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## HUMAN RIGHTS

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL RESPECT  
FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLESReport of the Third CommitteeRapporteur: Mrs. Z. HARMAN (Israel)

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## INTRODUCTION

1. At its sixth session, the General Assembly, in resolution 545 (VI) of 5 February 1952, decided to include in the covenant or covenants on human rights an article on the right of all peoples and all nations to self-determination, to be drafted along specified lines. In the same resolution, it asked the Commission on Human Rights to prepare recommendations concerning international respect for the self-determination of peoples and to submit them to the General Assembly at its seventh session.
2. The Commission on Human Rights considered both these questions at its eighth session during April - June 1952. In addition to adopting the text of an article for both the draft covenant on economic, social and cultural rights and the draft covenant on civil and political rights, the Commission adopted two draft resolutions containing recommendations to Member States concerning the self-determination of peoples and nations.<sup>1/</sup>
3. Draft resolution A, which was in the form of a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly, recommended that Member States should:  
(1) uphold the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations and respect their independence; and (2) recognize and promote the realization of the right of self-determination of the people of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories who are under their administration and grant this right on a demand for self-government on the part of these people, the popular wish being ascertained in particular through a plebiscite held under the auspices of the United Nations.
4. Draft resolution B, which was in the form of a draft resolution for adoption by the Economic and Social Council, requested the General Assembly to recommend to Member States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories voluntarily to include in the information transmitted by them under Article 73e of the Charter details regarding the extent to which the right of people to self-determination is exercised by the peoples of these Territories, and in particular regarding their political

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<sup>1/</sup> E/2256 (chapter III), Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

progress and the measures taken to develop their capacity for self-administration, to satisfy their political aspirations and to promote the progressive development of their free political institutions.

5. The Economic and Social Council transmitted both draft resolutions to the General Assembly without comment (Council resolution 440 (XIV)).

6. The General Assembly, at its 382nd meeting held on 17 October 1952, referred the item "Human Rights. Recommendations concerning international respect for the self-determination of peoples" to the Third Committee.

7. The Third Committee discussed the item at its 443rd to 464th meetings held on 12 November to 3 December 1952. It had before it the relevant section of the report of the Economic and Social Council<sup>2/</sup> and a memorandum by the Secretary-General outlining the previous action taken on this question (A/2165).

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<sup>2/</sup> A/2172 (chapter V, section I), Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 3.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

8. Opinions were sharply divided in regard to the two draft resolutions before the Committee. Some delegations were unable for various reasons, to support either resolution; some were of the view that the recommendations contained therein were not far-reaching enough, although satisfactory as far as they went; and some had reservations on particular points. A number of representatives expressed their satisfaction with the work of the Commission on Human Rights in adopting the two draft resolutions, but held the view that the measures contemplated in them for promoting respect for the right of self-determination should be considered only as preliminary steps which the General Assembly should take.

9. It was said that the recommendations were not in accordance with the Charter, but attempted to amend and extend its scope. In particular it was argued that they discriminated against certain States, which was contrary to the principle of equality contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter; that they sought to impose on certain States obligations which were not laid down in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter; that the transmission of political information by States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories had been deliberately excluded from Article 73e and was now being requested under draft resolution B; that the Charter impose a "sacred trust" on States responsible for administering Non-Self-Governing Territories to assist the inhabitants to govern themselves but recognized the need to take into account a people's capacity for full self-government which was ignored under draft resolution A; that no attention had been paid to the "particular circumstances of each Territory" as mentioned in Articles 73 and 76 of the Charter; that the administration of a Territory fell within the competence of the State responsible and that the United Nations interference was contrary to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

10. It was argued that no definition of terms such as "peoples", "nations", and "the right of self-determination" had been established and the conditions of the exercise of the right of self-determination had not been clearly laid down. It was emphasized that the word "peoples" was open to different

interpretations, each giving rise to extremely complex problems which had not been sufficiently studied. Among those mentioned was the question of minorities claiming the right of self-determination, the duties of the various States concerned in such cases, and the criteria to be regarded as applying in any particular interpretation of "peoples". It was said that the exercise of the right of self-determination without any limitations or safeguards might be a cause of friction and disturb the friendly relations between nations and might lead to anarchy.

11. It was also said that the recommendations should be studied in their relation to the article on the right of self-determination included in the draft Covenants on Human Rights. It was argued that the purpose of the two draft resolutions was to implement that article and, since the Covenants themselves were not yet in final form, the General Assembly could not effectively consider the application of any single article.

12. Among the arguments advanced in support of the recommendations emphasis was given to the urgency of taking some action immediately. It was argued that the recommendations were in keeping with the principles of the Charter; that the first paragraph of draft resolution A met the requirements of Article 1, paragraph 2, and Article 55, that the second paragraph of draft resolution A was in accordance with Articles 73 and 76, and that draft resolution B was in conformity with the spirit of Article 73; that since the transmission of political information was not included in Article 73e the States concerned had been asked to supply such information voluntarily; that Chapter XI provided that Non-Self-Governing Territories would be held "in sacred trust" by the States responsible for their administration until they were able to govern themselves, but not that they would be owned by such States; that the provisions relating to Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories must be interpreted in the light of Article 1, paragraph 2, and Article 55 of the Charter. The view was expressed that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter relating to domestic jurisdiction could not be applied in respect of territories geographically removed from the sovereign States responsible for their administration.

13. Some delegations pointed out that precise definitions of legal concepts were not an essential prerequisite for the inclusion of those concepts

in a legal instrument. Examples from the Charter and from the Covenants on Human Rights were given to illustrate that fundamental concepts which had not yet been ultimately defined and appeared incapable of definition, had nevertheless been included in these instruments. It was argued further that to attempt to draw up precise legal definitions would mean unwarranted delay in implementing the right of peoples to self-determination, and that problems which became the concern of the international community could not be solved by a purely technical juridical approach since they were not exclusively legal in character but were indivisibly linked with the economic, social and political elements. It was also argued that some latitude of interpretation to fit particular circumstances and situations must be allowed in the case of all the rights included in the Covenants on Human Rights.

14. With regard to draft resolution B, it was said that this recommendation would make it possible for the United Nations to have before it authentic information from official sources on which to base its decisions. This was preferable, and would avoid reliance on information received from unreliable or discontented elements of the population.

15. Several delegations commented on particular points raised by the draft resolutions. Many criticized the reference to slavery contained in the preamble to draft resolution A and said that the use of this word was unjustified and provocative. It was argued that these paragraphs should be considered from the point of view of the principle they proclaimed, which was respect for human dignity and that to the dependent peoples a state of subjugation to another power was little better than slavery. It was generally agreed, however, that slavery in this context was not used in the sense of the definition contained in article I of the International Slavery Convention of 1926, viz. ownership of one human being by another.

16. Several delegations commented also on the fact that a plebiscite might not be the only method nor necessarily the best method of ascertaining the will of the people. The question was also discussed in some detail whether plebiscites or other methods should in all cases be under United Nations auspices. As an illustration of methods other than plebiscites reference was made to the fact that the will of the people was in many countries expressed by means of general elections. It was emphasized, however, that such other methods must be recognized democratic methods and therefore have an electoral character and

have generally demonstrated their validity.

17. Many delegations expressed their views also on the question whether the recommendations should be drafted to apply to all States or restricted, as in the text proposed by the Commission on Human Rights, to Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories. Some said that the principle of self-determination applied to all peoples and not only to certain categories and that a territory which had lost its independence should be given as much consideration as a territory which had never enjoyed independence. Others, while accepting the importance of the universal application of the principle of self-determination, argued that the United Nations had a special responsibility under the Charter to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories.

DRAFT RESOLUTION A PROPOSED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS  
AND TRANSMITTED BY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

18. Amendments to draft resolution A were submitted by the United States of America (A/C.3/L.294 and Rev.1), by Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua (A/C.3/L.295), by Saudi Arabia (A/C.3/L.296) and by Syria (A/C.3/L.298/Rev.1). Sub-amendments to the United States amendment were submitted by India (A/C.3/L.297 and Rev.1), by Ethiopia (A/C.3/L.301), by Greece (A/C.3/L.303) and by Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.307). Sub-amendments to the amendment of India were submitted by Greece (A/C.3/L.302), by fifteen Latin American countries (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela (A/C.3/L.304)), by Argentina (A/C.3/L.306), by Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.308), and by Iraq and Pakistan (A/C.3/L.309/Rev.1). Alternative draft resolutions were submitted by the United Kingdom (A/C.3/L.299) and by Lebanon (A/C.3/L.305).

Amendments to the preamble

19. Saudi Arabia proposed the addition of a new first paragraph stating that the right of peoples and nations to self-determination is "a prerequisite to the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights" (A/C.3/L.296).

20. Two amendments to the preamble were submitted by the United States of America (A/C.3/L.294/Rev.1, paragraphs 1 and 2). The first of these proposed the deletion of the first two paragraphs which contained references to slavery. The second amendment proposed the addition of the following two paragraphs to follow the third paragraph of the original text:

"Whereas the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that certain Members of the United Nations are responsible for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government and affirms the principles which should guide them,

"Whereas every Member of the United Nations, in conformity with the Charter, should respect the maintenance of the right of self-determination in other States,"



21. Ethiopia presented a sub-amendment (A/C.3/L.301, paragraph 1) suggesting an alternative text for the first additional paragraph proposed in the United States amendment. This was subsequently withdrawn at the 460th meeting.

Amendments to the operative paragraph 1

22. A United States amendment to this paragraph which, as revised (A/C.3/L.294/Rev.1, paragraph 3), incorporated a sub-amendment by the representative of India (A/C.3/L.297, paragraph 1) proposed that the paragraph should read: "The States Members of the United Nations shall uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations,".

23. A sub-amendment by the fifteen Latin American delegations (A/C.3/L.304, paragraph 1) proposed the insertion of the words: "the equality of rights and the" between the words "the principle of" and "self-determination of all peoples," but was withdrawn at the 460th meeting.

Amendments to the operative paragraph 2

24. An amendment submitted by the United States of America (A/C.3/L.294/Rev.1, paragraph 4) proposed in its revised form that the whole paragraph be replaced by the following:

"The States Members of the United Nations shall recognize and promote the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples of all territories, including those of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, under their administration and shall grant this right to the peoples of such territories according to the particular circumstances of each territory and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, the wishes of the people being ascertained through a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations or other recognized democratic means".

25. India submitted an amendment (A/C.3/L.297) to the original United States amendment. The representative of India orally revised this, at the 455th meeting, to read "... the right of self-determination of the peoples of all territories, including those of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories." At the 456th meeting, he submitted a revised text of his amendment (A/C.3/L.297/Rev.1) which changed this phrase to read "... the right of self-determination

of all the peoples, including those of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories". At the 460th meeting, however, he withdrew this revision in favour of his original text (A/C.3/L.297) which referred only to "the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories". The representative of India accepted a sub-amendment by fifteen Latin American delegations (A/C.3/L.304, paragraph 2 (b)) to change the words: "a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations or other recognized democratic means" to read: "plebiscites or other recognized democratic means, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations". The text proposed by the representative of India thus amended read as follows:

"The States Members of the United Nations shall recognize and promote the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories who are under their administration and shall grant this right to the peoples of such territories according to the particular circumstances of each territory and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, the wishes of the people being ascertained through plebiscites or other recognized democratic means, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations."

26. A sub-amendment submitted by the fifteen Latin American delegations (A/C.3/L.304, paragraph 2 (a)) would replace the words: "shall grant this right to the peoples of such territories" by: "Shall facilitate the exercise of this right by the peoples of such territories". A sub-amendment submitted by Greece (A/C.3/L.302) and orally amended at the 459th meeting proposed the addition of the words: "consistent with the principles contained in this resolution" after "democratic means". This was withdrawn at the 460th meeting. A sub-amendment submitted by Argentina (A/C.3/L.306) proposed a total substitution for the text suggested by India, but was withdrawn at the 460th meeting. A sub-amendment submitted by Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.308) would replace the words "particular circumstances of" by the words: "principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter in regard to". A sub-amendment submitted by Iraq and Pakistan

(A/C.3/L.309/Rev.1) would replace the final wording in the text by the following:

"The wishes of the peoples concerned shall be ascertained through a plebiscite or other recognized democratic means when necessary under the auspices of the United Nations".

27. Other sub-amendments to the United States amendment were submitted by Ethiopia (A/C.3/L.301), Greece (A/C.3/L.303) and Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.307).

The sub-amendment submitted by Ethiopia was to replace the whole paragraph by a new text which introduced, in particular, the idea of the wishes of the people "and their ability to exercise said right [i.e. the right of self-determination] being ascertained by the United Nations through recognized and established procedures". This amendment was withdrawn at the 460th meeting. The amendments proposed by Greece (A/C.3/L.303) and Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.307) were the same as those moved by these delegations to the sub-amendment of India.

28. An amendment by Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua (A/C.3/L.295) was submitted to the second paragraph of draft resolution A. It concerned the word "grant" and the last phrase regarding plebiscites under the auspices of the United Nations, but was withdrawn in favour of the sub-amendments to the Indian amendment moved by the fifteen Latin American delegations.

#### Proposed additional operative paragraph

29. In an amendment submitted to draft resolution A, which was revised (A/C.3/L.298/Rev.1), and later orally amended by the sponsor at the 460th meeting, the representative of Syria proposed the addition of a new operative paragraph. This would provide that Member States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories should take steps, pending the realization of the right of self-determination and in preparation thereof, to ensure the direct participation of the indigenous populations in the legislative and executive organs of government of those territories, and to prepare them for complete self-government or independence.

Voting on draft resolution A and amendments thereto

30. The Committee voted at the 460th meeting on 1 December 1952 on draft resolution A and the various amendments submitted as follows:

(1) It adopted by a roll-call vote of 34 votes to 12, with 6 abstentions,<sup>3/</sup> the amendment of Saudi Arabia (A/C.3/L.296) to add a new first paragraph to the preamble;

(2) It adopted, by 31 votes to 11, with 5 abstentions, the United States amendment (A/C.3/L.294/Rev.1) to delete the first two paragraphs of the preamble;

(3) It voted by division on the United States amendment (A/C.3/L.294/Rev.1) to add two additional paragraphs to the preamble as follows:

(a) The words: "and affirms the principles which should guide them" in the first paragraph proposed were adopted by 14 votes to 6, with 30 abstentions;

(b) The two additional paragraphs as a whole were adopted by 26 votes to none, with 24 abstentions.

(4) It adopted, by 33 votes to 6, with 11 abstentions, the United States amendment (A/C.3/L.294/Rev.1), incorporating the sub-amendment of India (A/C.3/L.297) to operative paragraph 1;

3/ The voting was as follows:

<u>In favour:</u>	Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.
<u>Against:</u>	Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.
<u>Abstaining:</u>	China, India, Israel, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey.

(5) It adopted, by 33 votes to 5, with 16 abstentions the sub-amendment of the fifteen Latin American delegations (A/C.3/L.304, paragraph 2 (a)) to the sub-amendment of India to replace: "shall grant this right of the peoples of such territories" by the words: "shall facilitate the exercise of this right by the peoples of such territories."

(6) It adopted, by a roll-call vote of 21 to 9, with 23 abstentions,<sup>4/</sup> the sub-amendment of Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.308) to the sub-amendment of India to replace "particular circumstances of" by the words: "principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter in regard to".

(7) It rejected, by a roll-call vote of 24 to 11, with 18 abstentions,<sup>5/</sup> the sub-amendment of Iraq and Pakistan (A/C.3/L.309/Rev.1) to the sub-amendment of India, which would replace "preferably under the auspices of the United Nations" by: "when necessary under the auspices of the United Nations."

4/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, India, Norway, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Venezuela.

5/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Iran, Israel, New Zealand, Peru, Poland, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(8) It voted by division on the sub-amendment of India (A/C.3/L.297) as amended to the United States amendment with the following result:

(a) The word "preferably" was adopted by 18 votes to 11, with 20 abstentions;

(b) The amendment as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 31 to 15, with 7 abstentions.<sup>6/</sup>

(9) It adopted, by a roll-call vote of 29 to 9, with 15 abstentions,<sup>7/</sup> the amendment of Syria (A/C.3/L.298/Rev.1), orally amended, to add an additional operative paragraph.

6/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Iran, Israel, Nicaragua, Turkey.

7/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, India, Israel, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey.

(10) The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 34 to 13, with 6 abstentions.<sup>8/</sup>

8/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Cuba, Ecuador, Iran, Israel, Thailand, Turkey.

DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM

31. The United Kingdom presented an alternative text to draft resolution A (A/C.3/L.299). Saudi Arabia moved, as an amendment to this draft resolution, the amendment submitted to the preamble of draft resolution A (A/C.3/L.296). Afghanistan moved, as amendments to this text, the amendments submitted as sub-amendments to the United States amendment and the Indian sub-amendment thereto (A/C.3/L.307 and 308). The representative of the United Kingdom withdrew the draft resolution after the voting on draft resolution A and the amendments thereto was completed.

DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY LEBANON

32. Lebanon also submitted an alternative text for draft resolution A (A/C.3/L.305), to which the same amendments were moved by Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. At the 461st meeting, the Committee adopted the following motion by 21 votes to none, with 26 abstentions:

"The Third Committee

"Whereas the resolution adopted on 1 December 1952 covers the amended decision as adopted by the Commission on Human Rights in draft resolution A,

"Decides not to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Lebanon (A/C.3/L.305)".



DRAFT RESOLUTION B PROPOSED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN  
RIGHTS AND TRANSMITTED BY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

33. Lebanon submitted a text (A/C.3/L.293/Rev.1) which presented draft resolution B as adopted by the Commission on Human Rights in the form of a draft resolution of the General Assembly. At the 464th meeting, the representative of Lebanon accepted amendments submitted by Haiti (A/C.3/L.314) to add the words "and nations" after "peoples" in the preamble and in the operative paragraph. He also accepted, after it had been revised and orally amended, an amendment submitted by India (A/C.3/L.315/Rev.1). This proposed the addition of a second operative paragraph under which the General Assembly would decide to place the resolution on the agenda of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories at its next session in 1953. An amendment by Saudi Arabia (A/C.3/L.316) to the original text proposed by India was withdrawn at the 464th meeting in the light of the revision of the Indian amendment.

34. The Committee voted as follows on the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Lebanon, as amended:

(1) It adopted, by 30 votes to 8, with 12 abstentions, the last paragraph which had been the amendment of India and which read: "Decides to place this resolution on the agenda of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories at its next session in 1953".

(2) It adopted, by a roll-call vote of 38 to 10, with 4 abstentions,<sup>9/</sup> the draft resolution as a whole.

9/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Canada, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Denmark, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey.

DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY AFGHANISTAN, ARGENTINA,  
CHILE, GUATEMALA, IRAQ, LEBANON, MEXICO AND PAKISTAN

35. Afghanistan, Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Iraq, Lebanon, Mexico and Pakistan submitted a third draft resolution (A/C.3/L.317) which instructed the Commission on Human Rights to continue preparing recommendations concerning international respect for the right of self-determination of peoples and particularly steps which might be taken by the various organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and to submit its recommendations to the General Assembly. Oral amendments proposed by the representative of the United States of America at the 464th meeting, under which the General Assembly's request and the Commission's recommendations would be transmitted through the Economic and Social Council, were accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution.

36. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic submitted an amendment (A/C.3/L.318) which would add, at the end of operative paragraph 1, the words: "including the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories".

37. The Committee voted as follows on the draft resolution and the amendment thereto:

(1) It rejected, by 22 votes to 16, with 14 abstentions, the addition proposed by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (A/C.3/L.318);

(2) It adopted, by a roll-call vote of 38 to 7, with 8 abstentions,<sup>10/</sup> the draft resolution as a whole, as amended.

10/ The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, United States of America, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Canada, Czechoslovakia, Peru, Poland, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS RECOMMENDED  
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

38. The Third Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following three draft resolutions:

THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES AND NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Draft resolution A

Whereas the right of peoples and nations to self-determination is a prerequisite to the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights,

Whereas the Charter of the United Nations, under Articles 1 and 55, aims to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the equal rights and self-determination of peoples in order to strengthen universal peace,

Whereas the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that certain Members of the United Nations are responsible for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, and affirms the principles which should guide them,

Whereas every Member of the United Nations, in conformity with the Charter, should respect the maintenance of the right of self-determination in other States,

The General Assembly recommends that:

1. The States Members of the United Nations shall uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations:
2. The States Members of the United Nations shall recognize and promote the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories who are under their administration and shall facilitate the exercise of this right by the peoples of such Territories according to the principles and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations in regard to each Territory and to the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, the wishes of the people being ascertained through plebiscites or other recognized democratic means, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations:
3. The States Members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories shall take

practical steps, pending the realization of the right of self-determination and in preparation thereof, to ensure the direct participation of the indigenous populations in the legislative and executive organs of government of those Territories, and to prepare them for complete self-government or independence.

Draft resolution B

The General Assembly,

Considering that one of the conditions necessary to facilitate United Nations action to promote respect for the right of self-determination of peoples and nations, in particular with regard to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories, is that the competent organs of the United Nations should be in possession of official information on the government of these Territories,

Recalling its resolution 144(II) of 3 November 1947 in which it declared that the voluntary transmission of such information was entirely in conformity with the spirit of Article 73e of the Charter, and should therefore be encouraged,

Recalling its resolution 327(IV) of 2 December 1949 in which it expressed the hope that such of the Members of the United Nations as had not done so might voluntarily include details on the government of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the information transmitted by them under Article 73e of the Charter,

Considering that at the present time such information has not yet been furnished in respect of a large number of Non-Self-Governing Territories

1. Recommends States Members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories voluntarily to include in the information transmitted by them under Article 73e of the Charter details regarding the extent to which the right of peoples and nations to self-determination is exercised by the peoples of those Territories, and in particular regarding their political progress and the measures taken to develop their capacity for self-administration, to satisfy their political aspirations and to promote the progressive development of their free political institutions:

2. Decides to place this resolution on the agenda of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories for its next session in 1953.

Draft resolution C

The General Assembly,

Considering that it is necessary to continue the study of ways and means of ensuring international respect for the right of peoples to self-determination,

Considering that the recommendations it has adopted at its seventh session do not represent the only steps that can be taken to promote respect for such right,

1. Requests the Economic and Social Council to ask the Commission on Human Rights to continue preparing recommendations concerning international respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, and particularly recommendations relating to the steps which might be taken, within the limits of their resources and competence, by the various organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to develop international respect for the right of peoples to self-determination;

2. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to submit through the Economic and Social Council its recommendations to the General Assembly.

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