects she had mentioned. It was possible that not all delegations would favour the idea. Some, in fact, held that the principle had already been established, and that the stage of defining the concepts of "peoples" and "nations" was over.

In support of that argument, reference had been made to circumstances in which there had been no need to define concepts. In some cases, the principle had been given effect by way of negotiation and in a spirit of conciliation, whereas in others peoples had won the right to self-determination only after a bloody struggle. But when international bodies were called upon to take the matter up, it was necessary, if confusion was to be avoided, to define the constituents of the principle, to determine its attributes and to decide the conditions on which it could be applied. It was in fact clear from the discussions at the last session of the General Assembly that there was some confusion among delegations about the interpretation to be placed on the concepts of "peoples" and "nations". In general, the arguments advanced in support of the right of peoples to self-determination were determined by the aims of the politicians concerned, the interests of the claimants and many other factors. Opportunists often claimed the exercise of that right in the name of innocent populations when there were clearly no grounds for its application. The United Nations would, moreover, be called upon to choose between various definitions of the two concepts. For example, was a nation a collection of individuals speaking the same language, or a society constituted on an historical and natural basis? The definition might

well vary with the object in view. Therefore, it was logical to assert that the constituents of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination must be defined before its application could be claimed. Furthermore, it would be extremely useful to study the relationship between that principle and the other principles laid down in the Charter, as the United States representative had also suggested.

Regarding the extension of the right to peoples and nations which had been forcibly deprived of the possibility of exercising it, the Turkish delegation thought that that question should be examined universally, and not within a limited context.

Finally, a study of economic, political and social conditions calculated to facilitate the exercise of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination would allow the Commission to tackle the problem in an objective and rational manner.

The Turkish delegation therefore hoped that the Commission would undertake the analytical study suggested by the United States delegation; but it reserved the right to introduce amendments should the proposal be formally submitted to the Commission.

Mr. WAHEED (Pakistan) said that his delegation, which had been one of the co-authors of General Assembly resolution 837 (IX), wished to reaffirm its faith in and support for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, for it was convinced that the observance of that right would promote world peace. The exercise of that right was not, however, a matter of domestic jurisdiction, but in all its aspects - political, economic, social and cultural - concerned the whole community of nations. There could be no question of a variety of interpretations of the term "self-determination", the meaning of which was well understood. His delegation would oppose any attempt to revert to a preliminary study of the concept, which it would regard as a diversionary move. It would, however, give its full co-operation in the task assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly. That task was not only complex and difficult, but of extreme urgency, for the over-whelming majority of the world's population, whose patience had been sorely tried, were demanding an immediate change.

That challenge called for far-sighted statesmanship, and delaying tactics, such as proposals that the Commission should draw up a definition or refer the

question to the International Law Commission, would only generate international tension. Positive action was called for in acknowledging the right to self-determination which was essential to peoples in their progress towards self-government. Unfortunately, the preconceived ideas of certain States about the notion of self-determination had proved an obstacle to the development of friendly international relations. He hoped, however, that his delegation's approach to the problem would be appreciated as recognizing the difficulties of Administering Powers and of the industrially and materially advanced countries.

The recommendation concerning permanent sovereignty of a people over its natural wealth and resources had aroused apprehension in the minds of those countries. On the other hand, economic colonialism was rightly regarded as a serious threat to world peace. If the problem were to be satisfactorily solved, the fears of the industrially and economically advanced countries must certainly be allayed. His delegation's views on the questions of nationalization and expropriation had already been clearly stated, and he would reaffirm his view that State ownership of industry was not the solution to the great problem of the distribution of wealth: he was equally opposed to expropriation without fair compensation and, unless there were overriding considerations of public necessity in its favour, to nationalization. The Pakistani Government freely recognized the right to own property, and appreciated the desire that concessions concerning the exploitation of natural resources should be safeguarded against unilateral repudiation. It must be equally understood, however, that the people of territories in which foreign capital had been invested ought not to be reduced to a state of slavery. Investment should not confer political control. Those who, through superior technological skill, had acquired the control of property should be regarded as managing the national assets of others, and must defer to reasonable checks upon their powers. The overriding interest should be the safeguarding of a people's right to self-determination.

His delegation was eager to see facilities created to expand the international flow of capital. Conditions favourable to economic development must be brought about, to which end the assistance of the economically advanced countries was essential. Such assistance could well be based on a co-operative system, in which the people whose natural resources were being exploited and those who were technically qualified to lend assistance shared the fruits of their joint labours. Such a system would be in harmony with the spirit of the Charter and would work to the benefit both of the under-developed countries and of the rest of the world.



Adequate reward, of course, must be provided for those who undertook large projects that were beyond the means of the under-developed countries. Great constructive efforts in international economic co-operation had already benefited territories that were not dependent, and his delegation considered that, within that broad framework, it should be possible to achieve the necessary collaboration between the industrially advanced countries on the one hand and the under-developed areas and peoples of territories striving for the right to self-determination on the other hand. In a field where attention had hitherto been focused on the political aspect alone, a sociological approach was called for. A new social policy must be evolved under which the dependent peoples would be enabled to administer their own territories and raise their standards of living by exploiting their natural resources with international economic co-operation under the auspices of the United Nations. With the experience of the specialized agencies to draw upon, there was no aspect of life in such under-developed territories that could not be covered in the attempt to implement the right to self-determination.

He hoped that the economically advanced countries would respond to the appeal of the ideas and moral standards laid down in the Charter. On the one hand, the fear of nationalization of industry was a deterrent to the investment of Western capital, and on the other hand the fear, prevalent in under-developed countries, of economic imperialism made the latter suspicious of assistance offered by individual States. The only satisfactory solution to the problem lay in the United Nations which, through its specialized agencies and technical assistance programmes, should act as the distribution centre for both capital and technological aid. Such international collaboration, using resources placed at the disposal of the United Nations, would provide ample security for foreign investment, and would be in harmony with the national interests of the under-developed countries themselves.

The suggestions he had put forward in no way conflicted with the desire of the economically advanced nations to reap the legitimate reward of their labours. He hoped that those nations would be faithful to the policy of international economic collaboration and that the Commission would succeed in discovering means of strengthening and implementing the right to self-determination, thus bringing to an end the existing relationship between strong and weak, based on domination and force, which must be replaced by more lasting bonds forged of morality.

Further discussion of item 4 of the agenda was deferred until the next meeting.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.