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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

AGENDA ITEM 73

Question of Tibet (continued)

1. Prince Aly KHAN (Pakistan): I should like to indicate very briefly the reasons why the delegation of Pakistan will support the draft resolution jointly put forward by the Federation of Malaya and Ireland [A/L.264].

2. We voted for inscription of this item on the agenda because we are persuaded that the attempt to change the traditional way of life of the Tibetan people against their wishes constitutes a violation of their fundamental human rights and, as such, is a matter of legitimate concern to the international community. We believe that the smaller nations who make up the vast majority of the membership of the United Nations have a moral obligation to rouse the conscience of the world whenever there is a grave violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

3. We have always maintained the view that any time a Member State asks for an opportunity to place before this Organization a question within the scope of the purposes and principles of the Charter, that opportunity should not be denied. We are not persuaded by the argument that discussion of the Tibetan question will have an unfavourable effect on what has been called the peace climate. The relationship between cause and effect should not be confused. The Assembly is discussing the Tibetan question today as a result of tensions created by the recent happenings in Tibet. Our discussion has not created the Tibetan problem. This Organization cannot abdicate its moral right, indeed, its duty, to discuss such matters as are clearly a cause of great concern to a large majority of its Members.

4. The people of Pakistan have been greatly concerned over the unfortunate events in Tibet. The Tibetan people are our close neighbours. For hundreds of years, they have pursued their traditional way of life. They have a right to choose the way in which they wish to live. Equally, it is the duty of the rest of the world to respect their choice.

5. The Pakistan delegation rejects any cynical opinion that there is very little the United Nations can do about the situation in Tibet. We have an effective means at our disposal, namely, world public opinion. We believe that the pending joint draft resolution clearly expresses the true feelings of the

majority of our Members. Such an expression of the public opinion of the world reflected through the United Nations must help to alleviate the plight of the Tibetan people. We consider that the Tibetan question raises above all a profound question of conscience for all Members of the United Nations.

6. For these reasons, we shall vote for the draft resolution.

7. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): A week ago, when the Assembly decided to place the Question of Tibet on its agenda, the New Zealand delegation gave its full support to that decision. At that time, we stated our firm conviction that were the Assembly to accept the arguments of expediency it could do so only at the expense of its moral authority and of those principles which we are all enjoined by the Charter to uphold.

8. My delegation cannot accept the contrary line of argument which was again suggested to the Assembly at this morning's meeting [831st meeting] by the representative of Nepal. It is true, as the representative of Ireland acknowledged at the same meeting, that it is not in the Assembly's power to impose any solution which will safeguard the rights and liberties of the Tibetan people. We cannot tell whether the Chinese communist authorities will respond to the appeal of world opinion expressed through this Assembly; but that is no justification for silence.

9. The issue we are concerned with is a wholesale violation of human rights—an affront not to any group of States but to man's essential dignity. This issue transcends any political problem of relations among States.

10. It has, however, been suggested that this item has been presented merely in an attempt to increase international tensions and to divert the General Assembly from a businesslike approach to major international problems. I should like to make it clear that my own Government does not see the matter in that light. We do not think that vigilance by the United Nations in upholding its own principles can ever be a real incitement to international tensions.

11. My Government has welcomed what it hopes is a new attempt to reach a rapprochement between the major Powers. It would certainly not wish to support measures which might retard a genuine relaxation of cold war tensions. But the essential test of progress towards greater international co-operation is that Governments should be prepared to settle their disputes by negotiations. It is one thing to derive encouragement from present indications of an improved international atmosphere, but it is quite another to state that we have reached the stage where all fundamental political problems which remain can be solved.

12. My delegation hopes that the course of developments in the next few months will allow us to say that the cold war had in fact ended. But we would be

deluding ourselves if we believed that ignoring the Tibetan issue could contribute towards the settlement of the major world problems. So long as Governments resort to force to obtain their political objectives, tensions will remain.

13. It would be an abdication of responsibility for this Assembly to decline to take action on illusory arguments of expediency. Nor would we be facing reality if, because of arguments related to the so-called cold war we turned aside from the problems of the present. Anxiety and insecurity will remain if we fail to meet challenges to freedom wherever they occur. How many times have we seen that, when an attack on the liberties of one nation goes unchallenged, the security of all nations is endangered? Can any small nation afford to accept this situation without protest?

14. In the League of Nations, and in this Organization, New Zealand has at such times spoken out; and we do so again on this occasion. We believe that the Assembly must consider this subject not simply because the situation in Tibet falls short of the ideals of the Charter and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—for none of us has the right to judge the performance of others by ideal standards—but because the cardinal feature of this case is that it represents a deliberate pattern of conduct which is diametrically opposed to every principle which the United Nations upholds. The victims are a small nation, which has given no offence, and whose citizens stand to lose both their individual human rights and their very existence as a people.

15. A few years ago, the New Zealand representative said in a committee of the General Assembly:

"My delegation would at once concede that violations of human rights can be imagined, and indeed have been perpetrated, which are of so flagrant a character that no doubts as to United Nations competence to consider them could be sustained."^{1/}

That is still my delegation's position.

16. It is here pertinent to recall the terms of the Final Communiqué issued by the Bandung Conference of Asian and African States in 1955. Not only did that communiqué reaffirm the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But it also affirmed "that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation". The representatives of the Government whose actions we are now considering gave their full support to that declaration.

17. Despite this fact, the Chinese communist authorities have resorted to a policy of force. This is the more reprehensible because it has been imposed on a country which had always enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and which had striven to retain its national identity. For centuries the political structure of Tibet had been based on the almost complete identification of religious and national loyalties. As the treaties concluded in the early years of this

century bear witness, the Tibetan Government had claimed and exercised a large degree of sovereignty.

18. Even the Chinese authorities, while imposing upon the Tibetan Government the Agreement of 23 May 1951,^{2/} had recognized in theory the right of the Tibetan people to regional autonomy, and had solemnly undertaken to guarantee religious freedom. It is apparent that the Peking Government felt obliged to pay at least lip service to the national character of the Tibetan people. But the undertakings given in 1951 have been swept aside, and the communist Chinese authorities are now engaged upon a policy of full-scale military repression.

19. In my Government's view, there can be no doubt that the revolt which occurred in March 1959 had the character of a national uprising. The Chinese communist authorities have claimed that this uprising was fomented by a small reactionary group; but they themselves admit that the revolt was widespread. It is inconceivable that so desperate and so hopeless a struggle could have been founded on anything less than a fierce sense of national feeling permeating all sections of Tibetan society.

20. The struggle against Chinese communist domination continues; and the revolt appears to have been crushed only in the area of Lhasa. Clearly, this national uprising was the culmination of popular opposition to the ruthless campaign of the Chinese communist authorities to destroy the distinctive political, religious and cultural life of the Tibetan people.

21. The personal authority of the Dalai Lama, fundamental to the traditional Tibetan system, was steadily undermined. All real power was denied to historic Tibetan political institutions, and Chinese-dominated institutions were superimposed. Systematic destruction of religious belief and of religious institutions became a prime objective of Chinese communist policy. The Dalai Lama has spoken, with great restraint and dignity, of all these developments.

22. In these circumstances, how can we credit the contention that the Chinese communist authorities are engaged upon a civilizing mission—as the representative of the Soviet Union [831st meeting] has this morning argued at some length?

23. It is not disputed that the semi-feudal system of Tibet is unsuitable for the conditions of the modern world. The Dalai Lama, in his statement at Mussoorie on 20 June 1959, has himself recognized the need for reform. He said:

"We have no desire to disguise the fact that ours is an ancient society, and that we must introduce immediate changes in the interests of the people of Tibet."^{3/}

24. It is, however, far-fetched to maintain that a natural desire to introduce reforms gradually represents nothing more than an attempt by the Tibetan leaders to maintain a system of serfdom. Surely, it is a paradox to speak of serfdom in a society such as that of Tibet, which, until the massive penetration of Chinese communist forces, had neither a police force nor an army.

^{2/} Agreement of the Central People's Government and the local Government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, signed on 23 May 1951.

^{3/} International Commission of Jurists, The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law—a Preliminary Report (Geneva, 1959) p. 198.

^{1/} This statement was made on 12 November 1952 in the Ad Hoc Political Committee, the official record of which is published only in summary form.

25. Moreover it is not surprising that a sequestered nation, with strong and living traditions and institutions, should be resistant to sudden and violent changes. The tragedy lies, we feel, in the disregard by the Chinese communist authorities of the wishes of the Tibetan people, and their resort to coercive measures. The Dalai Lama has spoken movingly of the increasing agony and affliction of his people, of their harassment and persecution, and of the terrible deportation and execution of innocent men.

26. My delegation was surprised to hear the representative of the Soviet Union speak this morning of the International Commission of Jurists as a body set up to promote the cause of the cold war—I think I quote him correctly. The Commission is a body divorced from governmental control. It draws its membership from judges and lawyers in many countries. They are united only by their common belief in freedom and justice under a rule of law. In my Government's view, the Commission's integrity and impartiality cannot fairly be questioned. The evidence assembled in the preliminary report of the Commission merely affords detailed corroboration of the evidence available from other sources.

27. The preliminary report of the International Commission of Jurists lists the human rights which have been denied to the Tibetans, and I should like to select only some of the more important: the rights to life and liberty have been violated; forced labour has been imposed; torture and cruel and degrading treatment have been inflicted; freedom of religion and worship has been systematically denied; freedom of expression and communication of ideas is totally lacking. The report concludes:

"In short, almost all the rights which together allow the full and legitimate expression of human personality appear to be denied to the Tibetans at the present time, and, in most cases, for some time past." ^{4/}

28. My Government believes that the United Nations is morally bound to heed the plight of the people of Tibet. This Assembly must not allow itself, we feel, either to be silenced by counsels of expediency or to be diverted to an acrimonious discussion of cold war issues.

29. My delegation earnestly hopes that the draft resolution [A/L.264] presented by Ireland and by the Federation of Malaya will receive the overwhelming support of the Assembly. The draft resolution is couched in moderate terms. It avoids the polemics of the cold war, but it clearly expresses our distress that the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people are being forcefully suppressed.

30. We must reaffirm the principles set out in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and we must call for their full application to the people of Tibet.

31. Mr. LORIDAN (Belgium) (translated from French): I should like to recall first of all that when the representative of Belgium voted for the inclusion of the question of Tibet on the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, he did so both in the General Committee and in plenary meeting, with an express reservation on the question of competence.

32. What is the issue before us? The delegations of Ireland and the Federation of Malaya, in proposing the inclusion of this question on the agenda, explained [831st meeting] that the Assembly should consider the problem of the systematic violation, in Tibet, of human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

33. Various reports and items of information have reached us concerning Tibet and we have noted the statements of the Dalai Lama of 18 April and 20 June 1959. ^{5/} The religious and temporal leader of Tibet was able to save his life only by seeking asylum, last March, in a neighbouring country. Thanks to the support of his people, and by a happy combination of circumstances, he was able to cross the border into India, where he is now residing. He has told us about the oppression of the Tibetan people and has related how the political, religious and cultural autonomy of his people was gradually crushed. In his pathetic appeal of 9 September 1959 to the Secretary-General, he repeated his accusations against the Chinese forces and requested United Nations intervention in order to put an end to what he called "the murder of my people".

34. In India, where the Dalai Lama had taken refuge, Prime Minister Nehru spoke on several occasions about the tragic situation in Tibet. In a statement which the Prime Minister made to Parliament on 10 May 1959, we learned that India has offered asylum to about 10,000 Tibetan refugees. A member of Parliament, Mr. Sushila Nayar, asked the following question:

"I want to ask the Honourable Prime Minister if these 10,000 refugees that have come are all well-to-do feudal lords or are they the common people of Tibet?"

Mr. Nehru answered:

"I cannot give any description of all of them. They have not yet arrived, they are on the way; but it is hardly likely that Tibet will produce 10,000 lords."

35. Thus, a body of 10,000 Tibetans successfully overcame all the difficulties involved in crossing the Himalayan passes to seek refuge in a foreign country. The representative of Nepal this morning [831st meeting] also informed us that about 1,000 Tibetan refugees had arrived in his country. We can imagine how many more tens of thousands of Tibetan patriots would have liked to escape as these did from the acts of oppression and excesses committed against them by an outside Power.

36. The sufferings of the Tibetan people have stirred Belgian public opinion. It is true that relations between my country and the remote country of Tibet, which is almost completely cut off from the rest of the world, are practically non-existent. But there is one bond which unites the Tibetan people and the Belgian people, the bond of human solidarity. Public opinion in my country did not remain indifferent, therefore, when it learned of the tragedy which had befallen the Tibetan people.

37. Efforts have been made here to repudiate in its entirety the testimony of the Dalai Lama by trying to prove the inaccuracy of one or another of his reports. In the view of my delegation, however, there is enough

^{4/} *Ibid.*, p. 59.

^{5/} *Ibid.*, pages 192-194 and 196-199.

reliable information with regard to flagrant violations of human rights in Tibet.

38. It is quite clear, however, that the General Assembly could obtain exact and complete information as to the nature and extent of these violations only if it institutes an investigation procedure which would enable it to collect accurate information as to the facts and in the course of which the arguments of the opposing parties could be heard. That would normally be the first step to be taken by the General Assembly if it deals with the matter. But can it do so? Here, the preliminary question of competence arises.

39. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland very rightly developed before the General Committee [124th meeting] the argument that an international organization had to ensure the respect for the principles on which it was founded. The League of Nations, he alleged, perished because it was unable to honour the fundamental principles which should have governed its actions.

40. The fundamental freedoms and human rights, proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are indeed sacred rights which Belgium believes should be treated with the highest respect. However, although the Charter enjoins respect for these fundamental rights and freedoms, it does not authorize the United Nations to intervene in the internal affairs of Member States in the event that such rights are violated. It is legally wrong to assert, as is often done here, that in the application of the Charter, the principles of human rights take priority over all others. On the contrary, it is clear from the text of the Charter itself and from the preliminary proceedings of the San Francisco Conference that the United Nations has no power to intervene in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of States whether or not the violation of fundamental freedoms and human rights is involved.

41. When the Belgian delegation refers to this principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, many suspect that it is only thinking of its own special position and that it wishes to invoke this provision for reasons of its own. But the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, recognized by the Charter, concerns all the countries represented here, great or small. It has been affirmed many times in the last few years, by statesmen from the American continent in the Organization of American States and by the African-Asian Powers in the declaration of the Bandung Conference,^{6/} which in its fourth principle called for "abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries".

42. It is natural for the smaller nations whose sole protection is the law to place particular stress on respect for the principle of non-intervention. Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter is worded in the most imperative terms. The only exception envisaged concerns the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

43. It cannot be maintained, in the face of such hard and fast provisions, that they do not apply to questions concerning the protection of human rights and that the United Nations may, in respect to these

rights, intervene in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of States. This principle of non-intervention is universally applicable.

44. The extent to which this principle applies to the draft resolution [A/L.264] before us should now be examined. For that purpose, the international status of Tibet should be examined. What is that status? In the view of the Belgian delegation, this status seems very confused at the present time. In an appeal to the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1959, the supreme authority of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, affirmed in the most categorical manner that Tibet is independent. In support of his argument, he quoted some facts which are certainly not without pertinence. From 1912, when the thirteenth Dalai Lama declared the independence of Tibet, until 1950, no authority was exercised over this territory by the Chinese Government. During that time the Government of Tibet concluded five international conventions, in particular the Anglo-Tibetan Convention of 1914. It sent trade missions to the United States, to Europe and to Asia, and it maintained an attitude of neutrality during the Second World War.

45. In a statement made at Mussoorie on 20 June 1959, the Dalai Lama declared that that independent status had been terminated by an agreement concluded on 23 May 1951 between the Government of Tibet and the Government at Peking. But, he declared, that agreement had been imposed by force. It is true that the terms of this treaty show under what conditions it was concluded. Thus it is stated in it that the Central People's Government, ordered the People's Army of Liberation to march into Tibet and informed the Government at Lhasa that it should send delegates to negotiate an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. The Tibetan plenipotentiaries were obliged to sign this agreement, under the threat of seeing their country ravaged by the invading Chinese troops.

46. This agreement of 23 May 1951 however left Tibet with considerable regional autonomy, an autonomy which the country has always enjoyed. Article 120 of the Chinese Constitution of 26 December 1946 provided that the self-government system of Tibet shall be guaranteed, and the representatives of the Soviet Union and of China are in agreement on one point, namely, that Tibet is an integral part of China. At the meeting of the General Committee on 9 October 1959 [124th meeting], the Chinese representative categorically declared that Tibet was part of China.

47. Taking these various factors into consideration, the Belgian delegation, despite its feelings in the matter, has no option but to abstain on the draft resolution before it.

48. I wish to say a few words with regard to some statements made this morning [831st meeting] by the representative of the Soviet Union, who introduced into the debate elements which had absolutely no relation to the item under discussion when he made slanderous accusations with regard to the policy followed by Belgium in the Belgian Congo.

49. I shall not engage in a controversy with him regarding questions which not only have no relevance to the agenda item under consideration but are also outside the competence of the United Nations. I shall merely inform the representative of the Soviet Union that the Belgian delegation will not take lessons from

^{6/} Declaration contained in the Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955.

anyone on the question of fundamental freedoms and human rights.

50. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): During the debate in the General Committee [124th meeting] on the inclusion of the so-called "Question of Tibet" in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, and this morning [831st meeting] in the plenary meeting of the Assembly, the representative of Ireland said that it was far from his delegation's intention to revive the cold war.

51. There is no doubt that those responsible for the inclusion of the so-called "Question of Tibet" in the agenda are trying to find some justification before world public opinion for their deliberate attempt to impair the relaxed atmosphere which has recently been brought into being as a result of the persistent efforts of the peoples of the whole world. They are conscious of the momentous responsibility they have assumed before world public opinion and before the public opinion of their own countries. That is why they are eager to create the impression that their intentions were purely humanitarian.

52. Their fears are, of course, well founded. It is very difficult for the world to accept the idea that the atmosphere of international collaboration achieved at the cost of so much effort should be disturbed by the inclusion on the General Assembly's agenda of invented and provocative questions implicating one of the great Powers of the world, namely, the People's Republic of China.

53. In fact, the general impression in political circles is that the events of the present year, and especially the visit to the United States by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, and his talks with President Eisenhower, have helped to bring about a considerable relaxation of international tension. An atmosphere favourable to the solution of a number of disputes among States has thus been created, and the conditions necessary to achieve some progress in the field of disarmament now exist.

54. It is generally recognized that the situation which has been brought about by the recent developments we have witnessed may help in the solution of important international problems. The peoples of the whole world wish to reach, as quickly as possible, agreement on the great questions which at present separate East from West, and on the strengthening of peace in Europe and in other parts of the world. That is also the desire of a large section of the governing circles in the Western countries. It seems, however, that there are groups in those countries which are not interested in an agreement to eliminate the vestiges of the Second World War in Europe, to solve the German problem and the problem of Berlin, and to solve the most crucial problem of our time, namely, disarmament.

55. It is indisputable, and this is the opinion of the greater part of world public opinion, that the Soviet Union proposals [A/4219] for general and complete disarmament constitute a solid basis for the solution of the problem of disarmament. However, it seems that this prospect has caused consternation in certain circles which are in favour of continuing the cold war, and are not accustomed to thinking except in terms of the cold war.

56. How otherwise can the fact be explained that, at the present session of the General Assembly, in spite of the eager hope expressed by the President of the Assembly that it might go down in history as the Assembly of Peace, and in spite of the efforts of most delegations to bring this about, the United Nations has begun its work, as Mr. Khrushchev has pointed out, by taking a measure highly characteristic of the cold war?

57. This year once again, the United Nations has been forced into a decision to exclude from the Organization the People's Republic of China, the State with the largest population in the world, and to prevent it from taking its rightful place and so contributing to the solution of problems which concern the whole world. This year again, the United Nations has been forced to tolerate the presence of the representatives of a clique of traitors who represent no one except those who supply them with the necessary financial and military means to maintain a hold on a part of Chinese territory. This arbitrary action, directed against the People's Republic of China, is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of its fundamental principles. It is a blow against peace and against peaceful coexistence among nations. This arbitrary step was taken despite the certain knowledge that, in regard to peaceful coexistence, disarmament problems, and questions closely connected with the strengthening of peace, a lasting settlement can be achieved only with the participation and close co-operation of the People's Republic of China.

58. What then is the significance of the avowed intention of certain circles to do everything they can to keep the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations and isolated from the States which are represented in it? It is, in fact, further proof of their desire to renew the cold war and to place obstacles in the way of international agreement. What other construction could be placed on the attempts of certain specialists in Far Eastern affairs to present matters, in their statements, in such a light that they can term China an aggressor despite the fact that there are still foreign troops on its territory, on the island of Taiwan, and can, on the other hand, describe the United States, on whose soil no Chinese soldier has ever set foot, as a peaceful State?

59. This is peculiar logic, indeed! Nevertheless, to men of common sense, to the peoples of all countries, it is perfectly clear who is the aggressor and who is pursuing a policy of peace. There is no doubt that the aggressor is the State whose armed forces are stationed on foreign soil against the will and desire of the people of the country and it is, consequently, that State which is threatening peace and security in the Far East. No sophistries can disguise the truth or turn black into white.

60. In such a situation, the precautions and the fears of those who become, whether they like it or not, tools in the hands of the instigators of the cold war, are understandable.

61. Peoples of all countries are opposed to the cold war. They do not want new tensions created in international relations. They want to live in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation conducive to the solution of all disputed international questions. That is why those who promote the cold war policy and try to disturb international relations by raising issues of this kind

bear a crushing responsibility in the eyes of world public opinion and of their own peoples.

62. But, in reality, whose cause is being championed by those who requested [A/4234] the inclusion in the agenda of the so-called "Question of Tibet" and by those who prompted them to make this request? Whose rights are they upholding? They are, of course, championing the interests of a handful of feudal and reactionary Tibetans who have tried to stir up a rebellion in order to defend their privileges, to prevent the introduction of democratic reforms into Tibet, to perpetuate the enslavement of a whole people, and this at a time when oppressed peoples throughout the world are struggling for freedom and rising against their oppressors. These so-called champions of human rights are taking up the defence of those who, for centuries, imposed a rule of oppression on the people of Tibet. Where were these defenders of human rights when the feudal lords of Tibet inflicted frightful torture on their serfs who refused to satisfy their whims? Why did it not then occur to these so-called defenders of human rights to urge humanity on the feudal rulers of Tibet? Is it not peculiar, to say the least, that their concern should have shown itself at the very moment when the Tibetan peasants decided to expel their reactionary oppressors with the help of the Chinese liberation army.

63. Consequently, it is not the interests of the Tibetan peoples which are being served by those who are trying to include fictitious questions in the agenda of the Assembly, but rather the interests of a very small minority which, now as in the past, is trying to sell Tibet to the highest bidder, to those who pursue a policy of oppressing the popular masses.

64. It has been pointed out that, from time immemorial, Tibet has formed an integral part of Chinese territory and that, consequently, anything which concerns Tibet is a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of China. No one has yet succeeded in contradicting this patent fact.

65. It is true that, at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, some States, and more particularly the United Kingdom, tried to set up an artificial Tibetan State. The establishment of a so-called independent Tibetan State was designed to detach Tibet from China and to associate it, in one way or another, with the British Empire. However, as a result of the energetic resistance of the Chinese people and of the patriotic people of Tibet, that plot against the territorial integrity of China was frustrated.

66. Moreover, it should be noted that, when these attempts to detach Tibet from China were made, foreign circles always employed the reactionary clique which has constantly oppressed the people of Tibet. They directed the actions of this clique, contrary to the wishes of the Tibetan people, against the unity of the Chinese State. Today, as in the past, the concern shown to preserve the privileges of this reactionary and feudal clique in Tibet is highly suspect.

67. Since Tibet is an integral part of China, why has a fictitious question—the so-called "Question of Tibet"—been created and what is the object of securing its discussion by the United Nations?

68. Is it not a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations that the Organization shall not

intervene in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, and that such matters cannot be the subject of any of its debates? This has been repeatedly demonstrated by a detailed and careful analysis of Article 2, paragraph 7, and other provisions of the Charter. This same principle also underlies international law and the practice of international relations. Why then have interested parties in certain countries taken pains to raise the so-called "Question of Tibet" at this juncture? Why have they engaged in propaganda in the Press and in the United Nations, and have worked for the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly?

69. The object is to revive the cold war in order to prevent co-operation among nations and, moreover, by means of a debate on this question, to intervene in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China. It seems that such intervention is viewed with favour by those circles which are accustomed to interfering in other people's business, and which may find ways and means of imposing on the United Nations their policy of spheres of influence in foreign territories. But is it right that the Organization should assist them in their evil designs? We must never forget that the United Nations was not established for the purpose of realizing the dreams of domination of certain circles in the Western countries, but for that of creating an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation among peoples which would facilitate the settlement by peaceful means of all matters of international dispute.

70. To attempt to use the United Nations as a vehicle for achieving their own aims, as some circles do, is in flagrant contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the purposes of the Organization.

71. Of course, the United Nations must concern itself with problems and situations arising when the rights of individuals and the rights of whole peoples are trampled underfoot, or when whole countries are bathed in blood as the result of the colonial policy pursued by certain Governments. Many such questions demand attention, and they are not fictitious questions fabricated on the strength of false information supplied by interested parties, as in the case of the so-called "Question of Tibet", but burning questions well known to us all, of colonial oppression and genocide even in countries under United Nations Trusteeship.

72. Many delegations have put questions from this very rostrum on the serious situation in various colonial and Trust Territories, on the violation of the Charter and the principles of the United Nations, on the harsh denial of the most fundamental human rights. The existence of such situations would amply justify intervention and active measures on the part of the United Nations.

73. It is difficult, therefore, to escape the impression that an attempt is being made by those who invent fictitious issues such as the so-called "Question of Tibet" to distract the attention of the United Nations from such flagrant violations of human rights, of the fundamental freedoms of nations, of the Charter of the United Nations, and to revive the cold war atmosphere.

74. The United Nations should have the necessary strength to stand out against the manoeuvres of inter-

ested parties in certain countries which oppose the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and to resist any attempt to deprive the United Nations of the means and opportunities of accomplishing its primary task, which is to work for the strengthening of peace and for international co-operation.

75. My delegation is opposed to any attempt to intervene in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China or to violate the Charter and the fundamental principles of the United Nations under cover of the so-called "Question of Tibet". Any resolution designed to pave the way for such intervention in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China would be illegal.

76. It is imperative that the United Nations, instead of allowing itself to be used as a vehicle for illegal action against the People's Republic of China, should take immediate steps to ensure the restoration of the legitimate rights of China in the United Nations, and to provide the conditions necessary for the solution of the major problems of our time, a solution ardently desired by all mankind.

77. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Before making my statement on the Tibetan question, I would like to take a minute of the Assembly's time under my right of reply; not, I hasten to say, in any heat at all, but merely to keep the record straight.

78. Mr. Kuznetsov mentioned the United States twice in his speech this morning [831st meeting]. The first time was a reference to the talks between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev, a reference which we appreciate. The second was a disapproving reference to the presence of United States troops in Korea, a reference which I am bound to admit seems to us inconsistent with the comment about the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. Surely, the Soviet Union knows that the United States troops in Korea are there pursuant to resolutions of the United Nations. This is something which all United Nations Members can well understand and support.

79. Now, on the initiative of Ireland and the Federation of Malaya, the General Committee recommended [124th meeting] to the General Assembly the inscription of an item entitled "Question of Tibet". The United States supported this initiative, which was based on the appeal of the Dalai Lama, and we welcome the decision of the General Assembly to consider the terrible ordeal of the Tibetan people. Opposition to the consideration of this item in the Assembly has been based upon two very different positions. First, there have been the attempts, in effect, to frighten us out of discussing the matter by the use of strong words. We have been asked to believe that it is all right for Chinese Communists to kill Tibetans, but that it is a provocation for us to talk about it. That argument seems to us unworthy of discussion; it is an argument of intimidation by false logic.

80. Doubts about the Assembly's competence to deal with this matter have stemmed from the view that events taking place in Tibet are an internal matter and thus subject to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, that is, the domestic jurisdiction clause. I think the question of the General Assembly's competence can be answered clearly and affirmatively whatever one's views may be as to the legal status of

Tibet. The interest and concern of the United Nations on human rights and fundamental freedoms is set forth in Article 55 of the Charter.

[The speaker then read paragraph 1, and subparagraph c, of Article 55.]

81. This Charter provision is the basis of General Assembly consideration of such a problem as the situation in Tibet. Article 10 sets forth the functions and powers of the General Assembly.

[The speaker then read Article 10 of the Charter.]

82. Obviously, the subjects of Article 55 are matters within the scope of the present Charter.

83. In the years since the establishment of the United Nations certain principles and rules concerning the application of Article 2, paragraph 7, have emerged. It has become established, for example, that inscription and then discussion of an agenda item do not constitute intervention in matters which lie essentially within domestic jurisdiction.

84. As to the adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions, the Charter, in Articles 10 and 55, has conferred a clear and well-articulated authority upon the General Assembly which it has exercised on several occasions in the past. Charges of very serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet have been presented to this Assembly. In the context of the Charter and of the precedents, the General Assembly is surely competent to express itself concerning such action and to appeal for the observance of liberty. This is what the draft resolution [A/L.264] presented by Ireland and the Federation of Malaya would do. The United States believes that there is no doubt about the Assembly's authority to adopt it.

85. So much for the question of our competence here. I now proceed to the matter of Tibet.

86. Toward the end of March of this year reports began to filter out of Tibet that the Tibetan people had rebelled against the Chinese Communist campaign to destroy their liberties, their religion and their way of life, and that Chinese Communist armed forces in Tibet were battling and killing Tibetans on a large scale. On 26 March 1959 the Secretary of State of the United States expressed his deep shock at these reports.

87. The Chinese Communists told a different story, of a kind which is almost ritualistic in such cases. They said the disorders had been fomented by "a reactionary clique". When the Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, left Lhasa rather than submit, they announced that this same "reactionary clique" had kidnapped him. This phrase, may I say, is straight out of the Chinese Communist phrase-book. The world waited anxiously as Chinese Communist troops hunted the Dalai Lama through the mountain passes of the Himalayas. We remember the thankful relief which greeted Prime Minister Nehru's announcement that the Dalai Lama had reached safety in India on 31 March 1959.

88. At his first news conference in Tezpur on 18 April 1959 the Dalai Lama gave the first authoritative account of the uprising. He revealed that the Tibetan people had been engaged since 1955 in a struggle against the Chinese Communist army of occupation. He told of the destruction of monasteries,

the killing of lamas, and the herding of Tibetan monks and officials into forced labour on road-gangs. He told how the situation had deteriorated to a point where his own person was in danger. When his palace was fired upon by the Chinese Communist forces he decided to leave Lhasa.

89. The Dalai Lama in his statement said that he "came to India of his own free will and not under duress". Given the distances and the terrain involved, no one could doubt the truth of his statement that "it was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous". If the Tibetan people had not been so fortunate as to have a leader of the stature and the courage of the Dalai Lama, probably the world would never have been certain as to what was actually happening during this period. The result was a complete exposure of the trumped-up and—one must say it—wholly unbelievable charges of the Chinese Communists concerning Tibet.

90. After a period of rest and meditation, the Dalai Lama, at his Press conference at Mussoorie on 20 June 1959, revealed in moving detail the exact nature and extent of the Chinese Communist reign of terror. This story has been told by the Dalai Lama himself and by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, and I will not repeat it again. In response to the questions at this Press conference the Dalai Lama stated that more than 65,000 Tibetans had been killed fighting the Chinese army of occupation since 1956; that more than a thousand monasteries had been destroyed; that lamas and monks had been killed; and that a full-scale campaign had been waged for the extermination of religion. He stated that the Chinese Communists had embarked on a large-scale policy of colonization by millions of Chinese settlers. He said that the younger generation of Tibetans were being indoctrinated into Chinese Communism. The ultimate aim of the Chinese Communists appeared to him to be the extermination of the Tibetan religion and culture and even of the Tibetan race. The Dalai Lama concluded by stating that he would return to Lhasa when he obtained the rights and powers which Tibet had enjoyed and exercised before 1950.

91. These statements by the Dalai Lama are common knowledge. They are widely known just as I have quoted them everywhere in the world where a free press exists. The Chinese Communists recognize full well that the Dalai Lama, no matter where he is, remains the spiritual and temporal leader of all loyal Tibetans. But the propagandists in Peking constantly picture him as a prisoner under duress—which is a grim irony, since the only duress which he has known was at their hands. Actually, the freedom and hospitality accorded by the Government of India to the Dalai Lama belie all such insinuations.

92. On 30 August 1959 the Dalai Lama issued a further statement in which he announced his intention to appeal to the United Nations for the verdict of all peace-loving and conscientious nations. His statement also contained a personal appeal to all civilized countries to lend full support to the cause of freedom and justice in Tibet. Finally, on 9 September 1959, the Dalai Lama addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General for United Nations consideration of Tibet's

case, which the representative of Malaya has already submitted to you. So much for the record of events.

93. It seems to us that there is no reason whatever for doubting one single thing that the Dalai Lama has said. But there are also other witnesses to this tragedy, and prominent among them is the International Commission of Jurists, a non-governmental organization which has consultative status in the United Nations and which is supported by 30,000 jurists in over fifty nations. Last July this group published in Geneva a preliminary report entitled The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law.

94. Here are some of the salient points in this report:

1. The Chinese Communists have killed tens of thousands of Tibetans and have deported thousands of Tibetan children.

2. They have killed Buddhist monks and lamas on a large scale.

3. They have destroyed Buddhist monasteries, desecrated holy places and publicly humiliated religious leaders in a manner calculated to shock the people out of their age-old religious faith.

4. They have subjected religious leaders and public officials to forced labour, arbitrary arrest and torture.

5. They have plundered Tibet on a wide scale, creating wide-spread hunger.

Considering these facts, the authors of the report then wrote these words:

"The rights of the Tibetans which appear to have been ruthlessly violated are of the most fundamental—even that of life itself... It is a question of conduct which shocks the civilized world... The evidence points to a systematic design to eradicate the separate national, cultural and religious life of Tibet..."

"It is submitted, with a full appreciation of the gravity of this accusation," the report states, "that the evidence points at least to a *prima facie* case of Genocide against the People's Republic of China. This case merits full investigation by the United Nations." Z/

95. This report was based in part, let me say, on statements collected from Tibetan refugees under the direction of the able Indian jurist, Mr. Purshottam Trikanddas. Further material is being collected which will form the basis of a comprehensive report to be issued at a later date.

96. Now let me say a word about the matter of reform and social progress in Tibet. The Soviet representative has sought to discredit the Dalai Lama by characterizing his advisers as a small band of feudal lords and abbots who have violated the rights of the Tibetan people.

97. We submit that it is risky, to say the least, to judge a culture by a rigid system of ideas which is alien to that culture and whose advocates consider that everyone else in the world—Buddhists, Christians, Jews, Moslems—are wrong and that they alone have all the answers.

Z/ International Commission of Jurists, The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law—a Preliminary Report (Geneva, 1959) pp. 17 and 18.

98. The Tibetan way of life is permeated by the ideals of Buddhism. Visitors to Tibet are struck with the kindness and helpfulness that Tibetans in all walks of life lavish on foreign guests. More than one foreigner who thought of Tibet only as a primitive and backward land—which it is, measured solely by the standards of industrialized society—has returned from Tibet with a great respect for the spiritual qualities of its people. Capital punishment used to be virtually unknown in Tibet. Before the arrival of the Chinese Communists, other religions, such as that of the Moslems, were not subjected to restrictions.

99. We can gauge the atrocities which have been committed in Tibet by the fact that these religious, peaceful, friendly people were driven beyond the limit of their endurance and took up arms against their oppressors. It is also note-worthy, in view of some of the things that have been said from this rostrum today, that the Chinese Communists should find it necessary to maintain large armies in order to persuade the Tibetan people to accept the so-called benefits which, one would have you believe, they are trying to confer upon them. Because prior to 1950 there were no Chinese armed forces in Tibet. The small local Tibetan forces were adequate for all needs.

100. The so-called Panchen Lama, at a meeting staged by the Chinese Communists recently in Peking, said—and this is worth noting because it is an extraordinarily phrased declaration—that the flames of the democratic reform movement are spreading to every corner of Tibet's countryside.

101. That has an incendiary sound which suggests the arsonist more than it does the political reformer. What in reality is happening is that the flames set by the Chinese Communist army are spreading over Tibet. This becomes apparent when you note what the Vice-Chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission of Communist China, whose name is Wang Feng, in discussing what would happen if any of the nationalities under the Commission's control should resist reform, said on 27 September 1959, which is very recent, that it would then be necessary to pulverize resolutely the resistance of such a nationality in order to ensure implementation of the reform. He thus made it clear that, when the communists speak of "reforms", they mean forceful communization.

102. Tibet's culture is ancient. Its monasteries, prior to the advent of the Chinese Communists, were considered priceless storehouses of Asian culture. Historians and religious leaders in many countries have acknowledged their debt to the lamas who have preserved through the centuries important documents unobtainable anywhere else. Prior to their looting and destruction, Tibetan monasteries were also museums containing religious statues, paintings and tapestries of great artistic worth.

103. The most distinctive feature of Tibetan culture is lamaism. This is a manifold institution. Lamaism combines into one all the religious, educational, political, economic and social institutions of Tibetan life. Every phase of existence in Tibet has a religious significance. A Tibetan monastery, in addition to caring for the spiritual life of the people, was also a comprehensive educational institution. The larger ones were equivalent to universities, accommodating thousands of monk-students.

104. Nobody has argued that this way of life could go on forever in isolation from the rest of the world. The Dalai Lama is an enlightened leader. He himself stated on 20 June 1959:

"... during the last nine years several reforms were proposed by me and my Government but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people.

"In particular it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and the large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensation for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carrying out this just and reasonable reform. I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich tradition of our country.

"But the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimization, sacrilege and plunder in the name of reforms—a policy which is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa."^{2/}

105. Surely there can be no better proof that the Chinese Communists came to Tibet not bent on reform but bent on power and domination. Now we have the spectacle of this deeply religious people, their monasteries laid low and their priests and leaders slaughtered or disgraced, being driven into the so-called people's communes. That cannot be represented as progress. It cannot be represented as reform. It can only be described as a crime which will not be forgotten by the civilized world.

106. On 5 October 1959 Mr. Gyalo Thondup, brother of the Dalai Lama, at a Press conference in this city declared that all that the people of Tibet desired was to be allowed to live their own life in peace and freedom. The Government of the United States wholeheartedly supports this desire, and it was in this spirit that the United States decided, after careful consideration, to support the initiative of Ireland and Malaya in bringing the question of Tibet before this Organization.

107. The United Nations and the States represented here in the General Assembly have a solemn obligation to stand up for the Charter and for the standards of decency in the behaviour of nations which it contains. We cannot uphold those standards one day and then ignore them the next day. If we follow such a haphazard course, the community of nations itself will be undermined, and small and weak nations will have nothing to which to appeal against the threat of brute power.

108. We have no magic, let me say as I conclude, by which we can save Tibet from its sufferings, but we are by no means powerless. We have the facts about the deeds which have been done. We have the standards of the Charter by which to judge those facts. And we have in the General Assembly the world's

^{2/} Ibid., p. 198.

most influential voice by which to give expression to the opinions of civilized man.

109. Among the purposes written in the Charter is that of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". We have an opportunity now to prove that those words mean what they say, and that neither thousands of miles of distance nor ingenious arguments nor violent words nor faintness of heart can deter us from our duty to a brave people in their time of agony. If they are not afraid to fight and die, let us at least not be afraid to speak the truth.

110. Mr. SCHMIDT (Brazil) (translated from French): I had not intended to take part in this debate, but after listening to what was said this morning by various speakers on the question of Tibet, I feel that it is my duty to justify my delegation's support of the draft resolution submitted by the Federation of Malaya and Ireland [A/L.264].

111. In the speech I delivered at the opening of the general debate [797th meeting] I dwelt upon the need to combat under-development and thus reverted to a theme to which I have often referred during the past two sessions of the General Assembly, namely, the poverty which still reigns in vast areas of the world. While reaffirming the importance which my delegation attaches to this problem in the material order, I take this opportunity to set forth our position in a debate which, as far as we are concerned, is purely a matter of principle.

112. We do, indeed, want development, and we do, indeed, want to combat poverty because poverty is not merely an economic problem, but is essentially a moral problem. As the representative of a Christian country, I deem it my duty to interpret the thoughts and beliefs of the great majority of my fellow countrymen. To me, poverty is clearly a perversion of justice and of human freedom because poverty means servitude. We cannot, however, admit as a principle that human values, including religious freedom, must yield to material values. In that sense the draft resolution submitted by the Federation of Malaya and Ireland is couched in commendably moderate terms, and we could not deny it our support without renouncing our faith and sense of justice.

113. We have no intention of aligning ourselves with those who want to add to the existing confusion nor of seizing upon the misfortunes of the Tibetans as a pretext to indulge in flights of oratory. On the contrary, we are giving serious attention to the awakening of the Asian nations to economic progress because we in Brazil, a large although considerably less populated country, must also solve the problem of under-development which is closely linked to that of our survival.

114. However, we believe above all in the principle of freedom of religion, which represents a victory of civilization achieved at great cost through centuries of struggle over every form of fanaticism. We believe that man is entitled to choose the spiritual life to which he feels drawn. We consider ourselves to be among the defenders of the West's cause. If there is one problem to which the cause of the West is intimately bound by sacred principles, I believe it is that of the defence of man's complete liberty. That principle is at stake today. Thus, while detaching myself

as much as is possible from the political aspect of this question so unfortunately raised in this debate, I wish to reassert my endorsement of the draft resolution submitted by the Federation of Malaya and by Ireland.

115. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): At the meeting of the General Committee [124th meeting] on 9 October 1959 I already had the opportunity to voice my delegation's doubts regarding the admissibility of the question of Tibet as an agenda item.

116. This does not mean that my delegation questions the generous motives which prompted the proposal submitted by the delegations of the Federation of Malaya and Ireland or that it does not consider it to be a commendable proposal. The fact is, however, that the more my delegation looked into the question the more it realized the uncertainties and the complexity of the status of Tibet.

117. These characteristics have emerged still more clearly from the statements we have heard both in the General Committee and in the plenary meetings of the Assembly. Whether it is called Chinese sovereignty or suzerainty over Tibet, or whether some other term is used, it seems that there actually has been some sort of dependent relationship between that country and China. In the circumstances, might not the inclusion of the item in the Assembly's agenda constitute a violation of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter?

118. The discussions in the General Committee and the General Assembly have shown that these misgivings are shared by a number of delegations, irrespective of the group to which they belong, the tendency they represent or the conclusions they have drawn. This circumstance has also been a source of embarrassment to the sponsors of the proposal and has caused them to exercise caution in the drafting of their explanatory memorandum and, today, of their draft resolution [A/L.264], which I wish to commend for its moderation.

119. The French delegation feels that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter represents one of the fundamental principles upon which are based the very existence and life of the United Nations. No violation of that principle can ever be tolerated lest we jeopardize the authority and the basic premise of the United Nations.

120. The documents of the San Francisco Conference, which may be looked upon as commentaries on the Charter, clearly show that Articles 55 and 56 relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms must never be allowed to prevail over the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7. That is why the French delegation felt obliged to abstain on the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

121. It has nevertheless pointed out how deeply French public opinion and official circles in Paris have been aroused by the events in Tibet. We cannot disregard the information contained in the Dalai Lama's appeal or that provided by the world Press. The charges made in some quarters against a feudal régime whose abuses, we are told, the Chinese Government has deemed it necessary to correct do not, in our view, constitute an adequate reply.

122. Furthermore, we cannot accept the argument that since the Dalai Lama took part, as did the Panchen Lama, in the drafting of the Chinese Constitution of 1954, neither he nor the people of Tibet have any right to protest against the methods of violence to which his country is now subjected. On the contrary, the Dalai Lama, who participated in the drafting of that Constitution, has now been compelled to flee his country, and that, I think, is an additional reason for us to fear for the fate of the people of Tibet.

123. I do not propose to provoke a political or juridical discussion of these events or the effect which this debate may have at the present time. I should like, on the contrary, to join my Foreign Minister, Mr. Couve de Murville, and, by repeating the statement he made from this rostrum [814th meeting], to invite all the countries represented here to exercise their combined moral authority in behalf of the immediate restoration of normal conditions of life in Tibet based on respect for the rights of the human being. The conscience of the world, and particularly that of France, has been sorely troubled by the abolition of fundamental freedoms, the use of terrorism against a peace-loving people, the religious persecution to which Tibet is now being subjected and the flagrant denial of the principle of self-determination. The statements made by previous speakers bear eloquent testimony to this.

124. In 1950 the Assembly refused to take a position with regard to Tibet and hoped that the situation would improve through an agreement between the Tibetan and Chinese authorities. That decision was shortly followed by the Agreement of 1951 under which Peking recognized the autonomous status of Tibet. Let us hope that, in the weeks to come, the sympathy voiced here for an unfortunate people and the wishes expressed on their behalf will meet with a response through the abolition of violence and a return to respect for the freedoms and beliefs of the Tibetans.

125. It is in that spirit and hope that the French delegation will abstain in the forthcoming vote.

126. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation again raises the most emphatic protest, as it did already in the General Committee, against the consideration by the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the so-called "Question of Tibet". There is no "Question of Tibet", so-called. It was artificially constructed by those reactionary quarters for whom the realistic prospects of the relaxation of tensions at the present time, appearing on the international horizon, are sand in their teeth.

127. According to their schemes, the consideration in the United Nations of the so-called "Question of Tibet" is designed to poison the atmosphere in international relations, aggravate the situation at the current session of the General Assembly and prevent this Assembly from attaining positive results. That this is the case is attested to by the timing of this provocation. The proposal for consideration in the United Nations of the so-called "Question of Tibet" was submitted only at the end of September although the rebellion had occurred in Tibet as early as March of the current year.

128. This is not the first time that attempts have been made to misuse the United Nations for the purpose of flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States. It is not for the first time either

that the advocates of the cold war have purposefully misused the rostrum of the United Nations for provocations designed for the aggravation of international tension. It is highly deplorable that, at a time when a recent visit to the United States was concluded by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Nikita S. Khrushchev, before the convocation of the summit conference, and the anticipated visit to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, when nations expect from Governments of all States, and also from the United Nations, positive contributions to the best conditions and atmosphere for future negotiations, it is deplorable, I repeat, that our Organization has responded to these expectations of world public opinion by the provocative consideration of the so-called "Question of Tibet". We cannot but agree with the words of the Indonesian representative, Mr. Sastroamidjojo, who, in his intervention on 12 October 1959, in the General Assembly, declared among other things that:

"a debate on the question of Tibet can serve no other purpose than to intensify the cold war and to sharpen the lines of division among the great Powers." [826th meeting, para. 52.]

129. The discussion in the United Nations on the so-called "Question of Tibet" really cannot lead to anything other than a poisoned atmosphere at the present session and, as a consequence, to a further serious impairment of the international authority and prestige of the United Nations in the eyes of world public opinion.

130. The rebellion of the feudal clique of the upper strata of Tibet which took place last March is exclusively a matter of the internal policy of the People's Republic of China, because Tibet has been an integral part of China from time immemorial. This historical fact is not denied even by the greatest enemies of the People's Republic of China.

131. The consideration in the United Nations of the so-called "Question of Tibet" therefore constitutes a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter which forbids the United Nations to interfere in matters "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" and stipulates that the Members shall not be required "to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter". It is an inadmissible attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state—the People's Republic of China. After the attempt to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was again rejected at the outset of the present session, the provocation of the so-called "Question of Tibet" is a new expression of aggressive policy against the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people and its Government, along with the peoples and Governments of a number of countries and together with the entire progressive world public opinion, with all determination reject this provocation to which the delegations of the Federation of Malaya and Ireland have lent themselves in such a deplorable manner.

132. In its shallow and vain manoeuvre to slander the People's Republic of China before the world, world reaction tries to falsify the facts about the Tibetan rebellion. What, however, is the reality of the situation?

133. While the Government of the People's Republic of China strictly adhered to all articles of the well-known 1951 Agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the former Tibetan local Government which was in the hands of a reactionary feudal clique of the upper strata of Tibet sabotaged all the articles of this Agreement.

134. While the Government of the People's Republic of China offered its unselfish assistance in order to improve the burdensome conditions of the Tibetan people and the economic situation of this part of China, and while it strictly adhered to the provisions of the 1951 Agreement on the statute, authority and functions of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama and on full religious freedom in Tibet, the reactionary feudal clique, in agreement with the imperialist circles, made preparations for a betrayal of the country and the people of Tibet.

135. Since 1951 the Government of the People's Republic of China has done a great deal for the benefit of the Tibetan people and for the improvement of the economic position of Tibet. The task of primary importance from the economic point of view was to secure reliable communications between Tibet and the other parts of the People's Republic of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China constructed traffic arteries which began to facilitate the transportation of foods, important machines and equipment. Local Tibetan products such as furs, hides and various agricultural products found their outlets in the immense domestic Chinese market. Prices of the basic industrial goods and tea in Tibet dropped several times. Postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications were set up to connect Tibet with the inland of China. A hydroelectric power plant was constructed near Lhasa, and an energy power plant at Shigatse. Elementary schools were established in a number of places in Tibet, the population of which was practically illiterate, and the first secondary school was opened in Lhasa. Lhasa's first regular newspaper has been in operation since 1956.

136. The Tibetans, formerly dependent in sickness on the practices of quack doctors and subject to the strangest superstitions, were given basic treatment in hospitals built in Lhasa, in Chamdo and in other cities.

137. It is not fortuitous that the forces of world reaction show so much hypocritical interest in the fate of the Tibetan people. It was the schemes of the imperialist forces and of Chiang Kai-shek's followers which inspired and supported the rebellion in Tibet, hoping it would become once again, as it was in the days of the dependence of China on the imperialists, a sphere of their interests, and a basis for their aggressive policy against the People's Republic of China.

138. The pretext, upon which the so-called "Question of Tibet" was forced upon the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, deserves strict condemnation. Those who initiated and proposed this provocation, hiding themselves behind phrases about human rights in Tibet and the preservation of the "traditional way of life of the Tibetan people", have in fact acted for the benefit of the darkest feudal reactionaries and for the maintenance of their domination over the Tibetan people. Hypocritically they speak of the necessity of preserving "the traditional

forms of life of the people of Tibet", that is, an extremely backward system of serfdom and semi-slavery which in their own countries was prevalent roughly speaking a thousand years ago, and whose revival would be certainly strictly rejected not only by the peoples of their own countries, but also by these "human rights" fighters themselves.

139. For many centuries the basic human rights in Tibet had been systematically violated. But who violated them? Nobody but the representatives of the Tibetan feudal reactionaries themselves violated the basic human rights of the Tibetan working people ruthlessly and cruelly. The present-day fervent champions of human rights in Tibet should be reminded that more than 70 per cent of the proceeds of the serf labour in Tibet was appropriated freely without compensation by their feudal landlords. The serfs in Tibet had no human rights. Entire generations, children included, were owned by the feudal landlords and were fully exposed to the arbitrary will of feudal noblemen and those who ruled the monasteries, and for whom they had to toil and perform various free services under compulsion. He who committed only an alleged offence—even though he might be blameless—or he who was only suspected, was subject to cruel torture on the part of feudal landlords, and punishments such as laming, blinding and cutting off noses and legs were quite normal.

140. In contravention of their hypocritical pronouncements about the protection of human rights and freedoms, the authors of the provocation of the so-called "Question of Tibet" strive not for the observation of human rights but for the preservation forever of the inhuman conditions which had existed in Tibet until the crushing of the counter-revolution.

141. The failure of the Tibetan traitors almost broke the heart of world reaction, since the defeat of the rebellion marked not only the beginning of the process of carrying out democratic reforms in Tibet, which will finally free the Tibetan people from the fetters of medieval serfdom and oppression, but also the definitive end of all illusions of the imperialist Powers that Tibet could become a basis for an aggressive policy against the People's Republic of China.

142. The Tibetan people welcomed the failure of the reactionary rebellion of the Tibetan traitors as the start of a new epoch in their lives, opening before them the road towards a happy future within the large family of nationalities of the People's Republic of China.

143. The 1954 Constitution of the People's Republic of China, in whose elaboration the Dalai Lama, among others, also participated, safeguards for the Tibetan people, as it does for other nationalities of the People's Republic of China, within the broad region of autonomy, all the conditions and the possibilities for doing away with their centuries-old backwardness and, with the brotherly help of the Chinese people, of promoting political, economic, social and cultural development of Tibet. Now at last, under the leadership of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, gradual realization of the democratic reforms will take place, which will make it possible for the Tibetan people to shake off the fetters of serfdom and embark upon the dignified life of a free people who have become the real masters of their own country.

144. Likewise, all religious freedoms have been secured for the Tibetan people, and they have enjoyed them freely since 1951, when Tibet was peacefully liberated by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The diplomatic representatives of a number of foreign service missions in Peking may see for themselves the full enjoyment of religious freedom throughout China, and therefore also in Tibet.

145. This fact was also confirmed by the second highest Tibetan religious authority, the acting Chairman of the Committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, the Panchen Lama, who at the session of the National People's Congress in Peking in April 1959 said that in the past years no change had been made in the religious system or beliefs in Tibet. This fact was known to all Tibetans, lamas and laymen. In fact, not the People's Liberation Army, but those rebels and reactionaries in Tibet undermined religion. They murdered and insulted lamas and nuns, desecrated Buddhist images, stole sacrificial articles and utensils, and even used the monasteries as military strongholds for their rebellion.

146. No slanders directed against the People's Republic of China can change anything in the decisive fact that conditions have been created in Tibet for the final liquidation of its medieval past and that Tibet has embarked upon a road of progress and free development towards a happy future. Only now can the people of Tibet apply their human rights and freedoms in full harmony with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

147. If the authors of the Tibetan provocation wish to stand up in defence of human rights, let them direct their attention to areas where these rights are really suppressed, where the brutal national oppression and exploitation of colonial and dependent peoples of Africa and Asia still exist, accompanied by shocking manifestations of racial discrimination. Rich national resources of colonial and dependent countries are systematically being sapped by foreign monopolies and the peoples of these countries are kept in untold poverty and destitution.

148. Let those who try to cover up their aggressive designs under the cloak of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights be reminded that world public opinion knows very well who have been fighting colonial wars in Oman, against Yemen and in other parts of the world, who have brutally suppressed with weapons the just struggles for liberty of the colonial and dependent peoples, in particular in Africa. In this connexion it might be useful to quote the words of the representative of Ghana, Mr. Ako-Adjei, who in the general debate on 24 September 1959 said:

"... that the peoples of Africa have been victims of aggression by the colonial Powers for many years, and in fact are still victims of colonial aggression, and that the majority of Africans today are still labouring under foreign rule against their will." [807th meeting, para. 17.]

149. World public opinion keeps also in fresh memory the bloody terror directed against the negro population in the Central Africa Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Kenya, the Cameroons and in other colonies in Africa. It is equally well known that not only these countries know racial discrimination of the worst kind on such a scale.

150. The slanderous campaign launched in connexion with the so-called "Question of Tibet" is part and parcel of the aggressive policy of the imperialist countries against Asian peoples, as we can see it at the present time in Laos, South Viet-Nam, Taiwan and South Korea. Imperialists try to shake the solidarity of the Asian and African countries and drag them into aggressive pacts, especially SEATO and CENTO. One of the aims of the provocative consideration of the so-called "Question of Tibet" in the United Nations is also the attempt to introduce hostilities into, and take away co-operation from, the relations of the People's Republic of China and other Asian countries and reduce the international significance of the immense advances attained by the People's Republic of China within the short period of ten years. However, the peoples of Asia and Africa who only recently gained their independence are well aware of the dangers emanating for them from the policy of imperialist countries and will therefore not permit themselves to be used for the designs of the policy of the cold war.

151. In the interest of the prestige and authority of the United Nations, which the peoples rightly expect to be an effective instrument of peace and international co-operation and coexistence, the consideration of a non-existent, so-called "Question of Tibet" in the United Nations forum must be resolutely rejected. Our Organization must not allow itself again to be misused for the purpose of interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States and the aggravation of tension in the atmosphere of international relations. The General Assembly must not allow itself to be misused precisely for the protection of the inhuman, barbarous system of serfdom in Tibet under the cloak of the so-called "protection of human rights".

152. The United Nations must not be relegated to the position where it evades comprehensive consideration of serious questions on the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, especially the proposal for general and complete disarmament, submitted by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/4219].

153. In view of the illegality and the provocative nature of the consideration of the so-called "Question of Tibet" in the United Nations, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and an inadmissible attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China, the Czechoslovak delegation most emphatically rejects the draft resolution [A/L.264], submitted by the Federation of Malaya and Ireland, and declares that it will vote against it.

154. Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia): The Australian delegation will support the draft resolution which has been put forward by the delegations of the Federation of Malaya and of Ireland [A/L.264]. We believe that, since the question has been brought before the General Assembly, we have to look at what has happened in Tibet and in doing so to take particular account of the fact that the occurrences that have been mentioned by these two delegations and by others have been on a very large scale, have covered a whole country, and have resulted in a deep and lasting change in the way of life of a whole people. Those who have spoken before me in this debate or in debates in the General Committee and in the General Assembly on the in-

scription of the item, have gone over some of the events in Tibet and have given some of the evidence about what is charged. Therefore, it is not necessary for the Australian delegation to cover that ground again.

155. The broad outlines of what has occurred are clear enough. There has been a large-scale and brutal use of force to bring about changes in Tibet. There may be differences of opinion among us about the details of what has occurred, about what has happened, for example, in particular fields or in particular places, but the broad picture is a clear one. As I say, there has been a large-scale and brutal use of force to bring about changes in Tibet. One argument has been advanced which I personally find very difficult to understand, and quite impossible to accept, that is the argument that what has happened in Tibet was justified in order to remove the feudal elements in the country and to bring about reforms. That is an argument that could be used in almost any case brought before this Assembly to justify almost any course of action.

156. No one would argue that political and social changes should not occur in Tibet. The Dalai Lama himself, in statements which have been quoted by other representatives this morning and this afternoon, has admitted that changes should occur. Indeed, ever since the Second World War changes have been occurring in Tibet. Tibet, like any other country in the world, is responsive to what goes on elsewhere. It is responsive to the whole spirit of this century which is bringing so many changes to so many parts of the world. Tibet is not immune to these changes. Tibet would be changing, whether or not these events

that are now complained of had occurred. The point is not whether changes should occur, but how these changes should be brought about. Should the changes be brought about peacefully or by force? Should they be brought about gradually in response to internal pressures, or abruptly and brutally? Should they be brought about by the Tibetan people themselves, or by others?

157. When we ask ourselves these questions, it is only too clear that what has happened has been violent and has been forced on the Tibetan people. It is only too clear that in this process the human rights of the Tibetans, individually and as a people, have been ignored.

158. In these circumstances, the Australian Government considers that the draft resolution that has been put before us by the Federation of Malaya and of Ireland is reasonable in the extreme. Some delegations here would have liked the draft resolution to have gone considerably further. That is not the view of the Australian delegation. We believe that the draft resolution goes as far as, in the present circumstances, is called for, bearing in mind the need to represent the broad body of opinion in this Organization. In fact, of course, that is what this draft resolution does. It gives us an opportunity to indicate the consensus of opinion of the world as represented here in this Assembly. It gives us an opportunity to place on record the attitude of mind we have in these circumstances. For these reasons, the Australian delegation will support the draft resolution presented by the delegations of the Federation of Malaya and of Ireland.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.