

REPORT

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OF THE
AFRO-ASIAN CONVENTION
ON TIBET AND AGAINST
COLONIALISM IN ASIA
AND AFRICA

HELD AT VIGYAN BHAVAN
NEW DELHI APRIL 9—11, 1960

AFRO-ASIAN COUNCIL
NEW DELHI

REPORT

of the
**Afro-Asian Convention on
Tibet and Against Colonialism
in Asia and Africa**

**1960
AFRO-ASIAN COUNCIL
NEW DELHI**

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P R E F A C E

This is the Report of the Afro-Asian Convention that met in New Delhi in April, 1960 to lend support to the people of Tibet and of the other suppressed countries in Asia and Africa in their struggle for freedom. Seventyfour distinguished spokesmen from nineteen countries participated in the Convention which met from April 9 to 11.

The Convention, entirely non-official in its character, was called on the initiative of the All India Tibet Convention which had met earlier, in May, 1959, at Calcutta. This Convention, *inter alia*, had delegated authority to its President, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, to take necessary steps to call an Afro-Asian Convention with a view to rally support to the Tibetan demand for self-determination. A Preparatory Bureau of eminent and influential men which was subsequently formed for the purpose, decided, at the request of the African spokesmen, to widen the scope of the Afro-Asian Convention so as to bring, within its purview, the struggles for freedom of the other peoples in Asia and Africa.

The Convention dealt with the Tibetan issue in the context of the political rights of the Tibetan people and was unanimously of the opinion that their right to self-determination had been ruthlessly suppressed by the Chinese. The Convention, consequently, demanded—again unanimously—a recognition of those rights and called for support to the Tibetan people in their struggle for that recognition.

The Convention also dealt with the atrocities committed by the Chinese in suppressing the revolt in Tibet and, after weighing evidence from diverse sources, was of the opinion that gross violation of human rights had occurred in Tibet. It demanded, therefore, an inquiry and, following it, appropriate steps to prevent such violation.

The Convention was concerned, besides Tibet, with the denial of political rights in several other parts of Asia and Africa. It was of the view that the weight of public opinion, the world over, should exercise itself against the tendencies of certain nations to deny the birth right of freedom to other—perhaps materially weaker—nations. In order to create such an opinion and to give effect to its resolutions, the Convention founded the Afro-Asian Council.

The success of the Convention—in a large measure, due to the exertions of the office-bearers of the Preparatory Bureau and a host of volunteer workers—is significant; it demon-

(ii)

trates, in no uncertain terms, that Asian and African opinion would not countenance incursions on peoples' rights to freedom. An evidence of this determination is the pledge of the delegates to follow up, with appropriate action in their respective countries, the decisions of the Convention.

An attempt has been made in this Report to convey a *feel* of the deliberations at the Convention ; a study of the proceedings will reveal the keen awareness among the participants of the threats to human freedom and dignity. It will also indicate the supreme confidence of these spokesmen to meet those threats.

This Report records, *ad verbatim*, the proceedings of the Plenary Sessions of the Convention ; it records, also in full, the Chairman's address, the message of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the Convention, the address of the spokesman of the Tibetan delegation and excerpts from the addresses of spokesmen of the various delegations at the formal Inaugural Session. The proceedings and these excerpts, so chosen as to maintain focus on the issues before the Convention, indicate the nature of the challenge before humanity in its newest encounter with the forces of primeval tyranny.

Leela P. Trikamdass
Honorary Secretary,
Afro-Asian Council.

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Opening Plenary Session, April 9, 1960

THE Opening Plenary Session of the Convention met in Commission Room G of the Vigyan Bhavan at 9.30 a.m.

Mr Jayaprakash Narayan, Chairman of the Preparatory Bureau of the Convention, called the Convention to order and initiated the proceedings.

Mr Narayan, at the outset, welcoming the delegates said :

This is a business meeting and so I shall not take much of your time but I should like to express my apologies for the shortcomings in the arrangements that we have made here for your comfort and hospitality. I hope none of you will hesitate to indicate your wishes. We shall do our utmost to comply with them.

We are gathered here this morning to do some preliminary business for the conduct of this Convention. I believe you have before you—on a mimeographed sheet of paper—this morning's agenda. The first item on the agenda is the election of a Chairman of the Convention. Then the formation of Committees and the appointment of Chairmen and the Rapporteurs of these Committees.

Before you proceed with your business, however, I should like to make a few more preliminary remarks. At the inaugural session, we should like one spokesman from each country from where delegates have been kind enough to come—one spokesman—to address the inaugural session of the Convention. I would therefore request the members of each delegation to select its spokesmen, between now and 5.30 in the evening when the session begins. That need not be done here. That is for each delegation to do by itself. I should also make a request that if possible the speech of the spokesmen may be written out so that it may be given to the Press. If that is not possible, we shall do our best to supply to the press, reports taken by our short-hand reporters.

I would not like to take any more of your time now and will invite you to turn to the business of the morning—the first item being the election of the Chairman of the Convention.

May I request those who wish to speak to please raise their hands and show their card to the friend in the booth. He will give the line.

Mr Tokumei Matsumato (Japan)

I would like to express the opinion of the Japanese delegation as to who should be the Chairman of this Convention.

The Japanese delegation proposes that Mr Jayaprakash Narayan should be elected as the Chairman of the Convention. The reasons are obvious. Mr. Narayan was the man who was entrusted by the Convention on Tibet in Calcutta in May last year to call and organise this Convention—on Tibet and Against Colonialism in Asia and Africa. We are in New Delhi in response to his call. We believe that the task before us is great and difficult. Therefore, a man like Mr. Narayan should take the leadership in this Convention. I think his personality justifies our proposal. Therefore, I sincerely and strongly hope that all the delegates gathered here will agree with our proposal.

Mr Abdel Rauf Ali (UAR)

On behalf of the Arab delegation, I have the privilege to support the proposal made by the Honourable delegate from Japan. I am sure all the delegates here would agree to the proposal.

A number of delegates expressed their approval. Mr Mutuc from Philippines moved that as there was agreement and as there were no other names being proposed, the nomination for Chairmanship should be closed. Mr Tan of Malaya supported Mr. Mutuc. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan was elected Chairman amidst applause. Mr. Narayan then took the chair as the Chairman of the Convention.

Chairman

Fellow delegates, I wish to thank you very kindly for the honour that you have done me.

Mr M.R. Masani (India)

Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be difficult but I would like to suggest a slight change in the business on Monday morning—that is on the 11th morning. It appears to me that the first two items—the Committee meetings at Vigyan Bhavan and the finalisation of the Reports—could usefully be dealt with in the reverse order. The Committees would have had two long sessions on Sunday and they would want to see the Reports and approve of the final form in which they would be accepted by the Convention. I would suggest therefore that the Committees should meet from 10 to 11 in the morning to approve the Reports.

Chairman

The suggestion made by Mr. Masani seems to be a sensible one. I should have your reaction. He suggests that Chairmen and Rapporteurs should meet from 8 to 10 in the morning and prepare their Reports and that the Committees should meet separately after that to consider the Reports. That seems to be reasonable but, if I may say so, a little anticipated; the Committees do not exist here. Let us first go ahead with the formation of the Committees and then we will take up this point and do as we wish.

Now, we have noted on behalf of the Preparatory Bureau that we should divide ourselves into three Committees : one on Tibet to deal with the political aspects of the question of Tibet; the other, also on Tibet, to deal with the issue of human rights and, the third, to deal with the general question of anti-colonial struggles in Africa and Asia. First of all, is it your desire that there should be these three Committees? These are only recommendations. You are free to decide as you like—you may have more or less Committees. More Committees would put us in some technical difficulty because we have engaged only three Committee Rooms. But this difficulty can be surmounted.

Do I take it that it is your desire, your general wish, that there should be these three Committees as they have been recommended by the Preparatory Bureau? Is that right? Does anybody disagree? Would anybody like to place his point of view?

The delegates expressed their agreement with the recommendation made by the Preparatory Bureau.

Chairman

Well, now that we are agreed about the Committee, may I suggest that you should divide yourselves into the Committees. You may decide for yourself which Committee you would like to join and give your name. Is that agreed? Is that not the best way of doing it? You should decide. I hope each delegation would split itself and that delegations which have more than one person will divide themselves into different Committees, so that there is one member in each Committee.

The delegates agreed to the procedure suggested by the Chair.

Chairman

Then we should now proceed to elect the Chairmen of these Committees and the Rapporteurs.

Now, I should like to take up the first Committee, i.e. the Committee on Tibet—Political. I should like to have your proposals about the Chairman of this Committee.

Mr Samar Guha (India)

I have the privilege to propose the name of Dr. Mohamad Roem, M.P., former Foreign Minister of Indonesia and also the Vice-Chairman of the Masjumi Party of Indonesia, to accept the Chairmanship of the Tibet Political Committee.

Chairman

The proposal is that Dr. Roem from Indonesia, one time Foreign Minister of Indonesia and Vice-Chairman of the Masjumi Party, should act as Chairman of the first Committee on Tibet—Political.

Mr Mohd. Samin Khan (Pakistan)

Mr. Chairman, I beg to second the motion, please.

Chairman

Any other proposals....

In the absence of any other nomination for the **Chairman** of this Committee, I declare Dr. Mohamad Roem, M.P. of Indonesia, elected as **Chairman**.

Then I should like the **Rapporteurs** of this Committee to be also elected. We have recommended that there should be two so that they could help each other.

Mrs Renchen Domal Taring (Tibet)

I propose the name of Mr. Edward Dalpatadu Cosme of Ceylon as one of the **Rapporteurs**.

Chairman

Mr. Edward Dalpatadu Cosme from Ceylon as one of the two **Rapporteurs**.

Dr Raghu Vira (India)

I have pleasure in seconding the proposal.

Mr K.K. Menon (India)

I propose the name of Mr. Frank Moraes as the other **Rapporteur** for this Committee.

Chairman

Mr. Frank Moraes is the Managing Editor of the Indian Express group of papers.

Mr Balraj Madhok (India)

I support this proposol.

Chairman

Do you wish to make any further proposals in this regard ?....None.

Then, Mr. Edward Dalpatadu Cosme and Mr. Frank Moraes are selected as the two **Rapporteurs** of this Committee.

At the request of the **Chairman**, the **Chairman** of the Committee and the two **Rapporteurs** presented themselves to the House.

Chairman

Then, the Second Committee on Tibet to deal with the Human Rights.

Mr Chang-Kuo-Sin (Hongkong)

I take great pleasure in nominating Dr. Tokumei Matsumoto from Japan as the Chairman of this second Committee on Tibet.

Mr M.R. Masani (India)

I second it.

Chairman

Any other proposal for the Chairmanship of this Committee ?....None.

I declare Mr Matsumoto elected.

Rev P. Soratha Thero (Ceylon)

I propose the name of Mr. Dahari Ali of Malaya as Rapporteur of the Committee on Human Rights.

Dr K.B. Menon (India)

I second the proposal.

Mr Samar Guha (India)

I propose the name of Dr. Raghu Vira as one of the Rapporteurs. He is the author of this beautiful souvenir volume on Tibet which all of you must have seen

Mr Li Chiu-Shen (Hongkong)

I second the proposal.

Chairman

Any other proposal ? None.

So Mr. Dahari Ali of Malaya and Dr. Raghu Vira from India are the two Rapporteurs on this second Committee on Tibet—Human Rights.

At the request of the Chairman both these gentlemen presented themselves to the House.

Chairman

We turn to the Third Committee which has an important task—the Committee on the anti-colonial struggles in Africa and Asia. For the Chairmanship I invite your proposals.

Mr Alfred Naccache (Lebanon)

I propose that Mr. Jaftha Mbaja Oyangi, leader from Kenya, to be the Chairman of this Committee.

Chairman

Mr. Alfred Naccache proposes the name of Mr. Jaftha Mbaja Oyangi, prominent trade union leader of Africa.

Mr T.H. Tan (Malaya)

I second the nomination.

Chairman

Mr. T.H. Tan from Malaya has seconded the nomination.

A Delegate from Japan

I support the motion.

Chairman

Any other proposal.....None.

Mr. Jaftha Mbaja Oyangi has been elected Chairman of this Committee on the Anti-colonial struggles in Africa and Asia. He is not here but he has arrived. There must have been something wrong with the Reception Committee's arrangements.

Then the two Rapporteurs for this Committee, please.

Mr Samar Guha (India)

I propose the name of Mr. Anwar Z. Nuseibeh of Jordan to be one of the Rapporteurs.

Chairman

Mr. Samar Guha proposes the name of Mr. Anwar Z. Nuseibeh of Jordan as one of the Rapporteurs of this Committee.

Mr. Asoka Mehta (India)

I second this proposal.

Chairman

Are there any other proposals?None. Mr Nuseibeh is elected Rapporteur.

Mr. V.B. Karnik (India)

I suggest the name of Mr. B.S. Krishnamurthy as the second Rapporteur of this Committee.

Chairman

Mr. B.S. Krishnamurthy who has laboured hard to produce a brochure on the present state of the anti-colonial struggle in Africa which is not yet in your hands—it is coming from the Press this afternoon—has been proposed by Mr. V.B. Karnik of India.

Mr Damodar Prasad Ghimera (Nepal)

I second it on behalf of the delegation from Nepal.

Chairman

The Delegation from Nepal seconds it.

Any other nomination.....None.

Then Mr. Anwar Z. Nuseibeh and Mr. B.S. Krishnamurthy are the two Rapporteurs.

Will you kindly get up and present yourselves to the delegates?

The Chairman and the Rapporteurs of the Committee on Colonialism in Asia and Africa presented themselves before the delegates.

Chairman

Well, friends! We have been too business like! We seem to have finished the business of this morning session. If there is any other proposal which any one wishes to make for consideration of the Plenary Session, he is free to do so particularly in regard to the business before the Convention.

I suggest that before you leave you should give your name for the Committee on which you wish to serve. You may kindly hand in your name to the Secretary, Miss Sushma Malik.

Is there any other question you wish to be discussed here now? None....That leaves enough time for the spokesmen to prepare for the afternoon meeting. The lunch has been arranged for you in the dining room downstairs where you had coffee. There is more than an hour left for lunch.

A Delegate

How do you wish to use these Committees? Are the Committee rooms available today?

Chairman

We shall find out.

A Delegate

Supposing we skip lunch? There is not enough time. Our time is terribly pressed.

A Delegate

Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that the Chairman of the Committees and the respective Rapporteurs should meet after the Session for the preparation of their work in the next session.

Chairman

This is a very good suggestion. Let the Chairman and Rapporteurs meet together after this session. I think that is agreed.

A Delegate

The rooms where we could meet, may be indicated in that case.

Chairman

We shall tell you about it. We will have to find out. Now, I think the other delegates are free to do what they like. The lunch is at 1 p.m. here.

A Delegate

Mr Chairman, I would like to ask you about voting. Is it to be country by country....?

Chairman

I personally feel and hope that there would be no need for voting.

What is your suggestion—that delegates should vote as individuals?

A Delegate

The delegates should vote as individuals.

Chairman

The suggestion is that delegates should vote as individuals. All of you will agree, that everything should be done to avoid the necessity of voting. The issues before us are such that they do not allow for difference of opinion to a great extent. We should all be agreeable. Is it all agreed that the voting should be on individual basis rather than on the basis of countries? Is there any opinion here? If the occasion does arise, which I do not think, every delegate is free to vote as he wishes.

A Delegate

We should have a unanimity of opinion on the various issues before the Convention. For that reason, I think if we had to vote at all, we should vote in blocks rather than on behalf of countries. If there are three delegates, I feel there should be one vote and not three.

Chairman

Some countries have sent more delegates and others have sent only one. There may be weight against those who have not sent more than one delegate. You have here the suggestion that we vote by country and not on individual basis.

Mr Asoka Mehta (India)

Sir, I feel that the main purpose of this Convention is to reach some kind of consensus. We should not start with the question of voting. There is no intractable problem and I have no doubt that we should reach a consensus.

Chairman

I wholeheartedly sympathise with you on this question but if the occasion does arise, shall we leave it to be

decided then ?

I see that you have no objection to it.

I am glad to inform you that Mr. Jaftha Mbaja Oyangi has arrived. We would all like to see you, Sir.

Have the delegates any other question to ask or suggestion to make ?

A Delegate

About the formation of Committees, we would like to send a man on different Committees.

Chairman

If some member wants to be on two Committees, he will not be able to take an effective part in the discussions. I do not think we should prevent any one who joins in a Committee from walking over to the other Committee later on but it would not be a very serious kind of participation.

A Delegate

Mr. Chairman, may I ask whether these Committee meetings are open to the Press.

Chairman

They are closed meetings. This is also not an open meeting. There will be only two open meetings, this afternoon and then on the 11th afternoon.

A Delegate

Another point of enquiry, Sir. You want during this Session the adoption of the agenda. Does that mean the agenda of the Committees ?

Chairman

It is the agenda that is before you. We have not formally adopted this. It is only this agenda.

A Delegate

Is there any agenda for the Committees ?

Chairman

The Committees will form their own agenda. The Committees are free to discuss the question before them however they like. It will be for the Chairman to guide the discussions. I should like you to have agreement on this agenda, which is before you. It is agreeable to all of you?...Yes.

Mr Masani (India)

You should not forget my suggestion.

Chairman

Oh yes. Mr. Masani has suggested a slight change in the programme for the 11th morning. He had suggested that the Chairman and Rapporteurs should meet first in the morning from 8-10 and as soon as they have finished the Committees should meet to consider the reports submitted by the Rapporteurs and the Chairman. That is agreeable to all of you? That seems to be sensible way of doing it. Then we just make that change in the programme before you. Any other point of enquiry?

The Lounge is at your disposal. If you wish to spend this one hour between lunch and now, you are free to use the Lounge. You can go back to your hotel or residence. We had thought that the Plenary Session would continue till one and we have not provided for this need. If you wish to go, transport could be provided. The Chairman and Rapporteurs should meet after this session. If they are here, we shall tell them the place.

The meeting adjourned to meet at 5-30 p.m.

Inaugural Session

THE formal Inaugural Session of the [Convention met in the Auditorium of the Vigyan Bhavan at 5-30 p.m. A distinguished gathering of special invitees was present on the occasion.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Chairman of the Convention, called the session to order and the proceedings began with a prayer by a group of Tibetan Lamas. After the prayer, the Chairman called upon Mr. Hansraj Gupta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, to address the gathering.

Mr Gupta, welcoming the delegates and the invitees, said :

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this ancient and historic city of Delhi. As capital of free India which led the way in the struggle against colonialism—a struggle which is still going on in many parts of Asia and Africa—it has come to occupy a special place in renascent Asia and Africa. During the last twelve years of freedom it has had the privilege to be the venue of many international conferences. But the present Convention is unique in the sense that it has been sponsored by a non-official body and the delegations that have responded to its invitation have also come as unofficial representatives of their respective countries. As such the pomp and show, the fan-fare of publicity and the lavish expenditure that go with such conferences are absent in this case. It is perhaps in the fitness of things. This Convention is meeting here to voice the common man's feelings about the lingering shadows of old colonialism and the rising tempo of a new and more sinister kind of colonialism—of which Tibet has been the latest victim—and which is threatening the very existence of many of the countries of South Asia which have recently freed themselves from the yoke of old colonialism.

The Western countries have of late been forced to loosen their colonial grip on Asia. But they do not seem to have reconciled themselves to it fully so far. How else can we explain Portugal's foolhardiness about Goa and Holland's obstinacy over New Guinea and the tacit support these

two countries have been getting from other European countries ?

In Africa the Western colonialism is trying to perpetuate itself through the policy of Apartheid. South Africa presents the worst example of this inhuman, undemocratic and obsolete approach. The recent mass murders of Africans at Sharpeville and other places and the reign of terror that has been let loose on the sons of the soil there is a challenge to the human conscience and the entire civilised world. The reaction of the peoples and Governments all over the world to this barbarism is an encouraging sign. South Africa has been put on the defensive at the bar of world opinion which is united in its denunciation. This Convention, I am sure, will give a constructive lead to the fighters against colonialism all the world over.

But the other kind of colonialism of which Tibet, our close and peaceful neighbour, has been the latest victim is more dangerous and subtle.

Communist China on the strength of its superior military might invaded Tibet in 1950 in the name of 'Liberation of Tibet'. China has since been systematically liquidating the Tibetan people through a process of genocide. She wants to efface the very name of Tibet from the map of the world with a thoroughness which has no parallel in history.

This Convention is the first organised international effort to mobilise world opinion on Chinese colonialism with particular reference to Tibet. Unless freedom is restored to Tibet and it is allowed to live its own life, there is no hope for other countries who may be next on the list of China. It is the enslavement of Tibet that has brought China right to the frontiers of India and the Himalayan frontier—the most dangerously live frontier of the world. Thus, looked from any angle the question of Tibetan freedom is the most important question which India and the world will have to take up sooner or later, if peace has to be maintained and the faith of the weaker nations in the U.N.O. has to be restored. I hope that this Convention will give a correct and timely lead to the world in the matter.

I extend once again to all of you, particularly to those who have come from far off lands, a hearty welcome on behalf of the Reception committee and the people of Delhi.

After Mr Gupta had welcomed the delegates and the invitees the Convention, the Chairman called upon the assembly to pay homage to the martyrs in South Africa "who had fallen victims to race cruelty and arrogance".

The assembly observed silence for two minutes with all those present standing.

Chairman

Please be seated.

We have the honour and the privilege of receiving a message from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The message will be read in Tibetan by Mr. Kalon Surkhang, a former Member of the Cabinet of Ministers. After that the message will be read for you in English by the Secretary of the Preparatory Bureau.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his message said :

In the name of my people whose sufferings are beyond measure and whose struggle for survival is becoming increasingly grim and severe, I offer you, gentlemen, our most cordial greetings. You represent the rising nations of the world. On your countries which have recently won freedom and independence depends the peace and progress of mankind. You represent the conscience of a newly awakened Asian and a nascent Africa. Naturally we Tibetans in this hour of our direst need and trouble depend on your help and assistance, and the very fact that you have gathered together here at personal inconvenience to lend the weight of your countries' name and support to the cause of Tibetan freedom has aroused feelings of deepest gratitude in every Tibetan heart.

Most of you, gentlemen, have had experience in the past of what it means to live under foreign rule. It is for this reason that I and my people seek your active support and sympathy. My people are now living in a nightmare of oppression and tyranny; for the newest form of colonialism is something hitherto unprecedented by reason of extreme degree of regimentation which exercises complete control

over the life and liberty of the people and enforces it by cruel and barbarous method.

Not only this, a massive colonization of Tibet by the Chinese is in progress. I cannot express it better than repeating what I said in my statement to the press on June 20, 1959. I said; "The ultimate Chinese aim with regard to Tibet, as far as I can make out, seems to attempt the extermination of religion and culture and even the absorption of the Tibetan race. Five million Chinese settlers have arrived in Eastern and North Eastern Tibet, in addition to which, four million Chinese settlers are planned to be sent to U and Tshang provinces of Central Tibet. Many Tibetans have been deported." I have reliable information that apart from the "reforms" which are being carried out in Tibet, this process of colonization is going on apace. If this is not halted there may be no Tibet.

We Tibetans have no quarrel of any kind with the great Chinese people. We have always endeavoured to live in peace and amity with them. Even after the territorial integrity of Tibet was violated by the Chinese armies, I had always sought for peaceful and amicable settlement. Even after my arrival here in India I have repeatedly appealed for just and peaceful solution of the Tibetan question. All that we ask is that we should be allowed to live on equal terms with our neighbours, as in the past, while following our own traditional mode of life, being left to solve in our own way such fresh problems as changing times have brought. You who belong to nations that have successfully claimed these rights are in a good position to know that our demands are just and deserving of support. I would, therefore, ask you to do all that you can to enlighten public opinion in your countries. I would beg of you to impress on your governments and peoples the urgent necessity of coming to the rescue of my poor and unfortunate people. I would beg of you to lend your fullest support whenever the Tibetan question is raised again in the international forum; and I have no doubt that the voice of Afro-Asian countries, growing stronger and more powerful every day, will compel the attention of the entire world.

Though, in a question like this, the broad human issues, as I am sure you will agree, must take precedence over legal and political arguments, we nevertheless feel that

there is considerable misunderstanding amongst people regarding the historical status of Tibet. We also feel that the hesitation shown by some of the Afro-Asian States, despite their evident sympathy, is probably attributable to the lack of understanding and necessary knowledge. Therefore, I deem it necessary to emphasize that whatever might have been our relation with China in the ancient past, we we have enjoyed full and complete sovereignty since the declaration of Independence made by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. It has given me and my people a great deal of hope and encouragement to find that the Government of India in their Note to Government of China of the 12th of February, 1960, have endorsed the position which we have always taken. They have clearly pointed out that in 1914 "it was not the first time that Tibet conducted negotiations and concluded treaties, in her own right, with foreign states. On several occasions before 1914 Tibet had conducted negotiations and concluded treaties with other states". They have further made it clear that "at the Simla Conference, the Tibetan and Chinese plenipotentiaries met on an equal footing. This position was explicitly and unequivocally accepted by the Chinese Government." They have also drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the fact that "the credentials of the Tibetan representative issued by the Dalai Lama made it clear that Tibet was an equal party at the Conference with the right to decide all matters that may be beneficial to Tibet, and the Chinese representatives accepted the credentials of the Tibetan representative as being in order. The credentials of the British Indian representative which were also accepted by the Chinese representative, confirmed that all the three representatives were of equal Status, and that the Conference was meeting to regulate the relations between the several Governments." These observations made by the Government of India should dispel any doubt that anyone may have entertained regarding the sovereign status of Tibet.

There are at present many nations in Asia and especially in Africa which are at present fighting like us against tyranny. To them goes our deepest sympathy. We, as their brothers in the struggle against oppression are perhaps in the best position to know exactly how much they are suffering. We cannot isolate oppression. Whether it is in the heart of Asia or in the Tropics of Africa ; whether it is political subjugation or social injustice as shown recently in South Africa, it is the same foe to all free men. I, on my part-

will carry on my earnest prayers to the Divine Providence to bless us in our fight for our fight for our rightful destiny.

Before I conclude, I wish to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude for the refuge offered to us by the Government and people of India in our sad and tragic situation. The very existence of this Convention provides evidence, if such were needed, that here we are in a country that believes in freedom and free institutions and is prepared to act on its belief.

We invoke the blessings of Divine Providence upon this Convention and all its members. May their efforts win justice for Tibet and its people be crowned with ultimate success. To work for this end, as you are doing, is also to work for peace. Justice and peace are indissolubly linked together; separately they cannot be pursued, for they are but the twin names for the self-same truth.

Chairman

Friends, we are fortunate in having in our midst one of the most distinguished Indians and elder statesmen of this country, a leader of right and mellow wisdom, the last Governor General of India, Mr C. Rajagopalachari. On your behalf I should like to request him at this stage to say a few words and bless this Convention. He has unfortunately a heavy programme today and cannot be with us all through this Session. So with your permission I would now like to request Rajaji to address us.

Mr C. Rajagopalachari

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen: It is difficult to find suitable words to express the sympathy that I feel in respect of this movement—of what I may call in a different sense—a movement for the liberation of Tibet. The issue of Tibet is not a question of legalistic exploration as to the sovereignty of Tibet but a question of human rights which must be decided on the plane of justice and humanity and not on the basis of any legal puzzle. Sovereignty and Suzerainty are terms which have varied from time to time in respect of their content. Whatever legal jargon might have been used from time to time in respect of the relation between Tibet and China, in particular, and the outer world, in general, no one can doubt the fact that Tibetan people have a right to rule themselves.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his message has made things quite clear and pointed out how even on a legalistic plane there can be no doubt about the rights of the Tibetan people to rule themselves irrespective of any desire on the part of Communist China to liberate people belonging to other nationalities. I believe that Communist Russia and Communist China have over and over animadverted against colonialism. This invasion of Tibet which terminated in the His Holiness taking refuge in Indian territory is brutal colonialism. There can, therefore, be no second thoughts in the matter. All India to a man wants Tibet to be released from the grip of China.

No less concerned is India in the terrible African question. The matter has come to a head just now. What is happening there will hasten the proper solution of the whole problem.

I have been described by the Chairman as being of some importance. I am glad to place all that importance at the disposal of the object and aim of this Convention. I hope that world opinion will gather strength over this question and that this Convention will have served the purpose of accelerating the progress of that world opinion. It is wrong to imagine that force, war or the strategy of soldiers and military warfare, is always essential and necessary before a wrong is righted. It is a recent fact that the invasion over Egyptian territory was averted or defeated by force of public opinion on the world plane. Similarly I trust along with you all that world opinion will gather such strength now over this question that Tibet will get its wrong righted soon.

I congratulate Shri Jayaprakash Narayan for the very successful manner in which he has convened this Convention. It is presumptuous, perhaps, that I should say that I bless the Convention ; I give all my good wishes to you and in particular to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and I wish his success would be so great as to find a golden page in the history of freedom in the world.

The Chairman addressed the Convention and said :

I am unable to find words adequate enough to express my sincere thanks to all of you, distinguished public figures

in the life of your respective countries, to have responded to my invitation on behalf of the Indian Preparatory Bureau to this Convention. I join with the Chairman of the Reception Committee in according you all—delegates and observers—a most cordial and hearty welcome and offer my apologies for the many shortcomings that you must have found in the preparations we have made for your comfort and hospitality.

With your permission I shall take a few minutes of your precious time to tell you—by way of a brief introduction to the task before you here—how this Convention came to be convened and what is the nature of the issues before you.

WHEN CHINA INVADED Tibet in 1950 there was little information about what was actually happening. Nevertheless, even the meagre reports about China's armed intervention in Tibet brought forth spontaneous public indignation in this country. The affair, however, was hushed up at that time and some time later an agreement was signed between China and Tibet. It appeared that the wind had blown over. Public feeling in this country was not fully set at rest however and a certain uneasiness lingered in the minds of the people ; and a sense of guilt gnawed at the hearts of some of us that India had lent its great moral support to the imperialist concept of suzerainty of one nation over another. There was also a serious doubt in our minds whether under Communist rule it could ever be possible for any country, or region, to enjoy autonomy.

The state of uneasy calm lasted for a few years and then events erupted with a volcanic force and the Dalai Lama sought asylum in India. These quick moving events deeply stirred the people of this country whose spiritual and emotional bonds with Tibet were centuries old. As a consequence there were protest meetings all over the country and the Government and the people united in extending to His Holiness the Dalai Lama a warm and respectful welcome. On the crest of the upsurge of feeling an All India Convention on Tibet was held on May 30 and 31, 1959, at Calcutta, over which I had the honour to preside. That Convention, among other things, resolved that the President take steps to set up an Afro-

Asian Committee to work for the cause of Tibet. Soon after, the Preparatory Bureau was formed which immediately set about to call this Convention. To this end the Bureau sent two of its representatives, Shri Samar Guha and Shri H.R. Pardiwala, to South East Asia and West Asia and Africa to meet leaders of public opinion and obtain their co-operation. It is a matter of great satisfaction that these efforts have at last borne fruit and we have gathered here from far and near to unite our efforts for the freedom of all nations, for international justice, for racial equality and for world peace.

AS YOU ALREADY KNOW from our circular letters, this Convention has been called in terms of the following resolution of the All India Tibet Convention :

“.....This Convention is firmly of the opinion that the Tibetans have the same claim to the right of self-determination as any other nation of the world. Racially, linguistically and culturally different from the Chinese, they are a nation according to all standards of nationality. Although China claimed and intermittently exercised suzerainty over Tibet since the eighteenth century, that suzerainty was not based on the willing consent of the Tibetans, and they had virtually shaken it off in the second decade of this century. The Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951 which re-imposed Chinese rule over Tibet was the result of force and violence and lacked that basis of morality and law which springs from popular consent.

“After a careful consideration of all the relevant issues this Convention feels bound to place on record its protest against China for the denial of the fundamental human rights to the Tibetans, the violation of Agreement with Tibet, dated May 23, 1951, the ruthless suppression of the national uprising in that country, causing untold miseries and hardships to the people, and the destruction of Tibetan monasteries, involving loss of priceless treasures of art and manuscripts. This Convention repudiates the claim of China that she has a right to impose, by force, the so-called social, economic and scientific progress upon another nation, against its will, simply because she considers it backward and superstitious..... This Convention authorises its President, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to set up an Afro-Asian Committee on

Tibet with a view, among other things : (1) to mobilise world opinion, particularly in Asian and African countries ; (2) to arrange for appointment of an International Commission of neutral countries with a view to report on the alleged violation of human rights including the destruction of monasteries in Tibet."

Accordingly, our task here would be, first, to demand in unequivocal terms the right of self-determination to be allowed to the people of Tibet, and, second, to consider what steps should be taken now and from time to time to ensure the achievement of that goal. As for the commission of enquiry, the International Commission of Jurists has already undertaken the task, of which I shall speak later.

You also know that the scope of this Convention was subsequently widened at the suggestion of friends in West Asia and Africa to cover the whole anti-colonial struggle in these two continents. This is a colossal problem and we cannot deal with it any great detail. I am confident, however, that our deliberations and decisions here would contribute in some measure to the final and early defeat of colonialism in Africa and Asia. We have to consider what steps could be taken in concert towards that goal.

You should, finally, consider if any permanent body should be set up at this Convention to work for the furtherance of the objects for which it has been called ; and, if so, what should be its form, constitution and functions.

In order to help you in your deliberations, the Preparatory Bureau has succeeded in getting a number of brochures prepared and printed which you will find on the table before you. In addition, the Bureau is proud to place in your hands a Souvenir Volume of some distinction, prepared by one of the most distinguished Indian scholars on Tibet and Mongolia. There is also before you a copy of the most valuable Report of the International Commission of Jurists on the "Question of Tibet." We have also included in the published material a copy of the White Book on Tibet prepared by the Indian Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. I hope you will find all this material useful and valuable.

BEFORE I PROCEED to make my brief remarks about the issues before us, I should like to express my deep admiration for the noble martyrdom of the oppressed people of South Africa and to pay my sincere homage to them. As an humble follower of Mahatma Gandhi, I cannot but rejoice in the use of non-violent methods of resistance which must ultimately conquer race arrogance and hatred and inhumanity. The dastardly methods used by the White Government of South Africa have shocked the conscience of the world which cannot be thwarted long by legal quibbles from exerting its decisive influence against wrong and injustice.

Before I take up the question of Tibet let me make a few matters clear about this Convention.

First, I should like to emphasise the absolutely non-official charter of this Convention. The Government of India has nothing whatever to do with it ; and it is a tribute to the vitality of democracy in this country that a non-official function like this is possible to be held without the support or endorsement, indeed, under a certain degree of displeasure of the Government. It should likewise be emphasised that none of the delegations present here represent the Governments of their countries, nor anything said or done here by them would in any manner commit the Governments concerned. I should however, add that some Governments at least have not hesitated to express their open sympathy for the Convention. Nonetheless, this Convention is a gathering of non-official leaders of public opinion of the countries of Asia and Africa who have met to take counsel and act together for the furtherance of their common ends of freedom, justice and peace.

It follows that the Convention has nothing to do with the cold war or the world strategy of the two giant powers. Delegates attending this Convention might have their own views and sympathies in these matters. But, as far as this Convention is concerned, it has nothing whatever to do with any power *blocs* or their rivalries. The Convention will raise its voice against wrongs that have been or might be perpetrated by countries belonging to any power *bloc* whatever. At the same time, the Convention would steer, clear of such issues as alignment and non-alignment as being beyond its scope and purview. Clearly, delegates present hold different views on these questions. The important thing is that in spite of these differences they

have come together to work for certain positive aims that they share in common.

I should like further to say that the Convention is not actuated by any hostile motives against any country, not even against China. Following Mahatma Gandhi, we are against the wrong and evil deed and not against the wrong or evil doer. Speaking entirely for myself, I should like to say that in spite of all that China has done I have no hostile or inimical feelings. But, for that reason, I cannot fail to raise my voice against the wrong that China, or for that matter any country, might commit, and to do all that might be civilly possible to have the wrong corrected. It is in that spirit that I have condemned and opposed China's forcible annexation of Tibet and the enslavement of a brave, peaceful and freedom-loving people. Further more, I should like to stress that in trying to compel China to correct her wrong, we are serving China and not harming her. To some this might appear insincere. But let it be recalled that it was exactly in that spirit that India's struggle for freedom was conducted by Mahatma Gandhi. China has wronged Tibet no doubt, but she has also wronged herself. By freeing Tibet the people of China will also free themselves. It might be useful to remind the Chinese of these pregnant words of Karl Marx : "A people which enslaves others forges its own chains."

Lastly, I should like to point out that I have tried scrupulously not to mix up the Tibet issue with the Chinese aggression against our border. Let no one suppose that it is to avenge any wrong done to India that we have taken up the question of Tibet. That question was taken up by us long before the border aggression was known to have occurred and our stand in regard to it would have been the same if the latter had not happened, as it would remain the same even if the Sino-Indian dispute were to be settled.

LET ME NOW turn to Tibet. From the very start the Tibet question has appeared to me to be a rather simple affair. No doubt the question has been wrapped up in all manner of historical and legal controversies. But much of it has seemed beside the point to me.

I should like to divide the question into two parts : political and human. It is the second aspect of the question that has aroused world-wide sympathy and indignation. It was that aspect, you may recall, that received some

grudging notice of the United Nations. But the political aspect of the question has far greater importance because the human aspect flows out of and is dependent upon it. Unless the political issue is settled, the human situation in Tibet cannot but move on from tragedy to tragedy.

Let me first deal briefly with the human aspect of the question. It seems incontrovertible that the Chinese Communist Government has used brutal and inhuman methods to suppress Tibet's national movement and is bent upon putting down all resistance to its rule by every means, no matter how cruel or low. Having discovered that the Lamas and the monasteries and the Buddhist religion were uncompromising obstacles to their enslavement of Tibet, they are systematically undermining and destroying the Buddhist way of life and all its institutions. Mass killings have taken place and unspeakable atrocities have been committed. Millions of Chinese nationals have been settled in Tibet in a bid to alter for ever the Tibetan character of Tibet and convert it into a Chinese colony. All this is happening behind an impenetrable curtain, reinforced with lies.

Some time ago the International Commission of Jurists appointed a Commission of Investigation under the chairmanship of a distinguished Indian jurist, Shri Purshottam Trikamdas, to enquire into the Chinese atrocities. This Commission was denied access into Tibet by the Chinese Government, just as the U.N. Commission was denied access into Hungary. Nevertheless, the Commission is carrying on its investigations as best as it can. When the report of the Commission appears the world would be in a better position to know the truth about Tibet. The material that has already come to light, however, is sufficient to convict China before the bar of world opinion of gross crimes of oppression and cruelty.

IT IS THE political aspect of the Tibet question that has unfortunately been bogged down in the mire of controversy and diplomatic manoeuvring. There are certain facts, however, that stand out as unchallengeable. There is no doubt that Tibet was and had always been a separate country and the Tibetans a separate people, having their own history, culture and state. This fact is not controverted by the circumstance that in times of Chinese imperialist expansion, which more often than not was Mongolian or Manchu, i.e. non-Chinese, in character, Tibet came under some sort of Chinese suzerainty. It is also incontrovertible

that in 1912 the Thirteenth Dalai Lama declared his formal independence from China and that until 1950 Tibet was, and functioned as, an independent country. During this period the Tibet Government issued its own passports, maintained its own Post and Telegraph, had its own currency. Again; during the whole Sino-Japanese war Tibet had maintained strict neutrality. All these were witnesses of sovereignty. The Report of the International Commission of Jurists puts the case rather succinctly in these words: "From 1912 to 1950 Tibet was virtually an independent country. No Chinese writ ran in Tibet : there was no Chinese law, no Chinese judge, no Chinese policeman on the street corner; there was no Chinese newspaper, no Chinese soldier and even no representative of the Chinese Government." It is, further, beyond doubt that it was under duress that the Dalai Lama was compelled to assent to the so-called Sino-Tibet Agreement of 1951. Lastly, events have proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the Tibetan people resisted in all possible manner the forcible imposition of Chinese rule and that the Dalai Lama fled to India when every hope of finding a *modus vivendi* with the Chinese was destroyed. There is enough evidence to show that the resistance has not died down yet.

These incontestable facts lead up to two incontestable conclusions : (1) Tibet was an independent country that has been forcibly annexed by China; (2) Tibet is entitled like any other nation to freedom and the right of self-determination.

The apologists of China will of course deny that Tibet has been annexed ; She has been liberated, is their cry—Prime Minister Nehru's question, "Liberated from whom ?" still remains unanswered. They also deny that Tibet can claim any right to self-determination and emphasise her backwardness to justify her "liberation". To all this hypocrisy and double-talk nothing can be a more devastating answer than the following ringing words of the famous Declaration made by Vladimir Lenin, Chairman of the Soviet People's Commissars, on the day the Bolsheviks took power :

"By annexation or seizure of foreign territory the Government...understands any incorporation of a small and weak nationality by a large and powerful state.... *regardless also of how developed or how backward is the nation* forcibly attacked or forcibly detained within the frontiers of the (larger) state...."

“If any nation whatsoever is detained by force within the boundaries of a certain state, and if (that nation) contrary to its expressed desire—whether such desire is made manifest in the press, national assembly, party decision, *or in protest and uprisings against national oppression*—is not given the right to determine the form of its state life by free voting and completely free from the presence of troops of the annexing or stronger state and without the least pressure, then the adjoining of that nation by the stronger state is annexation, i.e., seizure by force and violence.”

In connection with the question of the right of self-determination it would be interesting and illuminating to recall to mind the following two declarations from two of the highest authorities of Communism.

Here is Lenin declaring :

“If Finland, if Poland, if the Ukraine break away from Russia, there is nothing bad about that. Anyone who says there is, is a chauvinist. It would be madness to continue the policy of Tsar Nicholas....No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.”

The following no less interesting declaration is from the Constitution of the Kiangsi Soviet Republic drawn up by no less a person than its Chairman, Mao Tse-tung, in 1931 :

“The Soviet Government of China recognises the right of self-determination of the national minorities in China, their right to complete separation from China and to the formation of an independent state for each national minority. All Mongolians, Tibetans, Miao, Yao, Koreans and others living on the territory of China shall enjoy the full right to self-determination, i.e. they may either join the Union of Chinese Soviets or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer.”

It is a sad commentary upon the communist politics of power that both in Russia and China these noble principles have been so cynically betrayed. The plain truth of the matter is that Communism is no longer a revolutionary creed and the Chinese Communists instead of being Marxist-Leninists have become Chinese chauvinists and imperialists.

In view of the facts I have stated and the unquestioned right of self-determination for all nations, it is too sad to find that, even outside the ranks of the apologists, the argument about Chinese suzerainty is trotted out to deny this birth-right to Tibet. It is sadder still to find countries that only recently fought for and won their independence taking shelter behind a moth-eaten, imperialistic formula to deny to Tibet what they had claimed for themselves. Overseas empires are perhaps easy to spot, but why should it be so difficult to discern the reality behind the land empires, whose contiguous territories create the illusion of a single nationhood ?

AS AN INDIAN I cannot but deeply lament my country's part in the perpetuation of the fiction of Chinese suzerainty. It was said that we only followed the British policy in this regard. But the British policy was the child of imperialist machinations and was dictated more by the fear of Russian penetration than by any regard for China's rightful claim. Moreover, it is important to remember that British recognition of Chinese suzerainty was conditional upon the enjoyment of full autonomy by Tibet. According to the British formula China can have no recognizable rights in Tibet if she refuses to respect her autonomy. There is some evidence that the British Government is doing some fresh thinking on the question. Perhaps a similar process had started in the United States and some other countries. Perhaps in New Delhi too second thoughts are being born. The Government of India's Note to China of February 12, 1960, referring to the Agreement of 1914, stated :

“This was not the first time that Tibet conducted negotiations and concluded treaties, in her own right with foreign states. On several occasions before 1914 Tibet had conducted negotiations and concluded treaties with other States. For example, Tibet concluded a treaty with Nepal in 1856 and another with Great Britain in 1904. These treaties were never objected to by China and were fully operative. At the Simla Conference, the Tibetan and Chinese plenipotentiaries met on an equal footing. This position was explicitly and unequivocally accepted by the Chinese Government. The three Plenipotentiaries exchanged copies of their credentials at the first session of the Conference on October 13, 1913. The credentials of the Tibetan representative issued by the Dalai Lama made it clear that Tibet was an equal party at the Conference

with the right 'to decide all matter that may be beneficial to Tibet', and the Chinese representative accepted the credentials of the Tibetan representative as being in order. The credentials of the British Indian representative, which were also accepted by the Chinese representatives, confirmed that all the three representatives were of equal status and that the Conference was meeting 'to regulate the relations between the several Governments'."

The only conclusion to be drawn from these facts should have been that Tibet was not a "region" of China but a separate country with its own separate government that functioned on a basis of equality with the Chinese Government. However, it is not without significance that the Government of India has emphasised these facts, the logic of which it will have to accept sooner or later.

But, be that as it may, it does not follow that since Britain and India are the two countries most concerned with the question of Tibet their lead in the matter should necessarily be followed by other countries. It can be argued with great force that just because these two countries have their past commitments, the others should judge the question on its merits and come to independent decisions. After all, that is the implication of the policy of non-alignment and independence of judgment. There cannot be any question of any one embarrassing any one else. Once we get started in that direction we are bound to land ourselves soon in the cold war. I should like therefore to plead as strongly as possible for a fresh and independent approach to be made to the question. Incidentally, that might make it possible for India and Britain to extricate themselves from the complications and embarrassments in which they find themselves.

These days when the world is looking with such hope to the forthcoming Summit Conference, there is an anxiety to avoid doing anything likely to spoil the atmosphere. While this anxiety is understandable, it must be clearly realised by all concerned that any hush-hush policy in regard to international wrongs would be sure in the end to defeat the very purpose for which the summit leaders are to meet. Any attempt by the great powers to divide the world between themselves and to establish peace on the foundation of mutual acceptance of their respective areas of influence would be bound to meet with disaster.

There is also a good deal of talk about disarmament. This must be welcomed, but, at the same time, it must be understood that honest disarmament must spell the end of colonialism of every form. Disarmament and the right of self-determination for every nation must go hand in hand together. International peace and international justice are only the two sides of the same coin.

TO SOME PERSONS it appears futile even to think about Tibet any more. Tibet to them is an accomplished fact—regrettable and all that, but yet something about which nothing further could be done. Such are the men who unwittingly, yet constantly, are undermining the foundations of the moral society which alone could guarantee peace to the world. They are the worldly-wise, who, by their lack of courage and faith, block the progress of the human race, not towards the moon but towards humanity itself. These persons have a myopic view and forget that nothing stands, or can stand still in history—not even the Chinese empire.

The world is no longer a jungle in which tooth and claw are the final arbiters. Slowly, but surely, a world order is arising, based not on might but on right. The vision is yet far away, but its outlines are slowly emerging from the darkness.

Mr. Nikita Khrushchev of Russia goes around the world impressing upon everyone that history was on his side and that communism was the ultimate destiny of mankind. The Russian leader does not realise how dated he has already become and how in his own country the human spirit is asserting itself and the faint rays of a new enlightenment have begun to pierce through the pervading darkness. History, will soon prove that communism, instead of being the final flowering of human civilization, was a temporary aberration of the human mind, a brief nightmare to be soon forgotten. Communism, as it grew up in Russia and is growing up in China now, represent the darkness of the soul and imprisonment of the mind, colossal violence and injustice. Whoever thinks of the future of the human race in these terms is condemning man to eternal perdition. It is not the cold war, or the economic war, that will spell the ultimate defeat of communism; it is rather the working of the human spirit. The process of the overcoming of communism, as of every other system of oppression, is a dual one: (a) resistance

to oppression by its victims, and (b) the growth of enlightenment among the oppressors themselves. Apart from the rays of light in Russia, the fact that there are communist countries like Yugoslavia and Poland adduces further proof of the second. The Chinese are also human and there is reason to believe that a time will soon come when there will be many souls amongst them that might be revolted by oppression and injustice and might want to correct the wrongs of their predecessors.

On the other hand, the forces of freedom and nationalism that are growing in all the subject countries will play their role in the liberation of mankind and destruction of all vestiges of oppression of every kind. As President Nasser told the Indian Parliament the other day, "the good forces in the world will get stronger every day to play their role in removing the remnants of injustice still lurking in some parts of the globe."

Therefore, friends, there is hope for Tibet and hope for all the oppressed nations of the world, because there is hope for freedom, justice and peace.

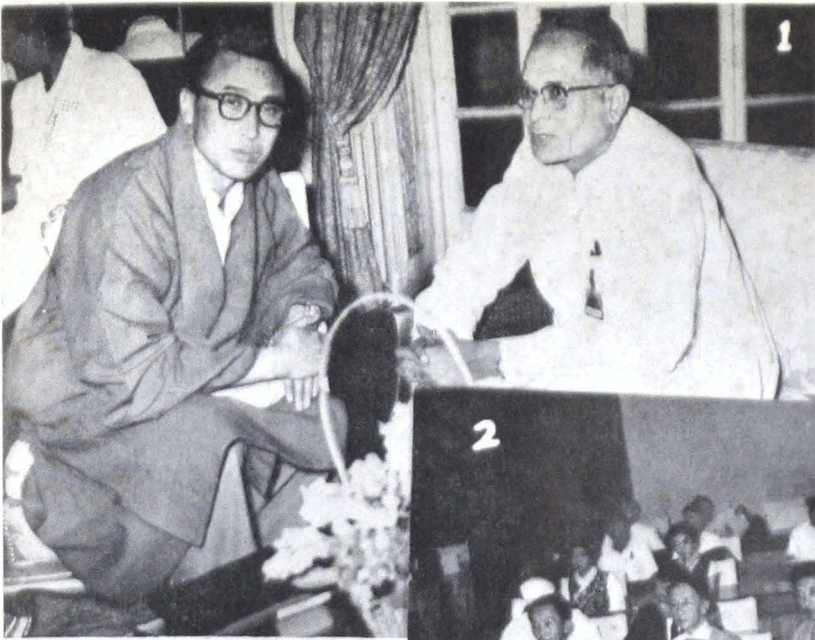
We have gathered here to kindle this hope and to devise ways, and means to see it realised in Tibet and elsewhere. The very fact that this gathering has taken place will be a source of hope to all those brave people throughout Asia and Africa who are fighting for their rights and particularly to the people of Tibet. I hope this Convention will unequivocally proclaim the right of the Tibetan people to freedom and self-determination and respectfully urge upon all the nations of the world to lend their moral and political support to the cause of Tibetan independence. It was a matter of gratification that the issue of violation of human rights was raised at the U.N. but, at the same time, it was also a matter of deep regret that many nations of Africa and Asia had abstained from expressing their views. I hope subsequent events and a better appreciation of the realities of the situation will change this sorry state of affairs and African and Asian governments, or at best those amongst them that value freedom and justice, will take a more positive line when the question comes up before the U.N. again. It is wrong politically and ethically to turn the back on Tibet on the ground that it is a domestic or internal question of China. The question of Tibet's freedom is as much an international question as that of Algeria or Kenya or the Congo. A declaration to

this effect by this Convention should go a long way in removing the cobwebs of confusion surrounding this matter.

I AM CONSCIOUS that I have taken up too much of your time and have spoken about Tibet at some length. I shall not attempt to say much about the general problem of colonialism in Asia and Africa because I do not find myself competent to do so. As far as Asia is concerned the open form of political imperialism has become almost a thing of the past. There are little pockets like Goa in India, some islands in Indonesia, where imperialism lingers on, but for the rest it has passed into history. More subtle forms of economic imperialism perhaps still survive over large parts of Asia, but here too a slow process of transformation is visible.

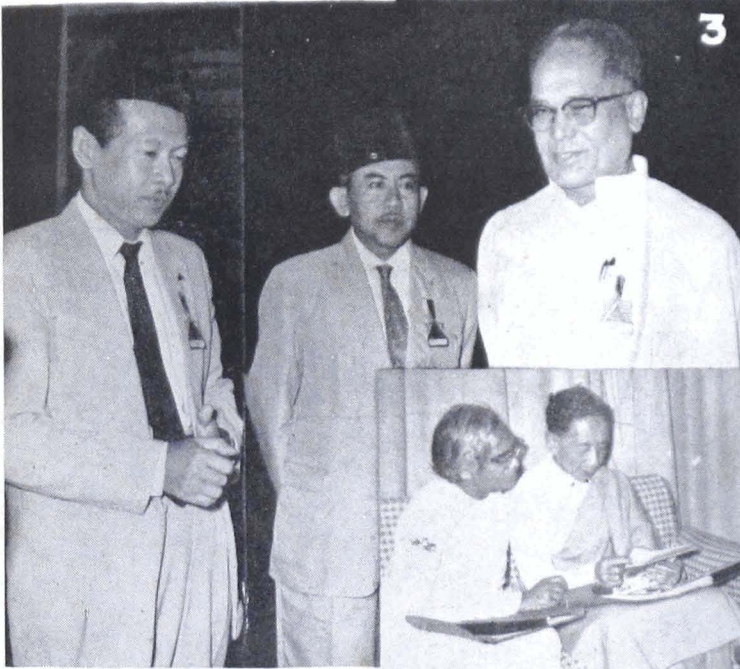
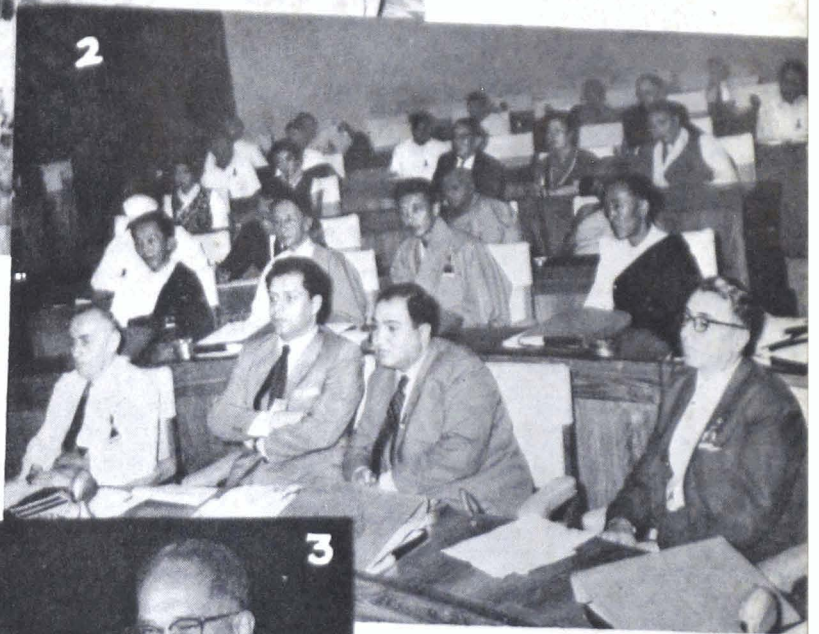
Africa, however, is in the throes of revolutionary upheaval which is bound to change the face of that mighty continent and affect the course of world history. Several countries of Africa have but recently won their independence and taken their rightful place in the comity of nations. Several others are scheduled to achieve their freedom within this year. To them we offer our congratulations and salutations. But there are others, like Algeria, where the prospect looks depressing. But I am confident that before long the sufferings and struggles of these nations too would be crowned with success and they also will take the rightful place in the family of free nations. To these brethren-in-struggle we offer our full moral support and invoke for them the political support of all governments of the world. At this Convention we have to consider what concrete steps might be taken by us to help these brethren to achieve their goal.

As you know the freedom struggle in Africa is complicated by the problem of race conflict on account of white and other non-African settlers. This is a matter of the utmost delicacy, because, no matter what forms these conflicts take and how long they last, the races concerned have to live together—now and ever in the future. The manner in which the South African Government is behaving is bound to create an almost unbridgeable gulf between people whose destinies history has tied together. I hope, however, that the non-violent sufferings of the African people will ultimately produce a change of heart, as it already seems to have done among European and



1. Mr. Norbu, brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan

2. Plenary Session.
In the front row are :
Mr. Alfred Naccache and
Mr. Beshara Ghorayeb
(Lebanon), Mr. Abdel
Rauf-Ali (UAR) and
Mr. Anwar Nuseibeh (Jordan)



3. Mr. Imron Rosjadi and
Dr. Roem (Indonesia) with
Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan



4. Dr. Raghu Vira (India) with
Mr. Sonam Wangdu
Mr. Dorji Palsang and
Mr. Namgyal Dorji (Tibet)



5. Inaugural Session of the Convention

American whites. Ultimately, the principles of race equality and democracy must triumph and the African people must come into their own and exercise their full democratic rights and privileges.

Before concluding let me express the hope that this Convention might prove to be a new bridge between the peoples of our two continents and it might create a new instrument of communication between ourselves, without the natural impediments that stand in the way of official representatives or organizations. We have so much in common and our future is so linked together that the more opportunities we have of coming and working together, the more easily shall each of our countries march to its appointed goal.

I again offer you all my most cordial welcome.

'Jai Jagat'—Victory for the whole world.

Chairman

Now, friends, I shall request spokesmen of the various Delegations present here to come up to the platform and address the Convention. I shall call the names of the countries in the alphabetical order; that seems to be the simplest thing to do. I should like first to call Mr. Law Yone from Burma. Mr. Law Yone is an eminent journalist of his country. Mr. Yone ...

Mr Law Yone

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: If through force of circumstances, I am a lone delegate from Burma at this Convention, it is not because my countrymen do not share with the Tibetans their great distress in their tribulations. Propinquity apart, we have long racial, cultural and linguistic ties with Tibet, and her sad plight today is a matter of universal grief and concern in Burma.

It is only since coming here that I have noticed the lukewarmness on the part of some people towards the Convention, whose avowed aim is to review the anxious situation in Asia and Africa and to devise steps whereby other countries may be spared the fate of Tibet. I come from a free country into another free country, but as I breathe the free air of India, I cannot help but sniff traces

of appeasement which are at once a disappointment and a reminder that our task here is two-fold : to contend with the rising tide of aggression and to educate those of our own flesh and blood that there is no easy way out of the dilemma.

Unless its people are united no nation on earth can meet external dangers. It is through unity that we forge the courage and the resoluteness with which even small nations may stand up to powerful ones. To yield, to retreat and to compromise are the hallmarks of the appeaser, and when cruel acts, barbarious acts, can be committed so near to India and yet final appologists and condoners are here, we are constrained to redouble our efforts so that people may not be encouraged to overlook the grave crimes against a whole nation—amounting to genocide—or to forget them even while they are being committed. Gentlemen, I am shocked to find aggressive nations telling a great country like India not only where her borders shall be, but demanding that this Convention shall not be held because it is distasteful to them. As far as the delegate from Burma is concerned, he will not be deterred from speaking his mind wherever and whenever he pleases. And I assure you that we of Burma are not a nation of political amnesiacs either.

If in your wisdom you can hammer out a policy and a line of action which will hold back aggressors and the bullies you will have rendered signal service to the free world. In your deliberations and your work in the cause of a suffering and frightened humanity, you will have my earnest and wholehearted cooperation.

Chairman

I shall now request Rev. Malewana Gnaniassara Thero, Secretary of the All Ceylon Buddhist Monks Union to address the Convention. Rev. Thero will speak in Singhalese and the translation of his speech will be read out to you in English.

Rev. Malewana Thero

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : I know I speak for all of you when I say that we owe a debt of gratitude to Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, Professor Samar Guha and their co-workers for organising this Convention.

Largely through their efforts we have read and we have heard about the unspeakable misery and horrors brought upon the innocent people of Tibet by the Communists. To a Buddhist to whom the sum total of life is *Mitriya*, Compassion, the bombing of sacred temples, the massacre of holy monks, the killing and torturing of innocent children and defenceless women, the wanton murdering of harmless men, the burning and plundering of towns and villages, the looting of a nation's wealth and natural resources are deeds of sub-human agents.

The Ceylonese reaction to the slaughter of Tibet was one of shocked indignation. But, unfortunately we human beings are imperfect and fallible. Too often the reaction to such a crime against humanity is that, although our hearts go out in full sympathy to the helpless innocent victims, we tend to isolate ourselves from those trampled under the iron heel of Communist aggression, because the evil actions have not affected us personally. May be frail human nature fears to take on an additional burden of suffering ! However I speak after having made very careful observations, that what happened in Tibet could very easily happen to us in Ceylon.

But with humility and pride in our people, I have the great happiness of informing you that thus far we have triumphed over the determined efforts of the enemies of the Dhamma. So far we have successfully resisted Communist attempts to subvert and destroy the cultural, social and governmental institutions of our country.

May I, Mr Chairman, venture to propose, at the very outset of this Convention, the creation of a permanent organization composed of the members present, whose primary task would be to maintain a vigilant watch on future developments of Communist aggression and intrusion against its neighbours in Asia. The presence and the work done by such a body may deter, in future, the ruthless expansion of Communist imperialism and furthermore it may contribute to the efforts of the Dalai Lama and the valiant Tibetan people in the restoration of their freedom and the Buddha Dhamma in their land.

If we can accomplish this much, I feel confident that ultimately the suffering of the people of Tibet will not have been in vain.

May all of you be happy by the blessings of Lord Buddha.

Chairman

I now request Mr. Patrice Lhoni, from Congo, to address us. Mr Lhoni is the General Secretary of the Institute of Congolese Studies. He will speak in French, which will be simultaneously translated into English ; you may listen to the translation on channel 3.

Mr Patrice Lhoni

Mr Chairman and Fellow Delegates : In the name of the "Institut d 'Etudes Congolaises I bring the fraternal greetings and a mark of total solidarity to the Afro-Asian Convention for Tibet and against Colonialism in Asia and Africa.

The Institut d 'Etudes Congolaises is a shining light of freedom whose rays must spread to the young Republics of Equatorial Africa, to the Belgian administered Congo, soon to be independent, and even to that other part of the Congo, the Portuguese colony of Angola, a stronghold of colonialism.

The African in general, and especially the Congolese, has a deep sense of the Community. Traditionally, our people, in their wisdom, know that, as long as one of their own suffer, no one else may be happy, no matter how far away he may be. Today we realise that this principle is spreading to the entire world, that the joy of a Congolese is not, must not, cannot be complete, as long as there is yet a Spaniard, a Hungarian, a South African or a Tibetan who is in sorrow. And is there a sorrow greater than that of being deprived of freedom ?

I come from the Congo. You are fully aware that my country was, for centuries, a storehouse of slaves, and that if part of her sons were taken away to other lands in chains, the chains of those who remained were no lighter to bear. Our countries of Asia and Africa have suffered from colonialism. Only now do they begin to breathe the air of a new-found freedom. But what good would this freedom do if we were to fall into the hands of a new colonialism ? Our former colonisers came from other continents, and the colour of their skin was often different from ours. Today, it may happen that new colonisers appear on our continents, and that the colour of their skin be the same as our.

Our thoughts are with the noble, courageous and dignified Tibetan people. Let them know that their cause is ours, and that we share their sorrows.

Gandhi, whose apostolate began on the African soil, has left us the example of his moral courage. He taught us that the reign of violence and lies is not lasting. But it is up to us to end it quickly. To do so, a coordinated action is necessary, so as to denounce all oppression no matter where it comes from, and so as to bring about awakening of consciences, in face of the threats to freedom.

Chairman

I shall like now to invite Mr. Mohment Emin Bugra from Chinese Turkestan. Mr. Bugra is a former Deputy Governor General of Eastern Turkestan. His speech is also being translated simultaneously into English. So if you put on your headphone gear No. 2 you can listen to him.

Mr Mehmet Emin Bugra

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : First of all I would like to give you all the greetings and warm feelings on behalf of the people of Turkestan who are the close and historical neighbours of and are under the same conditions with Tibet. It will be our pleasure in particular to extend our deepest respect and appreciation to Mr. Narayan and his friends who have arranged such a helpful meeting through their gigantic efforts. The defence and support of the right of independence of Tibet with that of many other Afro-Asian countries which suffered a great deal under the expansionist policy of imperialism, can only be dealt with through international Conventions like the present one.

As is known to all, two types of colonialism and imperialism are being practised in the world. Both, with slogans such as 'liberty, equality, and democracy' are trying to hide the black marks on their faces and treating the nations under their domination as slaves.

In fact, however, the events in Tibet, Eastern Turkestan and Algeria can be called nothing but aggression and imperialism.

The Convention will throw the realities to the face of the imperialists, indicating at the same time their tortures and atrocities.

This Convention, will whole-heartedly and sincerely support the human rights and independence of enslaved nations.

It is our hope and wish that this first step, by holding such a meeting will be successful and pave the ground for the others in the future. Thank you.

Chairman

I now invite Mr. Chang-Kuo-Sin from Hong Kong. He is the President of the Asia Press.

Mr Chong-Kuo-Sin

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : The Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet opens here today to achieve a very high purpose, but we, the Chinese delegates from Hong Kong, come to this Convention with a heavy heart.

We are here on foreign soil in a meeting sponsored by foreigners to condemn one part of our countrymen for atrocities against another part of our countrymen. It breaks our heart to see some of our countrymen—the Chinese Communists, to be more specific—sink to such depths in political misconduct. At the same time, human beings as we are, imbued with the customary human sentiments, it is not an easy decision for us to make to come to this Convention to join with foreigners, even foreign friends, in condemning our own countrymen.

A great wrong has been committed, and a wrong is a wrong no matter by whom it is committed, by your own countrymen or by others. Civilisation has now advanced so much that we can no longer say with impunity, "My country, right or wrong." On moral conduct and political progress, there could be only one law, one code of conduct and one standard for all nations.

In this particular case of Tibet, we have however less qualms in condemning the wrong that is being committed, because in the final analysis it is the Chinese Communists, and not our country, that is at fault.

We support self-determination for Tibet as and when it becomes practicable of implementation under circumstances of normalcy. Self-determination is now an universally accepted principle in human society and we would without any reservation whatever abide by it. President Chiang-Kai-shek of the Republic of China speaks for all free Chinese when he said that as soon as we return to the mainland we would grant self-determination to our Tibetan compatriots.

But prior to the implementation of self-determination and prior to our Tibetan compatriots choosing, in this exercise of self-determination, to become independent, Tibet is and will remain an integral part of China. It is earnestly hoped that Communist actions in Tibet will not be described as "aggression" or "invasion", but as political suppression and oppression, which is what they actually are, and should be condemned as such. We the Chinese delegates here today would be proud to associate ourselves with such a condemnation, and with any effort that may arise out of this Convention at seeking the restoration of autonomy and all other fundamental rights to Tibet. We hope, however, that no demand of independence is raised at this juncture, because, for one thing, it will enable the Communists to present our Convention to the Chinese people as an imperialist attempt on China's territorial integrity. It will give them a golden opportunity for exploiting the innate Chinese sense of patriotism and nationalism to rally internal popular support and strengthen their position. This would be a wrong thing for us to do, because in condemning crimes, we should not in any way strengthen the hands of the criminal and his capacity to commit further crimes.

Chairman

I will now request Mr. Mohamed Roem of Indonesia. He is a former Foreign Minister and Minister in various other capacities and the Vice-Chairman of the Masjumi Party. He is one of the prominent national leaders of Indonesia. Mr. Mohamed Roem....

Mr Mohamed Roem

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Distinguished Visitors: Permit me to thank you all, on my behalf and on behalf, of my colleagues for this opportunity to associate

ourselves with the cause of Tibetan Freedom and human rights, which the case of Tibet really symbolises.

It is really significant that a Convention to uphold the cause of freedom should be held in this place, because New Delhi has since long played a pivotal role in the struggle for the freedom of colonial countries and the emancipation of Asia and Africa. It was here that the first Asian Conference was held in 1947. We from Indonesia remember that Conference for the support it gave to our struggle for Independence.

Indonesia which won its freedom after bitter and prolonged struggle knows what it really means to overthrow naked militarism. In fact, our own freedom is still incomplete because the Dutch have withheld West Irian territory. This colonial mentality of the Dutch has harmed the whole field of good relations between Indonesia and Holland. But obviously colonialism and imperialism will never learn the lessons of history.

Now we are witnessing the communist-brand of imperialism showing its head in Tibet. In common with other freedom-loving peoples and nations, Indonesia has not hesitated to express her condemnation against what is happening in Tibet. The Indonesian people have been unanimous in opposing the Communist Chinese aggression there. From wherever it comes, aggression is against humanity.

That the Chinese aggression is not limited to Tibet is evident from their subsequent action against her neighbours, especially your own country, India, which has done so much all these years to sponsor Communist China for admission to the United Nations. Indonesia herself has reason to feel apprehensive of this alarming trend. You all know that the most powerful minority in our country, economically and otherwise are the Chinese, who number nearly three million. The threatening attitude that China recently adopted when certain regulations were enacted to regulate trade and commerce in Indonesia clearly revealed longterm pattern of Communist China's approach to her Asian neighbours.

We all realise fully the need to cry a halt to further aggression on the part of the present rulers of China. As the events that led to World War II proved, aggression

thrives on the disunity among the free nations of the world ; its appetite increases on what it feeds.

It may be the freedom of Tibet today, tomorrow it could well be the turn of others, as some part of India has already felt. It is, therefore, better late than never. This conference of freedom lovers has been called none soon.

I hope that this Conference will gather more and more momentum and that the cause which it has taken up will triumph, as triumph it must.

Thank you all for giving me a patient hearing.

Chairman

I would now request Mr. Yoji Hirota from Japan. Mr. Hirota is a Member of the Research Institute of China Affairs and is a prominent leader of Tibet Movement in Japan.

Mr Yoji Hirota

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Five years ago this month, the leaders of 20 nations representing more than a billion people met at Bandung for the first Afro-Asian Conference. At that time, Premier Chou En-lai, speaking for the People's Republic of China, told the conference: "There is every reason to make the Five Principles the basis for establishing friendly co-operation between us. China is a country where there is freedom of religion. Although we communists are atheists, we respect all those who have religious beliefs. The national minorities in China exercise their right of autonomy within China. China has no intention whatsoever of subverting the governments of its neighbouring countries. We are against outside interference. Let us, the Asian and African countries, be united and do our utmost to contribute towards lasting peace."

Yet, within five short years since Bandung, China's action against Asian nations have refuted the words of her leader who fanned such high hopes of peace at Bandung.

Asian public opinion was virtually united in the condemnation of China's action. The situation did not improve. After Tibet, came border violations against India and Pakistan—violations which have not to this date been rectified.

“We are against outside interference”, said Chou En-lai at Bandung; yet the Indonesian government late last year protested against Chinese interference there in many forms.

Against this background, we are reminded of the speech which Sir John Kotelawala made five years ago at Bandung—and which so many of our Asian friends, lulled by Chou's promises, found hard to stomach.

The Ceylon statesman pointed out that all Asian and African nations were against colonialism. Sir John said: “The first and most obvious form is western colonialism. However, there is another form of colonialism. Think, for example, of those satellite states under communist domination in central and eastern Europe. Should it not be our duty to openly declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to western imperialism?”

Sir John's words, spoken five years ago, are still vitally true today. As we meet this month to hold a convention on Tibet and against Colonialism in Africa and Asia, it will be well to remember them. We must fight for freedom—individual freedom, religious freedom, political freedom. It is only through organisations such as ours that the voices of oppressed people can be heard. Thank you, Sir.

Chairman

I will now request Mr. Nuseibeh of Jordan to address you. Mr. Nuseibeh was a Minister of Jordan and is a prominent lawyer. Mr. Nuseibeh....

Mr Anwar Z. Nuseibeh

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: If it is permissible to have any regrets for being so privileged, then my only regret is that my country Jordan is not largely represented. This does not mean, and it

must not be interpreted to mean, that we in Jordan, that we, in fact, the Arabs, are not deeply concerned with the Tibetan problem. To us, as it must be, indeed, to you the cause of liberty, like the cause of peace, is indivisible. Repression in whatever guise, whether economic, political or social is a contagious affliction, and it is the duty of all right thinking people everywhere in the world to fight it, wherever and whenever it rears its ugly head.

We have a saying in Arabic attributed to the Prophet—Peace be upon him—which enjoins every person to help his brother, right or wrong. Thus put, it begs the moral question : How can you help someone whom you know to be in the wrong ? And this was the Prophet's answer : You help him by guiding him away from the wrong path.

We Arabs, claim the brotherhood of all peace loving nations but more particularly do we claim the brotherhood of the peace loving Afro-Asian Nations, for with them, we share the bitter memories of the immediate past, the agonising problems of the difficult present and the hopeful dreams of the promising future. Together we stand on the threshold of history itself and for the first time in recent years we can make our collective weight felt effectively. It is a heady, intoxicating thought. It is also a sobering one at the same time. For responsibility is an adjunct of power.

It is for this purpose and in this spirit that we attend this Convention. I do not presume to guide, still less to condemn. The liberties which we have fought for so long and so hard to achieve must be continuously and jealously guarded. From the outside, imperialism is not completely dead yet. As an Arab I can still feel its deadly impact in Algiers and in Palestine through the State of Israel. The utopia, to establish which we threw off foreign domination, is still a long way off. In our haste to traverse it we can easily fall into one or more of these pitfalls we may even find that the way itself, in the last analysis, does not lead us to the very place that we had in mind. But at least, let us in following this road not lose sight of our principles, but remain faithful to ourselves.

Chairman

Now Mr. J. Oyangi of Kenya will address you. Mr. Oyangi is the Organising Secretary of the Kenya People's Convention Party. Mr Oyangi.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman, Secretary and Honourable Delegates : I have great pleasure in being accorded this opportunity today to address you people from Asia and Africa on matters which are of grave concern to the people of Asia and Africa.

In the first instance, I would like to convey the sympathies of the people of Kenya and the entire Africa to the Tibetan people in their sufferings. We people of Kenya and Africa are profoundly shocked of the tragedy that has befallen the Dalai Lama and his people in Tibet. We strongly oppose the idea of big nations running over small nations. We in Kenya feel that imperialism whether it be of the West or East must be condemned. When human rights are violated in Tibet and South Africa we must raise our voice in opposition.

Turning to the question of Africa I would like honourable delegates to know that just as I am standing before you today, our African brothers in South Africa are being indiscriminately massacred.

The newspaper carried reports that yesterday the Prime Minister of South Africa Dr. Vewoed and his Governor-General Smart, have outlawed the only two remaining organisations for the expression of African political aspirations in South Africa.

I hope all of you have followed the events in the Union since the last few days. By no doubt you have known that hundreds of Africans have been murdered simply because they oppose Apartheid and the Pass Laws.

You all know that two weeks ago at Sharpeville a segregated African town, near Vereeniging, African men, children and women were massacred by the South African police.

Blood and mangled flesh has covered police stations; hospitals are today full with wounded and mortuaries with corpses of the dead.

The African people of South Africa have been subjected to the most inhuman treatment since 1910. They have been denied representation in Parliament and other local

government bodies. They have been segregated into towns of their own and they are made to carry movement passes, when the whites are free to move as they like in a country which legally is not theirs.

The African people together with the coloured races in South Africa have tried and still are trying civil and peaceful demonstrations but the insane whites have not yielded to their demands for human dignity and political freedom.

The state of affairs in which our brothers have been put has made them remain with only one alternative—to overthrow the white government. In this we are with them. We, the Africans in Africa, will not stand aside witnessing the cold-blooded murder of our brothers. We feel very gravely concerned about it. Sooner or later we will step in and drive the Europeans into the sea.

Africa is moving to independence and there is no power on earth that will stop it. The African independence has been re-assured with the coming together of all Africans in the All-African People's Conference. The forces in the African independent States have organised a joint offensive with their brethren in the countries still under colonial rule. The machinery to wage this battle has been established.

The Africans are determined to be free. No African will be satisfied with a situation where the control of the resources of his land, and therefore, over the labour of his people, remains in foreign hands. The riches of Africa must belong to Africans.

Several countries in Africa will become independent in 1960 and several others in the next one or two years. The struggle now is to bring about this independence to all Africa at once.

We welcome the release of Dr. Hastings Banda, the leader of Africans in Nyasaland. We wholeheartedly support the desire of Africans to break away from the Central African Federation and instead set up Independent African self-government in Nyasaland, North Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia.

In Kenya as you know a state of emergency was declared in 1952 and our beloved national leader, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, together with many others, was arrested and detained, imprisoned and later on restricted. Until now Mr. Jomo Kenyatta is still restricted in the remote dry northern part of Kenya not allowed to take part in politics.

I call upon you to support the Africans of Kenya in calling for the immediate release of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta so that he comes to head an independent Kenya Nation. He is the father of our nation and we want him to be our leader of the first government. We demand also the release of all the nationalists, who are still held in detentions and restrictions.

In conclusion I would like to remind fellow delegates that when we consider the tragedy of Tibet we must also not forget that more than 100 people have died in South Africa as victims of Apartheid, that 51 people lost their lives in Nyasaland last year as a result of struggling for independence, that many thousands of Algerians are still dying today as victims of French colonialism, and lastly that 11 African nationalist detainees were beaten to death by the British authorities in Kenya.

Chairman

I will now request Mr. Alfred Naccache to speak. Mr. Naccache was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Lebanon and was later the President of Lebanon. Mr. Naccache.

Mr Alfred Naccache

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : I believe proof has been established that peace aspired for by the peoples, for which summit conferences are prepared, is not the fruit of force ; force represents egoism and is often blind. No. Peace is the upshot of the rule of conscience and justice, of cooperation and reciprocal sacrifice within each state as well as among states themselves.

In the same way, in a well-organised society, the weak, the working-class, and generally the sons of unfortunate destiny are the subject of care of the Government and enjoy human rights ; the same as in the case of an international

society that deserves this name, the small states and the under-developed states must be treated by the big and the powerful who must observe their independence and their personality, and to offer them assistance.

This, therefore, carries the sense of human fraternity and a certain measure of altruism. However, this altruism pays because it must certainly ensure all the interesting conventions and the most precious gift in this world, I mean peace, the peace which is promised to good-willing people.

May good-willing people, such as you, gentlemen, multiply and unify their efforts towards the establishment of justice and charity, and win for themselves and for others the proper peace. Is this not the recommendations of the tomes of humanity ?

Yet there is another point of equal importance to which I should like to draw your attention.

Neutrality and the third power have to be in one camp—that of justice—and under one banner: the danger of war would then possibly vanish—it would certainly diminish. Provided, let us add, that the choice has been made, the camp of justice and liberty will definitely become the most popular and the strongest. This takes us back to the propositions of Pascal regarding the perpetual conflict between force and justice. However, I believe at last that spirit is strongest. That is the case of Tibet.

Now for force to be by the side of justice we all, be we Asians or Africans, must determine, in times of serious danger and before it is too late, to support the just cause with all means in our power.

It is at this price that Peace would be maintained and justice re established.

But this international Peace must not conceal the internal injustices of the World States, whether Asians, or Africans I adjure the heads of States who actually have the entire responsibility of the organisation and destiny of their respective countries, to be particular, in the interest of the continents of which they are part, in maintaining among them justice, liberty and respect for mankind.

It is on these primary bases that the present Conference may, I feel, serve the cause of Justice and Truth.

Chairman

Now Senator Tan of Malaya will address you. Senator Tan is the Secretary General of the Alliance Party in Malaya. Senator Tan...

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Malayan Delegation I thank the organisers for inviting the Federation of Malaya Tibet Aid Committee to attend this Convention.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our delegation is particularly interested in one aspect of the Tibetan problem, namely, the violation of fundamental human rights and freedom. As one of the newly found independent nations of Asia, we value greatly the fundamental human rights and freedom, and as a member of the United Nations, we are pledged to support and uphold the United Nations Charter which includes the declaration on human rights.

What happened in Tibet and what is happening in S. Africa cannot but sadden the hearts and stir the emotions of people harbouring goodwill towards their fellowmen. Those happenings are indeed a sad commentary on the nations concerned, exposing once again, in one case, the ruthlessness of militant communism and, in the other case, belieing the claim by a section of the white race to a higher standard of civilisation.

Mr Chairman, Sir, in the last United Nations General Assembly debate Malaya, in cooperation with Ireland, was instrumental in getting the General Assembly to adopt the resolution on Tibet. Our delegation here feels most strongly that the violation of fundamental human rights and freedom should not be allowed under the pretext that it is merely a matter within the internal jurisdiction of a nation. All peace-loving free nations must feel deeply concerned at such violation whenever it occurs for violation of human rights and freedom is an affront to the United Nations Organisation itself, and is a real threat to world peace. All members of the United Nations should speak up and act in the defence of United Nations Charter.

In as much as we cherish and hold sacred our own freedom, we sympathise most sincerely with those who have lost their freedom and their right to self-determination as in the case of the Tibetans, and we also sympathise with those whose human rights are being so savagely violated as in the case of the Africans in S. Africa. It is because we believe civilised world opinion will not condone such violations that our delegation is here today to contribute what little we can to the deliberations of this Convention.

The people of Malaya believe that as a small newly found independent nation we should be chary of being drawn into the dangerous game of power politics ; nevertheless, we feel we have a duty as a member of the United Nations to oppose with all our might and in all good conscience any attempt to violate the U.N. Charter. As you know, we have stood firmly against colonial imperialism and militant communism in the past decade and we have triumphed.

All available evidence points to the ruthless repression of the Tibetans, physically and morally, by militant communism. All available evidence also points to the prevalence of rule of terror in S. Africa, reminiscent of the days when fascism held sway in some parts of Europe. All this is an anachronism, and unless world opinion is mustered against militant Communism and colonial imperialists, the world may yet be engulfed in a tragedy greater than history has known.

It is pertinent at this point, Sir, for those militant forces to be reminded that, whatever, their initial success, they cannot possibly stay in others' land except with the consent and goodwill of the people. Ruthless repression cannot, and will not, earn such consent and goodwill.

The Malayan delegation notes with regret, Sir, that a section of the Press of this country has excelled itself in belittling the motives of this Convention. Is it strange and purposeless that the thinking people of Africa and Asia should speak up, as we shall assuredly do here, in defence of fundamental human rights and freedom ? To us, Malaysians, this is a duty which we are here to perform to the best of our ability.

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I thank you for your patient hearing. May this Convention make a worthy contribution to world peace.

Chairman

I will now request Mr. D. P. Ghimire to address you. Mr. Ghimire is the President of the Refugee Relief Society, Mr. Ghimere....

Mr Ghimere

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : On behalf of the delegaton from Nepal I thank the sponsors of the Convention for giving us this opportunity to meet so many friends from so many countries of Asia and Africa, and to exchange our views.

Being the nearest neighbours of Tibet we have all the knowledge of what devastation Communist China has wrought upon the peaceful land. Humanity has never before suffered so much as the Tibetans have suffered in the hands of Communist China. Almost half the population of Tibet have already been ruthlessly massacred, a great number of them have escaped into India and Nepal and the unfortunate rest are suffering inhuman tortures.

One thing we have come to understand now is that all the Afrc-Asian people are against the brutal aggression of Communist China over Tibet. Now Communist China has made a claim over our highest peak, Mount Everest, which is dearer to us than our lives. We will not surrender an inch of our land, not to speak of surrendering our precious mountain peak. With all your sympathy and cooperation, my friends, we shall be able to check the colonialism of Communist China which has become a threat to all the free countries of Asia and Africa.

Chairman

I would now request Mr. Samin Khan, from Pakistan, to come to the platform and address us. Mr. Khan is a Barrister at Karachi. Mr. Samin Khan....

Mr Samin Khan

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates : I must at the outset thank the organisers of this Convention, more particularly Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, for whom, I, along with my countrymen, the people of Pakistan, have the highest esteem and respect. It is the more so for the experiment of Basic Democracy in Pakistan which is the corner stone of our glorious revolution is akin and similar and if I may say in all frankness, inspired

by the philosophy which has been so ably elaborated and enunciated by him.

The problem of Tibet, Sir, is a grave and serious problem. A brave and proud people have been subjugated not because they failed to put up a fight but because they were overwhelmed by the armed might of a much greater power. It is, Sir, a dangerous omen. It portends grave consequences which one shudders to think or imagine. It is not merely a question of the victim being Tibet, Ladakh today and Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan or, for that matter, if I may say so, the vale of Kashmir, tomorrow.

The gravity and the seriousness of the situation lies not merely in these reasons that I have just given but because it means going back to the dark ages, that age of rank colonialism with which we in Asia and Africa are quite familiar. It means the throwing overboard of all those values and standards both ethical, and moral which are the *sine qua non* of civilisation itself. It means the calculated and deliberate indifference to the international institutions created by international law and international polity.

The people of Pakistan have accorded their un-conditional support to the cause of the people of Tibet. When the question was raised in the UN, the Government of Pakistan condemned Chinese aggression in Tibet by casting its vote for the people of Tibet.

Sir, wherever the issue of self-determination has been raised whether on the question of Palestine, Indonesia, Algeria, Kenya, Nigeria or South Africa it has been the tradition of the people of Pakistan to give their unstinted support to the enslaved people. It is primarily because of this that we the people of Pakistan are unconditionally committed to the support and application of this principle to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. We believe that the question of the self-determination of the people of Tibet is interlinked with the self-determination of the people of Kashmir or for that matter of other people in the rest of the world. Self-determination is not a principle to be bargained and bartered away. It is sacred and sacrosanct. It is one and indivisible. And above all it is universal. For it is not merely the birthright of every nation but a universal truth acceptable and applicable to

the whole world. We thus cannot have two standards, one for Tibet and another for Kashmir.

It is obviously not possible to find a solution to the problem in a Convention like this but we can discuss the problem dispassionately and thereby create an atmosphere conducive to its solution. We can generate forces and mobilise public opinion to achieve that objective. And it is with this in view that I have raised the question of the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir in this Convention here.

It is thus incumbent on us to discuss the problem and to create an atmosphere for the solution of the problem—a solution which shall be acceptable to all the three parties that is the people of Pakistan, the people of India and above all the people of Kashmir.

And then, Sir, there is the problem of Algeria. It is the most important problem for us and it is our duty to help the people of Algeria in their fight against the worst form of imperialism. It is time that we realise the urgency of the problem. The sooner we act, the better it is.

But then there are other problems on the continent of Africa. There is the problem of Kenya and other colonies adjacent to it. There is the problem of South Africa. In fact it would be true to say that the real battle against the old form of Imperialism has still to be fought in Africa. It is our duty, particularly of the emancipated and free countries of Asia and Africa, to help these struggling people, for they are struggling against tyranny and oppression and for the right of self-determination.

It is time that Afro-Asian leadership rises to the occasion and chalks out a comprehensive policy on the basis of the right of self-determination for all the nationalities which are the victims of imperialism. And in doing so let not malice or personal national prejudice be our guide.

But before I conclude I would like to say a few words about those forgotten people—the Muslims living in the Soviet Union, the Muslims of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and other Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union. Do they not have the right of self-determination? Must they languish indefinitely? Do they not deserve our sympathy and help?

Something has to be done to ameliorate the lot of those brave and bold people.

These are the problems that we are faced with. There are some like the Kashmir problem which can be adequately settled in the spirit of Bandung and in accordance with Panchsheel, that is in a spirit of mutual goodwill. There are others like those of Algeria, Tibet, the Soviet Muslim Republics, and South Africa and other states in Africa which have to be solved—no matter what the price may be. For self-determination, liberty and freedom cannot be bartered away. They do not die. Like the human spirit they are eternal.

And as you have said, Mr. Chairman, 'the spirit of man goes on forever.'

Chairman

I will now invite Mr Jeremias Montemayor of Philippines to address you. Mr. Montemayor is Dean of the Faculty of Law. He is also the President of the Federation of Free Farmers. Mr Montemayor...

Mr Jermias Montemayor

Mr. Chairman, Friends from the freedom loving nations of Africa and Asia, Ladies and Gentlemen : I cannot begin to address you without first expressing the gratitude of the Philippine Delegation for the thoughtfulness and hospitality of the Preparatory Bureau and the people of India who have so graciously invited and received us at this Convention.

I come from a country about three thousand miles from this great city. But we feel one with you for during our whole history of about four hundred years, we have been fighting foreign oppression and working for national freedom and independence.

In this modern world we feel that humanity cannot long remain partly enslaved. The treacherous Communist dagger buried in the back of a Tibetan is ultimately pointed at the back of the Philippine and at the back of all liberty loving peoples of the world. If the breath of independence is stifled in the hearts of the natives of Africa, we in the Philippines cannot breathe freely, for the wicked clutch of tyranny in one country threatens the freedom of every other country.

Yesterday, it was Tibet, then it was the northern frontier of India—today it is Mount Everest. Where will it stop?

Any person and any nation, big or small who allows one to oppress and kill another not only loses his own dignity but also deserves to lose eventually his own freedom.

Chairman

Mr. Vu-Ngoc-Vy will now address you. He is the Secretary General of the Socialist Party of South Vietnam. Mr Vy....

Mr. Vu-Ngoc-Vy

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : On behalf of the Vietnamese Delegation present here today consisting of representatives of the Vietnam Socialist Party, the Vietnam Buddhist Association, and the Vietnamese Association for Asian Cultural Relations, I wish to present our warmest greetings to the Chairman of the Organizing Committee and the Honorable representative of Asian and African nations.

We Vietnamese, like the Hungarians, the Tibetans, have been wounded by the lust of international communism for conquest and by the ruthless tyranny it imposes on any territory overruns. For us it has meant the partition of the country and the extinction of basic liberties for more than half our people. Our compatriots in the North, even as the Hungarian and Tibetan people, crave for a rebirth of freedom and a government devoted to concepts of human dignity.

These compatriots have shed blood with Tibetans, and Hungarians to consecrate their anti-Communist determination. Only days after the Soviet forces so cruelly suppressed Hungary's popular revolution, similar uprising broke out against the Vietnamese Communists among our people in Quynh-luu and elsewhere in North Vietnam.

Asia and Africa are awakening to the Communist danger. Communist expansionism has become so obvious that nobody would fail to see it.

India's awakening is the most significant of all, because India is dedicated to the pacifist teachings of Gandhi ; it

has been the most ardent advocate of peaceful coexistence and the strongest champion of friendship and goodwill toward Communist China. In fact India has painfully discovered that in exchange for Indian goodwill, the Chinese Communists have increased pressure on Indian borders.

It is not difficult to understand why the Communists have taken the risks of provoking the Free World as well as the neutralist countries. Neither the neutralist nations which are immediately threatened, nor the free nations whose position has been affected, seem to realize the seriousness of the situation, and still think they can stop the Communists by an exchange of words across the conference table, or by nicely worded resolutions. While India has been sending note after note to Peking, the Communist Chinese troops have been ejecting Indian soldiers from their positions along the Sino-Indian border. While the Free World nations are drafting resolutions in New York, the communist troops have been occupying villages in Laos.

What is needed is action, and a plan for action to stop Communists in their advance. Such action would represent a heart-warming victory not only for the people of Tibet but for peoples everywhere who remain under the Communist heel, including our own compatriots in the North. There could be no better way, we think, of honouring the sacred memory of those who died at Quynh-Luu and in Tibet in the never-ending struggle against Communist inhuman regime.

Our most ardent desire is that this Convention will give rise to a lasting friendship and mutual understanding between the representatives of Afro-Asian peoples co-operating in a common task : to make plans to fight Communism more effectively.

We are very grateful to the members of the Preparatory Bureau for organising this Convention, for their efforts for a noble cause. We are happy to avail ourselves of this opportunity to convey our warm greetings to all delegations present here. We are convinced that the success of this Convention will be the triumph of Freedom and Peace.

Chairman

I would now like to invite Mr. Kalon Wanchen Geleg Surkhang of Tibet, but I shall also like to say a few words by way of an explanation. It was originally intended that the Tibet Delegation should speak first but later on it was thought that it would be better to follow the alphabetical order. Thus Tibet has come at the end. I am thankful to the Tibet Delegation that they agreed to this arrangement.

Mr Surkhang

Mr Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you for the honour you have done me by giving me this opportunity to speak to you on behalf of the suffering masses of the people of Tibet. This is a momentous occasion for all of us who are vitally interested in the welfare and progress of the people of Tibet. You have gathered together here at personal inconvenience to give a striking example of your sympathy for the unfortunate people of my unfortunate country, and nothing could have touched our hearts more than this effort on your part to help the cause of Tibetan freedom. And we on our part are not only grateful to you for your sympathy and support but also welcome the opportunity that you have afforded us of giving you a clear picture of the tragic situation in which the unhappy men, women and children of Tibet find themselves today.

We are all sincerely grateful to those Afro-Asian countries who did not fail to raise their voice at the United Nations to restore the cherished liberties of our people. We welcomed the resolution which was adopted by that August body of the nations of the world. It gave us hope, courage, strength, and faith in human justice. But, as you will no doubt hear in the course of the proceedings of this Convention, tyranny and oppression still continue to be rampant throughout the length and breadth of Tibet; the misery and sufferings of the people are daily becoming more and more unbearable; starvation reigns everywhere; and the entire population of Tibet is anxiously praying and waiting for the day when the civilised nations of the world will come to their rescue.

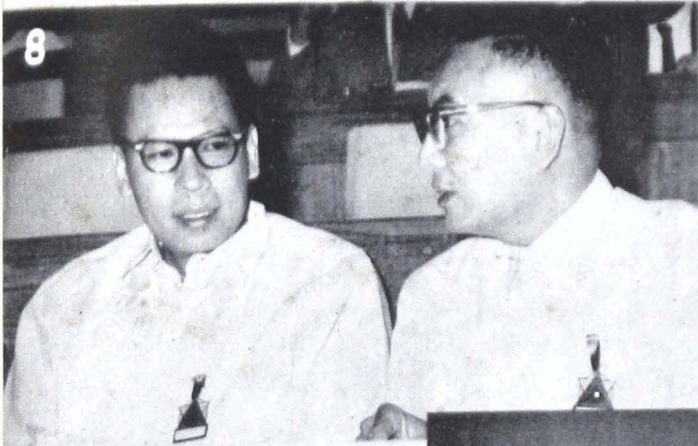
Ladies and Gentlemen, some of you have no doubt experienced the despair and utter hopelessness of living under foreign domination but the foreign domination in Tibet is immeasurably more cruel and ruthless, and it is difficult



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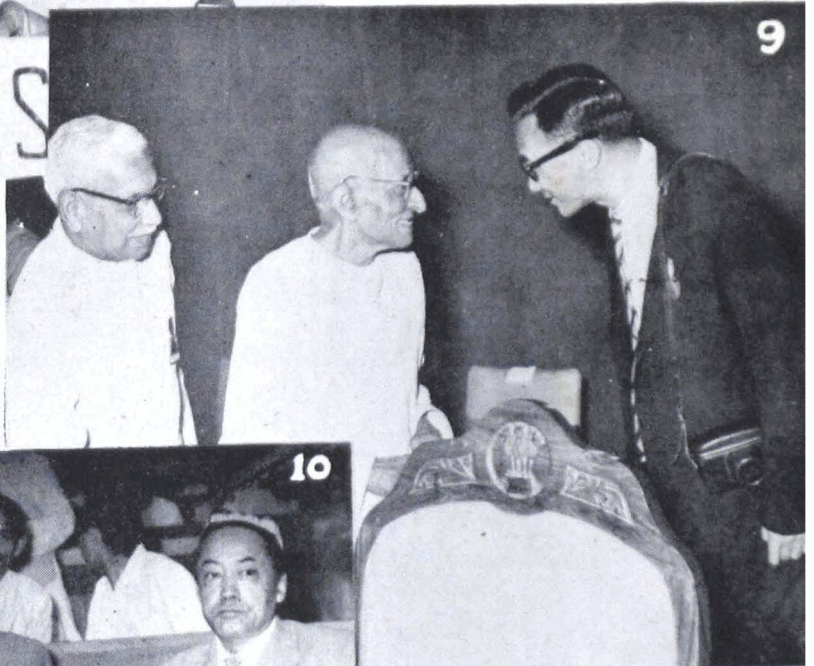
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7. Mr. Mukaya and Mr. Oyangi of Kenya

PHILIPPINES



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6. Mr. D. P. Ghimire and Mr. D. P. Kumai (Nepal)

8. Mr. Jeremias Montemayor and Mr. A. Mutuc



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9. Mr. Hansraj Gupta and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari with Mr. Norbu

10. Mr. Isa Yusuf Alptekin and Mr. Yamin Bugra with interpreter (Centre)



11

11. Dr. R. Sathiah, Senator Tan and Mr. Dahari Ali

for anyone outside Tibet to believe that such atrocities could be perpetrated in the name of reform and progress by any Government which recognises the canons of freedom and justice. The people of Tibet look to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your active support and assistance. They depend on you, one and all, for such help as you might be in a position to render.

We Tibetans, like all other Buddhists and believers in Asian religions, are dedicated to the path of peace. Our religion teaches us to believe in peace and live in peace and harmony with all other countries. It is for this reason that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has struggled hard since the brutal invasion by the Chinese armies in 1950 to come to a peaceful and amicable settlement with the Government of China. Despite the oppression and tyranny of the Chinese authorities, His Holiness has repeatedly appealed for a just and friendly settlement even after his arrival in India. Many of us have followed the foot-steps of our illustrious leader. I have myself worked for many years in close association and co-operation with the Chinese authorities in Lhasa in the hope that they would realise that the path of peace is the only way for mankind. But all our earnest efforts have proved fruitless and futile. It now depends on you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to do all that you can to help us in this grim and tragic situation and I appeal to you with all the strength I command to come to our rescue and take such practical steps as you may consider necessary for the restoration of our freedom and our religion. I appeal to you one and all to think of the sad and sorry plight of my people and persuade your Governments to do all that is possible in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations—a Charter which should be an instrument of peace not only for the great powers but also for the smaller nations of the world.

We claim that Tibet and her people have enjoyed full and complete independence for a period of at least fifty years and that there was no justification whatsoever for the ruthless violation of her territorial integrity. We claim that we as a nation are entitled to the benefit of the principles and policies of the Great Charter. We claim that it is the duty of all members of the United Nations to repel the aggressor by all peaceful means and thus free the people of Tibet from the terrible ordeal of barbarous tyranny and oppression.

I appeal to you in all earnestness and sincerity and hope and pray that you will take up the struggle for us as you have done for other countries under foreign rule.

Chairman

Now Mr. Bullent Yazici of Turkey will address you. Mr. Yazici is a well known economist and is the Deputy Director of the Industrial Development Institution.

Mr Bullent Yazici

Ladies and Gentlemen : I wish to start my few words by thanking the Preparatory Committee of this Convention and, especially, our Chairman, for the kind invitation they extended to the peoples of Turkey to attend this worthy gathering. The Turkish Delegation brings to this Convention the greetings and the best wishes of the Turkish people. We firmly believe in the right of all peoples of the world wherever they are situated without distinction of race and creed to determine their own way of life. We reject the idea that some nations may have the moral or political rights for other nations. The tragedy of Tibet is a recent example of the reckless effort of a new imperialism to gain ground. We believe that the main function of this Convention should be to draw the attention of the world public opinion to this new imperialistic form. The people of Turkey wish to see the people of Tibet who are being oppressed by China to be set free. We wish to express to the people of Tibet our wholehearted sympathies. I end these few words by wishing every success to this Convention.

Chairman

I am very sorry to mention that Mr. Abdel Raouf Ali of the U.A.R. has fallen ill. I am sure, I am expressing your sentiments in hoping that he would be in a position to participate in the proceedings of the Convention tomorrow morning.

Now, friends, the business of the evening is over. I do not wish to detain you a second longer. I wish to thank you all fellow Delegates for the very kind and willing cooperation that you have given me in conducting the proceedings of this Convention. I thank you all.

The Inaugural Session concluded its sitting at 9.30 p.m.

Second Plenary Session, April 10, 1960

THE Second Plenary Session of the Convention assembled at 9.30 a.m. in Commission Room G of the Vigyan Bhavan. On the invitation of the Chairman of the Convention, Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas, Chairman of the Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet constituted by the International Commission of Jurists, addressed the delegates on the International Status of Tibet.

In the absence of the Chairman of the Convention, the Delegates proceeded to elect a Chairman for the Session.

Mr Samar Guha (India)

Friends : We shall begin our business of today. I have pleasure in proposing the name of Mr. Alfred Naccache to preside over this Plenary Session today.

Mr V.B. Karnik (India)

I have pleasure in seconding the proposal.

The delegates expressed their approval and Mr Naccache took the Chair.

Chairman

Gentlemen, the Session is open. I have the honour this morning to preside over this Session. There we have our agenda in front of us, that we will hear the address on the Position of Tibet in International Law by Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas. Mr. Trikamdas is invited to give us this address. Thank you very much.

Mr Purshottam Trikamdas

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am thankful to the organisers of this Convention for the kind invitation to come and meet you all and address you this morning.

To start with I would like to convey to you greetings on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists of which I have the privilege to be a member. The International Commission of Jurists is an organisation of lawyers—an entirely non-official organisation of lawyers. Our headquarters at present are in Geneva, and it under-

takes such activities as are possible for that organisation to further the rule of law.

One of the activities which the Commission undertook last year was to prepare a Report on Tibet. The Report, a copy of which you will find in your folders, was published last July; and as has been stated in it itself, it is a preliminary Report.

Many topics have been dealt with in this Report, but we found that although there was a certain amount of evidence relating to the violation of human rights and to the question of whether genocide had been committed in Tibet or not, further inquiry was necessary. As a result, a Committee of 11 members was appointed on which, along with myself—I am the Chairman—I have got colleagues from eight other countries. The Committee has carried on its investigations and the Report will be submitted perhaps in July. It is for that reason, Gentlemen, that I have had to deny myself the pleasure of associating myself more actively with this Convention for which I have my fullest sympathy and support. The limitation of being the Chairman of a Committee which is investigating into certain things, also keeps my mouth sealed regarding the subjects to be considered in the report we are making. Therefore, when friends of the Convention asked me to address you, Ladies and Gentlemen, I said I would confine myself to the Legal Position of Tibet in International Law, which has already been dealt with in the preliminary Report.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the international position of Tibet really becomes of importance as of 1950 when the invasion of Tibet took place by the Chinese Communist armies. But, in order to understand what the position in 1950 was we shall have to go back perhaps three-quarters of a century, very briefly, and find out for ourselves what the position of Tibet was during that period.

I need not go very much further than the 1870s or 1880s. Prior to that it is enough to say that there was a certain amount of Chinese authority in Tibet, suggesting a loose kind of suzerainty. The Chinese had been invited in Tibet in order to fight the Gurkhas and Kashmiris and others. Slowly, the Chinese had become more and more influential and ultimately, there were the Residents called Ambans stationed in Lhasa. This was the position and China did exercise considerable authority—not in the

international affairs directly but indirectly, through the Ambans who were the Viceroys or Residents, as they were known in India *qua* the Indian States. But it appears that some time after 1860-70, for some reason which we need not enquire into, the Chinese started losing their hold and their authority in Tibet.

IN 1886 THE BRITISH wanted to send an expedition into Tibet. The Chinese authorities agreed but the British had to abandon that mission because the Tibetans opposed it. That gives an inkling as to how much Chinese authority there was round about this time. Prior to that I might mention that in 1841 China, Tibet and the Raja of Jammu had entered into a treaty to which there were three parties. Tibet had also entered into an independent treaty with Nepal in 1856, and therefore, even prior to 1880 it appears that Tibet was, on occasions, exercising complete independent authority, independent of the Chinese.

After the abandonment of this 1886 expedition, in 1888 the Tibetans invaded and occupied a portion of Sikkim which was claimed by the British as their protectorate. Notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese were supposed to have full authority, the Tibetans could not be persuaded to withdraw and the British had to send an expedition to drive them out. In spite of this, the British, who were trying to infiltrate into Tibet for the purpose of trade, entered into an agreement with the Chinese in 1890 whereby certain trade marts etc., had to be opened up and regulations in accordance with that 1890 agreement were drawn up in 1893. The Chinese had unequivocally agreed in the 1890 agreement, to various other things—I am not going into all those details, Gentlemen. You can find those details in the documents printed in this Report. But the Tibetans had their own will, and they absolutely refused to abide by any agreement which the Chinese Government had made with the British Government.

The situation got bad round about 1903 as the result of which, the British authority in India sent a military expedition known as the Younghusband expedition in 1904. Mind you, there was a Chinese Amban stationed in Lhasa; but there was no protest either from the Amban or the Chinese Government against this invasion on what should be their territory, as the Chinese claim it was. Ultimately, the Tibetans (not the Chinese), after fighting bravely against the expedition, were defeated and Young-

husband proceeded to Lhasa where he dictated what is known as the Lhasa Convention of 1904.

One Chinese historian says that the Amban, who was in Lhasa actually helped Younghusband to come to terms with Tibetans who had been defeated, but still were recalcitrant. He argues from this that the Chinese authority existed in Tibet. Let us examine if the argument of the Chinese historian has any validity. His main argument is based on the fact that the Chinese Amban was there. But let us look at it dispassionately. If the Chinese Amban was there, all that he did was to act as a broker between Younghusband and the Tibetans in order to bring about a settlement. Strange role for the Chinese Viceroy!

If anything, it shows what little authority the Chinese Amban had in 1904. This treaty—the Convention of Lhasa—is of great importance, from the point of view of the consideration of the status of Tibet in 1904. The Convention was signed so far as the British are concerned by Col. Younghusband and so far as the Tibetans are concerned, the seals of the three important monasteries were there and also the seal of the Dalai Lama. At no place in this Convention do we find any subscribing by the Chinese Amban or the Chinese authority. Effectively Chinese authority at that time was dead in Tibet. Significantly there was no protest by the Chinese Government. I would invite your attention to some of the terms of that Convention. The Chambi valley in Tibet was to be occupied by the British as a security for the performance of the terms of the agreement. The Tibetan Government agreed to raze all forts and fortifications and remove all armaments which might impede the course of free communication between the British frontier and the towns of Gyantse and Lhasa. The Tibetan Government agreed that without the previous permission of the British no Tibetan territory would be ceded, sold or leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation to any foreign power and that no such power would be permitted to intervene in Tibetan affairs. Tibet also agreed not to admit the Representatives or Agents of any foreign powers or to give any concession to such power. It was further agreed that no revenues of Tibet were to be pledged or assigned to any foreign Power or to the subject of a foreign power.

It would not be wrong to conclude from these terms

that Tibet was in effect reduced to the position of a protectorate of Britain.

Thereafter when the Younghusband expedition retired back to India and the British Indian Government did not show much anxiety to develop further relations with Tibet, the Chinese realised that their opportunity had come and they started again sending their armies into Tibet. A General who later on became known as the butcher of Tibet, Chao Erh-feng, was sent and he slowly penetrated into Tibet and regained a certain amount of authority in Tibet. But before that another thing—two things—happened.

IN 1906 THE CHINESE and the British entered into a Convention which was signed at Peking. By the 1904 Convention certain parts of Tibet, for the time, were to be occupied by the British till reparation by the Tibetans had been made. Certain other privileges were given to Britain and these privileges had been denied to every other country. But the British for reasons of their own were not willing to offend China in spite of the fact that they had got all that they wanted from Tibet. The British and the Chinese entered into this agreement and it is a very eloquent kind of agreement. By this agreement the Chinese actually congratulated, if I may say so, the British for going into Tibet and making Tibetans respect the 1890 and 1893 agreement which they had made. It shows that the Chinese had no objection to the British going in there provided they went in there for the ostensible purpose of making the Tibetans respect the agreement which had been entered into between the Chinese and the British. I shall read from this document “And whereas the refusal of Tibet to recognise the validity of or to carry into full effect the provision of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of March 17, 1890 and Regulations of December 5, 1893, placed the British Government under the necessity of taking steps to secure their rights and interest under the said Convention and Regulations ;

“And whereas a Convention of ten Articles was signed at Lhasa on 7th September 1904 on behalf of Great Britain and Tibet and was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor General on behalf of Great Britain on 11th November 1904, a declaration on behalf of Great Britain....

“Art. 1. The Convention concluded on September 7, 1904 by Great Britain and Tibet, the texts of which is in English and Chinese...is hereby confirmed and both the High Contracting Parties engage to take at all times such steps as may be necessary to secure the due fulfilment of the terms specified therein.” Out of the concessions which Britain had extracted from the Tibetans, the Chinese are given certain concessions by the British. This is 1906.

As a result of this 1906 Convention, certain Trade Agreements were signed in 1908. So far as the Trade Agreement is concerned there was a Tibetan representative who was apparently working under the direction of the Chinese representative. And this again is one of the points put forward by those who claim that Tibet was even then really part and parcel of China. How is it that this became the position soon after 1904? The reason for this appears to be the desire of the European powers, for some reason or other, not to offend China. Russia had infiltrated into Mongolia and had tried to infiltrate into Tibet. Britain also was trying to infiltrate into Tibet or, in any event, wanted to keep Russia out, and the result was that, as was the fashion in those days, the robber European powers—Russia and Great Britain—entered into a Convention in 1907. That Convention, many people forget, does not deal with Tibet alone. It deals among other things with Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. By this document these two powers were trying to divide up these regions into spheres of influence. And, in this Convention the British and the Russians—Chinese were not parties nor were the Tibetans—agreed between themselves that they recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and that they will have no direct relations with Tibet, neither of them, but would deal with Tibet through China. Regarding Afghanistan, there was a similar term. Russia agreed not to enter into any relations with Afghanistan excepting through Great Britain. There had been an Afghan War in which the British army was beaten back from Afghanistan and therefore Britain had no power or influence in Afghanistan and yet the Russians said “We shall enter into no relations with Afghanistan excepting through you.” This did not make Afghanistan a vassal of Great Britain. This Convention of 1907 is made the basis, by many learned gentlemen in International Law, for the conclusion that the claim that the Chinese suzerainty had been recognised by these two powers. My submission is that conclusion does not follow from this

Convention if you read the other parts of convention which deal with Afghanistan and Persia. In any event the Tibetans certainly were not parties to this, nor were the Chinese. And this was a Convention, like the other then fashionable conventions by which the European powers used to divide up the world between themselves in the absence of the real people who were living in those parts of the world.

ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT that Britain had shared its concessions in 1906 with China, and the 1907 Convention between Britain and Russia, General Chao Erh-feng went right up to Lhasa and by 1910 he had established, rather re-established, a good bit of China's authority in Tibet. The Dalai Lama then sought refuge in India and stayed at Simla for considerable period.

Now, while this was happening, in 1911 came the Chinese Revolution and this gave the opportunity to the Tibetans to fight against the Chinese and the Chinese were annihilated and sent out of Tibet. In 1912, the 13th Dalai Lama proclaimed the independence of Tibet and from that date onwards, from 1911-12, there was till 1950, no semblance of Chinese authority in Tibet. We are quite familiar with the fact that in many parts of the world, over centuries, foreign dominations, have taken place and also that people have got rid of such foreign domination. During the last two wars, a number of new countries have emerged. During the last few years after the wars, number of new countries, including my country, which was under foreign domination have become independent. Can you, therefore, claim that something which you have held, or some domination which you have exercised over another country, gives you a right to that country to eternity? My submission is that the claim which the Chinese have been putting forward from time to time and which even today not only the Chinese Communists but the Government of President Chiang Kai-shek put forward, has little or no basis in fact. If they look at the reality of the situation, they must accept the fact that Tibetans overthrew the Chinese authority, became independent in 1912 and what has happened in 1950 is invasion of an independent country by the Chinese Communists.

Thereafter, the British were not very satisfied with this state of affairs for some reason or the other. Again, perhaps, Russia was upsetting the British. They wanted to

keep the fiction of Chinese suzerainty in spite of the fact that as early as 1903, Lord Curzon the Viceroy and Governor General had said: "Chinese suzerainty over Tibet is a constitutional fiction, a polite fiction which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties". The British, in spite of this, wanted to keep up the fiction and once again in 1913, they made the effort of re-establishing certain kind of a loose suzerainty of China over Tibet. They invited the Tibetans and the Chinese to Simla to bring this about. It is a noteworthy fact that the meeting was tripartite. There was the representative of the Chinese Government, the British representative, the representative of the Tibet. Each of them was the plenipotentiary of his country. They exchanged credentials and accepted each other's credentials and a Convention was drawn up. It was initialled by all the three some time in 1914. The effort of the British in 1913-14 was to patch up some kind of arrangement between the Tibetans and the Chinese, and the Tibetans were actually induced, if the Chinese would agree to some other terms, to accept the suzerainty of China with complete autonomy of what was described as Outer Tibet. Tibet was to be divided into two sections, Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet; Inner Tibet under China and the Outer Tibet under the Tibet Government. The Tibetans went out of their way to agree to that because of British pressure, because of British reluctance to help them with arms and ammunition. Though the Convention was initialled by all the three parties, the Chinese Government repudiated the authority of its own plenipotentiary. As a result the Chinese refused to sign. But the Convention was ratified by the British and the Tibetans and a note was appended to that Convention which reads. "So long as the Government of China withholds the signature of the aforesaid Convention, she will be debarred from the enjoyment of all privileges accruing therefrom".

MANY WRITERS OF international law seem to completely ignore the 1914 Convention, thinking that it was not ratified by all the parties. This little note was kept secret for a little while by the British but it has come out and this was signed in 1914. There is another thing which finds a place in the Convention—that the trade regulations which had been signed by the Chinese and the British in 1908 are abrogated by this Convention and new trade regulations had to be drawn up. They were drawn up and have been signed by Tibet and the British representatives and those

were the trade regulations which were effective from 1914. I should have mentioned one thing that the President of China, in 1912 asserted the sovereignty of China over Tibet but the Tibetans rejected it out of hand, and have never since that date accepted any kind of Chinese authority in Tibet.

In 1919, some kind of negotiations were started after the defeat of the Chinese army which was advancing in Tibet in 1918. In 1918 a Truce was signed at the instance of a British representative. Before that Tibetans had advanced and they recaptured quite a large part of the territory known as Inner Tibet which was in Chinese possession and if they had not been persuaded to stop, they would have regained all the Tibetan areas where the Tibetans live. Anyway, after proceeding to a certain extent the Tibetans stopped and Truce was signed.

In 1919, the Chinese attempted to patch up its relations with Tibetans. Nothing came out of it. Further, an attempt was also made in 1920 and the Tibetans told the Chinese that they would have nothing to do with them. In 1921, The British Government officially informed the Chinese that they, namely, the British did not feel justified in withholding any longer the recognition of the status of Tibet as an autonomous State under the suzerainty of China, and intended to deal with Tibet on this basis in future. All the time they kept talking of suzerainty. I do not know what kind of suzerainty it was. To say : We shall deal with Tibet directly but we recognise you as suzerain. In 1928, the Government of China sent a mission to Lhasa to invite Tibet to join the Chinese Republic. This was ignored. In 1931, China unilaterally declared Tibet to be a province of China. Then again hostilities between the nationals of Chinese and Tibet occurred in 1931-32.

Hostilities broke out in 1931-32 when the Government of China tried to assert authority over the territories of Amdo and Kham. In 1934 taking advantage of the fact that the Dalai Lama had died, a condolence mission was sent by the Chinese to Lhasa. And the Chinese managed to remain there from that time onwards till they were expelled in 1949. It was some kind of an embassy. That time there was also a Nepalese mission in Tibet and had been there for quite a long time. The British mission was also established soon thereafter. The Chinese remained there but in any event exercised no kind

of authority. One can that find from any of the historical records.

Then the next thing that happened was the war between China and Japan. It is important to note that Tibetans went on asserting that they were completely neutral in that war between China and Japan. Now if Tibet was, even loosely speaking, a part of China, Tibet would be at war with Japan. The plea of neutrality could not be ignored by any of the big powers during the Second World War when the British and the Americans wanted to help the Chinese Government. The Tibetans again asserted their neutrality and an agreement which was reached made it perfectly clear that while supplies could be transported through Tibetan territory, no war material would pass through Tibetan territory from India to China. This again is an indication of how far the Tibetans at that time were asserting their independence. In 1942 the Chinese again asked the British as to the status of Tibet *vis a vis* China. On the 26th July 1943 the Chinese requested the British to clarify their attitude on Tibet. A foreign office memorandum was prepared which reviewed the events of 1911, characterising Tibet's position on the withdrawal of Chinese troops as "*de facto* independence" and placed emphasis on the assertion that the breakdown of the Simla Conference in 1914 was due solely to Chinese intransigence. After repeating the gist of the British note of 1921, the 1943 note went on: "This is the principle which has guided the attitude of the British Government towards Tibet. They have always been prepared to recognise Chinese suzerainty over Tibet but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous." Tibet never recognised any such thing. This was the last time that an effort was made by China to get the British to recognise in unequivocal terms something more than what the Tibetans were prepared to accept.

IN 1947 CAME the independence of India and power was transferred to the Indian Government. The last effort the Chinese made was in 1948. This time they sent a note to the Government of Britain asking them to revise the 1908 trade regulations which had been dead since 1914. The British Government very rightly, pointed out that it exercised no further authority in India and referred the Chinese Government to India and Pakistan as the successor governments. It is not quite clear whether such a request

was made to the Indian and Pakistan Governments. No information is available but it likely of that some correspondence ensued between the Indian Government and the Chinese Government a little later, in which the Indian Government has made certain statements with which I shall deal separately in a minute or two.

However, so far as the China is concerned, the situation again underwent change when the Communists took effective control of the Chinese mainland. In the meantime certain negotiations seem to have gone on between the Chinese Government and the independent Government of India. I am guessing from some documents which have been published that the Indian Government in its revolutionary fervour thought that treaties which had been imposed by the very bad and wicked imperialist power, namely Britain, by which rights had been acquired should not be considered by binding any more. A very admirable position to take up. The Indian Foreign Office slipped up somewhere—they did not for some reason realise that the British were willing to recognise the suzerainty of China provided Tibet was left alone. The Indian Government were willing, to give up whatever rights it had under the 1904 and 1914 Conventions—special rights—and enter into fresh Conventions for the purpose of the new basis between the two countries. If they had done this and informed the Tibetan Government—it would have been admirable. Unfortunately they informed the wrong Government; they informed the Communist Government that hence forth they would not bother about the commitments which had been made by Tibet and they would be willing to revise all those treaties. They did not realise that China had no authority in Tibet and they were handing over an independent country to the Chinese. These were also the days of Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai. As soon as this happened some correspondence took place in which the Indian Government seems to have expressed a pious hope that the Chinese would still respect the autonomous status of Tibet. Within six weeks of a certain letter written by the Indian Government, the text of which is not available but is referred to in part or mentioned in one of the letters exchanged between the Indian Government and the Chinese Government in which the Indian Government seems to have recognized Chinese suzerainty or sovereignty over Tibet, the Chinese Government announced that they were going to “liberate” Tibet. As Mr. Nehru asked, liberation of Tibet from whom?

WE ARE PASSING through a phase today in which we have become familiar with Communist double talk. If the Communist invades somebody, he is liberating him. If somebody else invades, he is invading. They started marching in October 1950. The Indian Government came to know about it as late as 26th October 1950. The armies had entered into Tibet on the 7th of October ; Tibet had surrendered on the 19th.

The Indian Government very innocently said that they had heard that Chinese had decided to march and suggested mildly that they should not do it. The thing was done and finished and thereafter the Chinese have affectively penetrated into Tibet and, as our friend Mr. Chang-Kuo-Sin said yesterday, they are doing the same thing in Tibet as they are doing in China. With this exception that in Tibet they are doing something more. They are colonising it with a large number of Chinese immigrants. The result of this colonisation would be that in a few years, may be in a decade or two, there will be no Tibet at all. As the Dalai Lama said in his message read before you yesterday that if this massive colonisation of Tibet is not halted, there will be no Tibet at all. It is perfectly correct.

Now this is the position up to 1950 and the conclusion which the International Commission came to in its Report was that Tibet was an independent country from 1912—in any event, till 1950 till it was invaded. The Chinese have no doubt never given up their claims over Tibet, a claim over a territory which has broken away. It remains only a claim and not a very good or civilised claim in the modern world, but there it is.

Then there is only one thing more I want to dealt with. I do not want to take very much more of your time. The 17 Point Agreement which was signed by the representatives of Tibet in Peking, the Dalai Lama has stated that it was signed under duress and as also stated that the seal—Dalai Lama's seal—was actually manufactured in Peking. They resisted for some time but decided to submit to this 17 Point Agreement. The force of circumstances was such. The Chinese were in effective control but there were certain articles in the Agreement which possibly left Tibet and its institutions some chance of remaining intact. The Tibetan Government in a pragmatic manner thought that they would try to work it. The Chinese Government

systematically broke this 17 Point Agreement and the fact has emerged that soon after 1951, Chinese military authority was established in Lhasa and thereafter so far as the Government of the Dalai Lama is concerned it became a mere rubber stamping government or a puppet government. One of the Cabinet Ministers Mr. Lokangwa who protested against the recognition of the Chinese had actually to resign. The Dalai Lama has stated in one of the answers to the International Commission that he was compelled to dismiss him by the Chinese. Thereafter the Chinese established their authority. I am not dealing with what they have done.

So far as human rights are concerned it appears that there has been a systematic deprivation of such rights so far as Tibetans are concerned. Mr. Chang Kuo Sin will say again there have been the same deprivation in China because that is the Communist way.

One more point with which I want to deal is that it is not quite clear so far as the international lawyers are concerned as to what is the effect of a treaty which has been dictated by coercion and by force. There is a difference of opinion. Some international lawyers think that the Government which was forced to sign the treaty could repudiate it if the occasion arose. Let us not forget that Tibetans and the Dalai Lama have proclaimed their independence. But the modern opinion and the better opinion, if I may say so with very great respect to the other school of International lawyers, seems to be that just as in the civil law a contract which has been induced either by coercion or fraud can be repudiated by the party who has been coerced. An International Agreement has to be brought on the same footing of civil law between individual and individual.

Gentlemen, I have taken too much of your time and I do hope that in the deliberations which you are undertaking from today the firm observations of mine regarding the position of Tibet may be of some help to you. Thank you very much.

Chairman

I thank Mr. Trikamdas for his interesting address.

The Plenary Session concluded its deliberations at 10-30 a.m.

Third Plenary Session, April 11, 1960

THE Third Plenary Session of the convention met in Commission Room at 12.30 p.m. The Session had before it the resolutions of the Committees.

Chairman

I think we should begin now. We are already more than 45 minutes late.

As you all know, we have gathered here this morning to discuss and adopt the resolutions of the three Committees. In addition, we have another resolution from an informal kind of Sub-Committee that met yesterday. This Committee consists of the spokesmen of the Delegations and the Chairmen and Repporteurs of the Committees.

We have these four items of business. We have not got much time before us. I understand that the Committees had a very full discussion on the subjects before them and I believe all the resolutions are unanimous. I, therefore, hope that here we will be merely formally adopting them and there would not be much need for any kind of discussion. There may be very minor verbal amendments on a sentence here or a paragraph there which you might wish to change, but I hope you will all desist from it in the interest of keeping the schedule of the Convention. Very soon we will have the Open Session in this hall, the public and the press would also be present; we should not be late for that Session. I think lunch has to be as brief as possible. I am sorry my Committee had to forego the coffee, to which the members were entitled. I think what we got at the end was more valuable than the coffee—we agreed to a resolution on rather a controversial subject.

Which Committee is ready? Should I call Frank Moraes first to give his resolution or shall I take some time? Is anyone else ready? The Human Rights Committee? ...No?...But you have a copy? (Pointing out to Dr. Raghuvira).

Dr Raghuvira

The final form has been given to the typist.

Chairman

Nobody has yet come in from that (Anti-Colonial Committee) ?

A Delegate

They are in session still.

Chairman

Does anyone know about the Anti-Colonial Committee? But without them how can we proceed ?

Mr Masani

The Sub-Committee's draft Resolution is before you.

Chairman

The Anti-Colonial Committee has not finished as yet. They are in session and they want ten minutes more. It does not seem to be fair to proceed without them. This is a country where lot of people fast with or without reason. I think we have good reason for fasting today !
(*Laughter*)

The proceedings stopped for a while so that the members of the Anti-Colonial Committee may finish their work and join the proceedings.

Chairman

Friends, may I have your attention please. There is the draft resolution on South Africa, which has come from the Anti-Colonial Committee. This Resolution has been adopted there unanimously and you would agree that the rest of the delegates who are present here from the other two Committees may consider this. It should be accepted as the Resolution of the Convention. You have only to consider it. So if you agree with this procedure, we might transact this business and get through. Is it agreed ?

In the absence of the Rapporteurs concerned, I shall read out this Resolution for you.

"1. This Convention expresses its deep sense of horror at the recent events in South Africa where the doctrine of White supremacy has led to the brutal massacre of the Africans.

“2. This Convention emphatically condemns the policy of *Appartheid*, so reminiscent of the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority, which deprives 5/6th of the population of South Africa of all rights guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and reduces this vast majority of the population to a position of abject slavery.

“3. This Convention considers that the policy of *Appartheid* pursued by the South African Government constitutes a grave danger and threat to world peace and hence rejects the contention of the said Government that *Appartheid* is an internal issue. The savage oppression on the grounds of race and colour can never be accepted as an internal affair of any country.

“4. This Convention warns the Government of Union of South Africa that the Asian and African peoples will not submit to racial arrogance and extends its solidarity to the people of that country who are valiantly fighting the battle of freedom and equality.

“5. This Convention appeals to the United Nations and urges upon each of its member States to take effective steps to end this barbarous practice of *Appartheid* and, if need be, to apply necessary sanctions for that purpose.”

It is clear or should I read any part of it ?

Delegates

Quite clear.

Chairman

All of you agree ?

Mr Alfred Naccache

It is a little long, I think.

Chairman

But I think it would complicate matters if we were to abbreviate it. It would mean a lot of time. I think we should accept it. Should I take it that it is accepted.

Delegates

Yes.

Chairman

Well, this Resolution is passed.

Is your Committee over? Have you all joined us yet?
(Pointing to some delegates)

Delegates of the Anti-Colonial Committee

Yes. We have all come.

Chairman

Friends, it seems that the Anti-Colonial Committee has adopted 15 Resolutions! (*Laughter*)

There is one general Resolution on Colonialism and Racialism and the others on different countries. Now if we wish to get through the business before us, all that we can do is to place full confidence in the wisdom of the Anti-Colonial Committee and have these Resolutions read and adopted without discussion. Otherwise for 15 Resolutions it will be impossible for us to scrutinise every word. We shall take these up. So I would request Mr. Krishnamurthi—he is one of the Rapporteurs of the Committee—to read out all the Resolutions one by one. I would ask your opinion.

Was this general Resolution on Colonialism and Racialism adopted unanimously in your Committee?

Mr Krishnamurthi

Yes, Sir.

Chairman

Friends, what is your wish about this? This is a general statement of the position of the Committee on Colonialism and Racialism. Do you agree to this statement?

Mr Kasuri (Pakistan)

I have a submission to make from Pakistan. I understand that in the Committee there was a good deal of discussion whether there should be a qualification

of the 'right of self-determination' by some further words. I understand that some qualifying words have been introduced. I should think that qualification was unnecessary because it would introduce the very kind of controversy that we witnessed in another Committee.

Chairman

Which is the qualification ?

Mr Kasuri

"By all dependent peoples" or "under foreign domination". Because, so far as I understand it is difficult for two peoples, say Tibetans and Chinese, to agree that they are different people, as to who are the foreign people. You are really mixing up two things and starting a controversy by introducing this complication. Because, who is to determine who are the foreign people? I take it that it is the right of all of us to determine whether we are part of another people. If the people of Tibet say that they are not part of the Chinese no one would stand in the way in the right of the people of Tibet to say they are not part of the people of China. I would beg of this Convention to take note of this fact and take a broader view of things than apparently it has been possible for some Delegates to take.

Chairman

What happened in the end, after the controversy? Was it agreed to by you or have you any reservations?

Mr Samin Khan (Pakistan)

I disagree with the word 'alien'.

Chairman

So, it is not correct that it was unanimously passed?

Mr Kasuri

Sir, I am particular this qualification should disappear.

Chairman

That is, in the second paragraph? "This Convention upholds self-determination as an inalienable right of a people under foreign domination". 'Foreign domination'

Mr. Kasuri wants to be omitted. Probably the controversy was in the background of Kashmir. But I think that should not come in the way of the proper wording.

Mr Tan

May I, Sir, on behalf of the Committee say that the reason why we thought we should have these words was that we wanted to have distinction in the case of free peoples because in their case, the question of self-determination will not arise. That was the reason.

Chairman

What Senator Tan says is that foreign domination was added because in the case of free peoples, the question of the right of self-determination did not arise.

Mr Kasuri

The whole trouble really starts between saying who are the dependent people and who are free. It is very strange that in this Convention we should still not be able to get out of this idea that people cannot be free for themselves. You cannot free the people of Kashmir or the people of Tibet, or of Indonesia or of Algeria from themselves.

Chairman

Because the time is limited I would suggest that even though this Resolution may have been adopted already by the Committee, either unanimously or by an overwhelming majority, these words be removed. The Resolution would not lose, and probably would gain, if those words be removed. Instead of saying "all dependent peoples", "peoples" is clear enough. Nobody would like to divide the people and say one half is dominating over the other half of the people. What do you say? It is for the members of the Committee to decide.

Delegates

We agree.

Mr Tan

I only wanted to point out why we did that.

Chairman

I hope this will also help a solution of Kashmir.

Mr Kasuri

I thank you very much ; we appreciate your generosity.

Chairman

Mr. Krishnamurthi will you please read the resolution on Algeria ?

Mr Krishnamurthi

“This Convention salutes the fighters for freedom in Algeria, whose dedication to her cause has aided a glorious chapter to the colonial people’s struggle for self-determination. It condemns the ruthless war of oppression that is being waged in that country and deplores that even the slight possibility of a settlement which had emerged, has been wantonly destroyed by France. It, therefore, appeals to the United Nations and urges upon its member States to make every effort to the end that the people of Algeria shall enjoy their birthright of self-determination, and that peace be restored to that war torn country.”

Chairman

Do you all agree to the Resolution ?

A Delegate

Please, Sir, let that be read again.

Mr Krishnamurthi, reads the Resolution again.

Mr Mutuc (Philippines)

I believe the resolution starts from wrong premises, basis or facts. Has the Committee enquired into all the facts ?

Chairman

It is for the Committee’s Chairman to say.

Mr Oyangi

My Committee studied all the facts concerning the Resolution we have put before you. We discussed in full since yesterday and upto this morning. We have made recommendations according to the facts we have studied.

Mr Mutuc

I would crave the indulgence of the members of this convention who are concerned with this particular question of Algeria on the basis of facts submitted. It is important because we are condemning the action of one country against another. I think we are all assembled here only to lay down the basis for future action. If we are too rash in passing judgment of oppression of one country against another and the facts upon which we base our conclusion are not clear enough it would not be correct. In our Committee for instance we discussed facts thoroughly. I would therefore like to know the basis of this Resolution.

Mr Oyangi

I think the facts concerning the Algerian case are very well known all over the world. Everyone knows that there has been fighting in Algeria because the French refused to give them independence. The question of Algeria has been debated in the United Nations. This was raised by the Governments of Africa and Asia and I do not know if there is any body who does not know what is happening there. The question is very simple. The Algerians want independence and the French Government says No. We do not, of course, agree that it is a question of the internal affairs of France. We have gone through all the facts.

Mr Masani (India)

I sympathise with the delegate from Philippine when he feels that we are rushing into a definite statement without adequate evidence or enquiry. There is no place for this resolution on the fact that General de Gaulle's Government has failed. It is true that there is strong opposition. But when the resolution expresses so strongly against France, it must be remembered that the freedom of subjugated countries was destroyed not by France but by elements within France. So I feel that the language of the resolution is not one which can be supported by this Convention.

Mr Naccache (Lebanon)

I would like to make some reservations about my comments.

Mr Nuseibeh (Jordan)

I think the facts for Algeria are well-known. There has been a relentless colonial war going on in Algeria and it was aimed at the extermination of the Algerian people for the last five years. If we do not know this very simple fact, then the basis for our meeting here has no meaning. That is the fact and we all know also that at one time General De Gaulle made a valiant attempt to overcome the opposition of the Colonies in order to implement the principle of self-determination for the Algerian people—the principle for which they have been fighting. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Chairman, you know, as well as everybody knows, that as a result of the recent visit which General De Gaulle paid to Algeria and as a result of the statements and speeches which he has made in Algeria itself among Army units, the hope which the free world had been entertaining that the problem of Algeria would be solved on the basis of self-determination has, if not completely evaporated, at least weakened. And it is for this reason that the second clause was inserted in the Resolution. If you believe that word ‘destroyed’ is too strong to be used....

Mr Masani

No, I do not mean the word ‘destroyed’, I mean ‘France’.

Mr Nuseibeh

We can use the word ‘diminished’ instead of ‘destroyed’.

Mr Chang Kuo Sin

He has exception to the word ‘France’.

Mr Nuseibeh

We want the facts to be stated as they are, Mr. Chairman. We do not wish to gloss over them. Any amendment which you think would be consistent with the fact and principles of this Convention we would be willing to go along with this.

Chairman

Thank you very much.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman, coming as a delegate from my country, Kenya, Africa, I have objection to this. It is not the

elements but it is the French Government who are destroying it. We cannot say 'elements in France', it is 'by France'.

Mr Naccache

I endorse whole-heartedly what Mr. Masani has just said. We have not given enough consideration to what General De Gaulle has done recently. If I recollect correctly, he proclaimed a policy of giving Algerians the rights of self-determination, within five years. This policy has not been changed. This is, in fact, a gesture which is a departure from all ancient French colonial policy. We attribute this to a wish for ending colonialism there. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that at least some kind of consideration should be given to General De Gaulle for all what he has done.

Chairman

I think, Mr. Oyangi, instead of having a debate on such small matters, I would like to urge upon all of you to come to some kind of a solution of this problem. Try to bring your points of view near together rather than widen the disagreement. I do not think there is such a great disagreement here and would request you....

Mr Nuseibeh

Mr. Chairman, if we merely said destroyed, would it do ?

Mr Chairman

Well, let it be 'has been destroyed'. You remove 'wantonly'.

Mr Oyangi

I do not agree to it. It defeats the purpose of the Resolution.

Chairman

I do not think that this kind of a remark will get us anywhere. Everyone who is gathered here is anti-colonialist. If you start talking, if I may say so, Communist language, you would not get anywhere together. General De Gaulle, since he came into power, has followed a somewhat—not somewhat, but a very much different—policy from what the Government of France has hitherto done.

At least two countries have exercised this right of self-determination. And they are independent of France. He has offered the same thing to Algeria. Certain difficulties have arisen; elements in France or, may be, General De Gaulle in some of his statements in Algeria, might have created difficulties in the implementation of the self-determination policy. Anyway if you are to get anywhere near a solution, try to state your case in a constructive manner so that it might lead to some kind of a conclusion. I will appeal to Mr. Oyangi as Chairman of his Committee to see that the Resolution that has come from his Committee finds not only wide but complete acceptance. There was a suggestion made here by the Delegate from Jordan to the effect that we should put a stop after destroyed. Or, if something has to be added, then 'by elements in France'.

What would you like to say ?

Mr Oyangi

By French Government.

Chairman

It will be "they have been wantonly destroyed by France".

Delegates

Stop after "destroyed".

Chairman

Anyhow I am here to merely conduct the proceedings and not to conduct a debate. I should like to avoid a vote. I do not know what we are doing today with our time table. It is already 1.30 p.m. according to the clock. You come to some sort of an agreement among yourselves. Could we proceed to the next Resolution ?

A Delegate

Mr. Chairman, the Delegate from Jordan was the author of this Resolution in our Committee. It is for him to say if he is prepared to accept the amendment.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman I find that as a delegate from Kenya I cannot accept the amendment. I would rather have the former, "by France" as a country, and not "elements in France".

Chairman

Whoever may have destroyed it, I think you are destroying the atmosphere of the Convention. I do not like to take any votes at all. I rather vacate this chair and have somebody else take your votes. I do not think the Convention is bound by any kind of briefing from behind. No Government, no party is trying to pull strings. We are here as individual citizens of countries. We are all bound to agree upon certain principles certain objectives that we wish to achieve and I think it is wise that we could come to agreed decisions unless the disagreement is very very wide.

May I suggest that we take this particular item last. We will suspend the discussion as I want myself to say something.

Shall we now take up the next resolution. Will Mr. Krishnamurthi please read it.

Mr Krishnamurthi

“This Convention calls upon the imperialist powers concerned to recognise the right to self-determination and independence of the territories in Africa where colonialism is still having its stranglehold and to release all the political prisoners as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and to negotiate forthwith with the accredited leaders of these territories. It further demands the abrogation of all discriminatory laws, the establishment of a common electoral roll based on adult suffrage with provision for one man one vote, with any safeguards to minorities, if necessary. It is also shocked to note that Portugal in its colonies in Africa terrorises the people, hounds them into slave labour camps and throttles all political rights. It extends its sympathy to these people as well as all those in Africa who are fighting against imperialist domination.”

Chairman

Are they actually slaves? The word slave has a historical significance. Slave labour camps has certain meaning. Would you say that they are slave or forced labour camps. What is the position actually ?

A Delegate

They are treated like slaves.

Chairman

May be that they are treated "like slaves" but they are not slaves. In their slavery still existing. Let us change over "slave" to "forced labour" and let us accept it.

The Delegates agreed to the Chairman's suggestion.

Chairman

Is this resolution acceptable to all of you? If there is no objection I take it as passed unanimously.

We now take the Resolution on South West Africa. Mr. Krishnamurthi, please.

Mr Krishnamurthi

"This Convention considering that the future of the Mandatory Territory of South-West Africa has been debate at the United Nations for the last 13 years, and that the Herero, Name, and other African inhabitants, who have been petitioning to the United Nations during that time, still complain of the loss of their lands and their humiliating subjection to the *Apartheid* system, demands the powers concerned to take immediate steps to grant the self-determination and independence of these indigenous people."

Chairman

Any comments? No...It is accepted then.

Mr Krishnamurthi

The next Resolution is on West Irian and Goa. It reads : This convention views with concern the persistence of the vestiges of Imperialism in Asia. Recognising that West Irian is historically part of the Indoncsian territory and Goa an integral part of India, it demands that these pockets be restored to their respective territories."

A Delegate

I read in today's paper that there is a similar declaration by our two great leaders Mr. Nehru and President Nasser and they have expressed the same sentiment that we have expressed in our own resolution. I think for this reason

that we should use their own words since they appear to be much better drafted.

Chairman

It is really an addition of a few words I will do it and pass it on to the Rapporteur.

We will now consider the resolution on Eastern Turkestan.

Mr Krishnamurthi

“This Convention views with grave concern the denial of the right of self-determination to the people of the Soviet-Muslim Republics by the U.S.S.R. and urges that the problem be further pursued, studied and investigated by the permanent Bureau to be established by the Convention.”

A Delegate

Is this Resolution not contradictory? In one part, we are studying it and another part we are expressing our opinion.

Chairman

It is for the Committee to say what is meant by this Resolution. It may not be contrary. The general view is that there is a denial of self-determination of rights and the Committee might spell out that this question should be studied a little more deeply. Let us not at this late hour go to such a question. Is it then agreed?

Mr Krishnamurthi

“This Convention urges that the Asian and African countries in the interest of Afro-Asian solidarity should settle all their disputes *inter se* peacefully and amicably, and that the disputes between India and Pakistan including Kashmir be settled in the same manner.”

Chairman

There should be no objection to this.

A Delegate

No, Sir, we accept it.

Chairman

Mr. Krishnamurthi, will you please read the other Resolutions ?

Mr Krishnamurthi

“The Convention views with deep concern the continued tragic plight of the Palestine Arab Refugees and urges that a just and speedy solution for the Palestine question be found in conformity with the United Nation’s Charter, the Resolutions of the United Nations as reaffirmed at the Bandung Conference of 1956.

“The Convention, while affirming its faith in freedom and Human Rights without equivocation or reservations of any kind, resolves to work for the freedom of all dependent peoples and to be vigilant for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the millions of Asian and Africans that have been achieved after heavy sacrifices and heroic determination.”

Chairman

Do you accept these Resolutions. Does anyone have any comments to make ?...No....the I take it that they are accepted.

About Algeria, have you come to some agreement ?

Mr Samar Guha

Somebody may be deputed to draft the Resolution.

Mr Nuseibeh

Our Chairman, Mr Oyangi has been kind enough, in the interests of this meeting to agree that the Resolution ends with the word ‘destroyed.’

Mr Naccache

Some expression are to be dropped out.

Mr Mutuc

It is the second portion of the Resolution which we could not subscribe to. We have come here to sit together and try to achieve peace and brotherhood among us and

should not condemn a country which is not here represented. The amended resolution expresses our sentiments.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman. I beg to disagree with the amendment proposed. The last speaker mentioned that we should not condemn a country that is not represented. I feel there is a war going on in Algeria and this was being waged by France. We should not be afraid to say. We should say the right thing and by mentioning this part it is not outside the scope of the Conference. We are the people to move the Governments. I feel that we must retain the Resolution as it is worded. Therefore I do not agree with any change.

Chairman

Then what do we do? Having dropped France, I thought we had come to some sort of agreement.

A Delegate from Japan

Can we drop the Resolution ?

Mr Nuseibeh

No, Sir.

Chairman

I think a few of you and the Chairman of the Committee should reconcile.

A Delegate from Japan

Some people should sit together and come to a compromise and they can bring it to the open session.

Mr Nuseibeh

One last attempt, Sir, for a compromise. I will read out the Resolution. "This Convention salutes the brave fighters for freedom in Algeria whose dedication to her cause have added a glorious chapter in the colonial peoples struggle for self-determination and freedom. It condemns the ruthless colonial war that is being waged in Algeria and deplores that even a slight possibility of a settlement

which has emerged has been wantonly destroyed. The Convention, therefore, appeals to the United Nations and urges upon each of its member States such pressure on France as will restore peace.

Chairman

As I understand, President Naccache's view is that every attempt is being made to settle this problem in Algeria and we are in the midst of these efforts. This kind of statement, in spirit at least goes against that and it might be said that it does go against the spirit of this attempt that is being made on both sides, I should say.

Mr Masani

It would perhaps have the opposite effect.

Chairman

Why do you not also say in that Resolution that you express your satisfaction at the point that President De Gaulle has categorically said that Algeria will have a right of self-determination and he hopes that the difficulties in the way will be solved.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman, if we are going to fail to say what we think we should we are failing in our duty. We have condemned this. There are a lot of things going on. We are condemning Communists in China who are colonising in Tibet and well we know there are lots of things going on. We are not going to fail to condemn because some negotiations are going on. All that we are going to do is to point out what is right. I may be excused to say that my fellow delegates are afraid to bring in the name of France because they are so much afraid to incur her displeasure.

Chairman

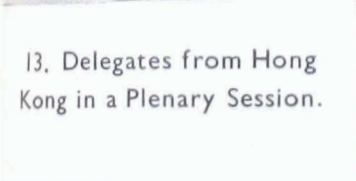
I suggest that we go back to what we had decided before to drop the words 'by France' in that sentence. You have a period there.

Mr Naccache

I am sorry I cannot subscribe to that view. The Philippines is objecting to that part.



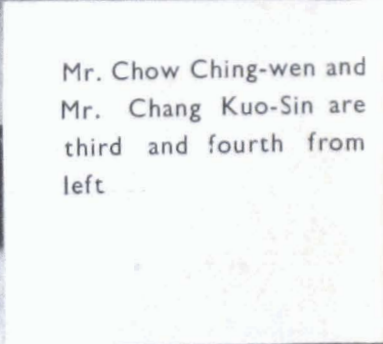
12. Mr. Shakabpa,
Mrs. Thondup and
Mrs. Shakabpa



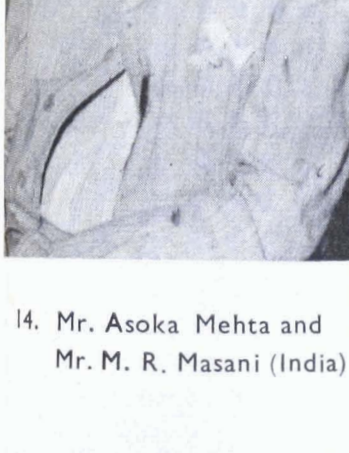
13. Delegates from Hong
Kong in a Plenary Session.



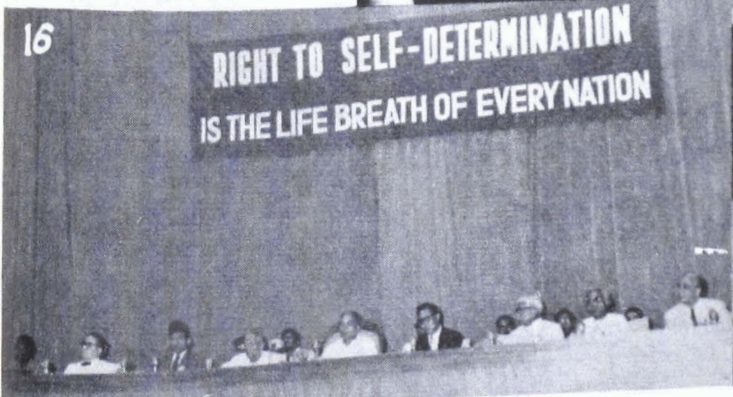
14. Mr. Asoka Mehta and
Mr. M. R. Masani (India)



Mr. Chow Ching-wen and
Mr. Chang Kuo-Sin are
third and fourth from
left ...



15. Mr. Makuichi, Mr. Junsho
Ota, Mr. Matsumoto
Mr. Hirota of Japan
and Mr. Samar Guha



16. The Dais at the Inaugural Session

Chairman

Will you please, after lunch, sit down with all the people concerned and find a way out? Otherwise we will have a discussion in the Open Session and votes will have to be taken. It is two o'clock. Gentlemen, you do not realise there is lunch waiting for you. At three there is an Open Session. Those of you who are concerned with this Resolution please get together as soon as you can during lunch time and try to find a way out.

I had earlier requested Mr. Frank Moraes to place the Resolution of the Political Committee.

Mr Frank Moraes

I will read the Resolution :

“The Afro-Asian Convention salutes the valiant Tibetans who, against overwhelming odds, resisted and are still resisting bravely, the brutal efforts of the Communist Chinese Government to obliterate their national identity and to suppress them politically.

“2. The Convention notes that the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of May 23, 1951 which was signed by the Tibetans under threat of military occupation, promised the Tibetans “The right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People’s Government”, undertook not to alter the existing political system in Tibet, guaranteed freedom of religious belief and protection of monasteries, promised to maintain the established status and powers of the Dalai Lama, and declared that in matters relating to various reforms in Tibet, there would be no compulsion by the central authorities. Not only were these pledges and promises cynically violated by the Communist Chinese, but the Central People’s Government systematically set about destroying the foundations of Tibet’s social and religious structure, its economic and political life, and, by bringing in millions of Chinese settlers into Tibet, the Central People’s Government now plans to alter the ethnic character and composition of the Tibetan people.

“3. Believing that all efforts to subjugate human spirit and destroy freedom should be resolutely and ceaselessly resisted, and believing in the right of people to govern themselves, this Convention supports and demands the

right of the Tibetans for self-determination which the Tibetans could freely exercise only after the withdrawal of the occupation forces and only after excluding the Chinese settled in Tibet after 1950, by the choice of complete independence or any other political form the Tibetan people desire. The Convention urges all freedom-loving nations of the world to help the Tibetan cause by peaceful ways and work resolutely for its realisation."

Chairman

Has anyone of you to say anything about the Resolution? After a long discussion the Committee has come to this agreed wording of the Resolution. I am happy to say that this Resolution represents reconciliation between the views of our Chinese as well as Tibetan friends, which, I should say, takes this matter very far. I, therefore, hope that all of you will unanimously agree to the Resolution.

Delegates

We agree.

Chairman

We will now take up the Resolution of the Human Rights Committee. I will request Mr Matsumoto to move it.

Mr Matsumoto

"The Committee on Human Rights is of the unanimous opinion that there has been a systematic and barbaric violation of human rights in Tibet and recommends that :

- “(i) the Convention should appeal to the United Nations that speedy action be taken under the 1948 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, and for the restoration of full human rights, which again is feasible only when the Tibetan people are helped to win back their liberty;
- “(ii) that the Convention calls on all free people, governments and international organisations of the world to lend their moral and political support to the unfortunate people of Tibet in their desperate struggle;

- “(iii) that there be established a permanent Council for Tibet working for the rights and liberties of the Tibetan people, actually assisting Tibetan refugees stationed in India, Nepal and elsewhere to rehabilitate themselves and regain their Tibetan way of life; and
- “(iv) that the permanent Council for Tibet should collect information regarding Tibetan life and the vast historical and art treasures that have now been destroyed and about which information can be gleaned from some of the learned men who are in India.”

Chairman

Have you anything to say about this? Would anyone like to raise any point?

Dr Raghu Vira

There is some overlapping between this Resolution and the other resolution recommended by the Political Rights Committee. The two might be amalgamated if possible.

Chairman

It would be better to leave it here. Well, I think, the two Resolutions should stand apart. Do you all agree to this Resolution from the Human Rights Committee?

Delegates

Yes.

Chairman

All right. It is then adopted unanimously. Then the last item of business....

Mr Samar Guha

Mr. Chairman, I want to draw your attention to this. Will it be possible, as an operative part of our Resolution, to fix up a date, any date, may be 15th May or any other, to observe an Afro-Asian Day to explain the Resolutions that we are going to adopt in this Convention?

Chairman

I think this question should have come up in some Committee or the other for some discussion. I am not very happy about the agitational aspects of it. Anyhow they could be considered when we have a little time. I think it is not right that we should bring up this question at this stage.

As I was saying, the last item on our Agenda now. I will ask Mr. Masani to present the recommendations of the Sub-Committee that was appointed earlier.

Mr Masani

In view of the shortness of time I shall be extremely brief.

The draft Resolution is in your hands. It embodies the general desire on the part of all of us that this Convention should not disperse without establishing some permanent organisation to carry on the good work that has been started here. A small Committee consisting of Mr. Kasuri (Pakistan), Mr. Chang Kuo-sin (Hongkong) and Mr. Mutuc of Philippines was constituted to prepare a draft.

In paragraph 2 you will find the scope of the future organisation. It has tried to balance the need to keep the important and burning issue of Tibet well before the eyes and conscience of the world. The more general objective is to promote this feeling.

In so far as the structure is concerned it is proposed that all the delegates who attend this Convention, if they desire to join it, should form the Afro-Asian Council along with those who are not present here and may be nominated by the national committees which are proposed to be set up in the other regions of the participating countries. It is also proposed that this Council should have an Executive Committee to carry on the work between any two meetings of the Council. The present Chairman of the Council will also be Chairman of the Executive Committee, consisting of not more than 2 members from each of the participating countries. The final suggestion is that the new Council should be in New Delhi.

Arising from these recommendations, if they are accepted, we shall have to do three things. One, this Convention

will have to elect a President for the Council. Delegates from each country may nominate at the end of the Session two members to serve on the Executive Committee. We shall then be able to present names of the entire Executive Committee with which we will start this organisation at the public session. It may be necessary before you leave this country, to have the first meeting of this new Executive Committee to be convened by you Sir, or by the new President of the Council, sometime tomorrow.

A small amendment has been suggested by Dr. Raghu Vira—that in item 2 the word there should be replaced by “the people of Tibet and other peoples”.

Chairman

That is agreed.

Dr Raghu Vira

Another small amendment. In item 6, where you say “The Executive Committee shall have not more than two members” it should be added that “it is further proposed that the new Council shall be in New Delhi.” I think that both the two members of India may not be from Delhi. It may be desirable that the Executive Committee may have powers to co-opt other members to be able to carry on the work in India.

Mr Kasuri

Paragraph 8 provides for that. If you look at that para, provision has been made so that a powerful Committee with a large number of representatives can be elected. But for various reasons, the Executive Committee has to be on equal representation.

Dr Raghu Vira

The Executive Committee shall select others also—the office bearers. They will naturally be from among the members.

Mr Masani

It is already provided there in para 8. So I do not think it is necessary.

Mr Kasuri

Look at the next para 'shall have power to appoint committees with such functions and forms as the Committee may consider proper' .

Chairman

If the office-bearers could be from outside the Committee, then of course your difficulty would be met.

Dr Raghu Vira

Some of the people have not only to be from India but from the city of Delhi.

Chairman

That I think could be done. Otherwise I think it would look rather bad for India to claim larger membership than the other countries even though they may be very generous. I think we should not ask for it. I think Clause 8 which Mr. Kasuri points out will obviate most of the difficulties that Dr. Raghu Vira has pointed out.

Mr Matsumoto

I would like to support Dr. Raghu Vira's motion. The reason is that it was very unfortunate that the motion was presented by the Indian delegate. I think delegates from any other country will praise India which should play a leading role in this Council to make its more powerful and efficient.

Chairman

I think the Indian delegates should better keep quiet. I do not wish to say anything about this. Please do not take much time over it. I would like this Session to close at 2.30.

Mr Naccache

Mr. Chairman, I believe when this draft was made that contingency was taken up precisely in clause 8—working committees may be created to be manned by people from New Delhi.

Chairman

I think we leave this proposal as it is. With the help of sub-committees and other committees and office bearers,

we would be able to carry on our work, I mean, the Indian members of the Executive Committee. Then, do I take it that all of you have unanimously agreed to this proposal.

Delegates

Yes.

Chairman

Now we have finished the business except that Mr. Masani has pointed out two things. You should elect a Chairman—President of this Afro-Asian Council, who will act as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Then, not exactly here, but if it is possible it may be done here, each delegation should say who two out of their members should constitute this Committee. If not now, after lunch give us the names and they could be announced in the Open Session. And then, if 3 o'clock would suit in the afternoon for the first meeting of the Executive Committee, I would suggest that time. Now, first is the election of the President.

Mr Naccache

Mr. Chairman, we wish to place on record now that we are the Afro-Asian Council meeting and this is our first meeting.

Chairman

I think this is a very good technical suggestion. I am not well up in these things.

Mr Mutuc

We now constitute the Afro-Asian Council and the Philippines is doubly honoured and pleased to nominate the Chairman of this Convention—Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan—to be the President of the Council. (*Applause*)

Chairman

Is there no other alternative ?

Mr Kasuri (Pakistan)

I would be very happy to associate myself with this proposal. I really think we could not think of any alternative. We would beg you to accept the position.

Chairman

Any other suggestion or proposal ?

Thank you very much, dear friends. (*Cheers*)

You will excuse me if I do not make any speech. Would you give two names from each country after lunch ? They will be announced at the open session. And is 3 o'clock agreeable to all of you, I mean to those would be members of the Committee ? Three o'clock tomorrow in Committee Room C. We will announce it at the Open Session.

Before you go, please, I should like to say a word about this Algerian Resolution. It has been pointed out to me by some delegates that if there is no agreement on that Resolution and if the discussion takes place in the Open Session, the press is likely to put the whole discussion in a very wrong light—at least certain part of the Indian press and may be of the world press, which may be pro-Communist. They might take advantage of any differences. I would again very earnestly make a request to those of you who are going to meet to find a way out of this difficulty so that a discussion at the Open Session is avoided.

Mr Nuseibeh

I will read the Resolution again.

Mr. Nuseibeh reads the Resolution again.

Mr Oyangi

I do not accept it.

Chairman

Then will you find out a way ? Please get together even at the cost of your lunch and find a solution. We will avoid going into details and debate at the Open Session.

The Third Plenary Session concluded at 2-30 p.m. and the Convention adjourned to meet after lunch.

Concluding Open Session, 11th April, 1960.

THE Concluding Open Session of the Convention met at 3-40 p.m. in Commission Room G. A distinguished gathering of special invitees and the Press Corps of Delhi was present at the Session.

Chairman

Ladies and Gentlemen, will you kindly take your seats now.

First of all, I apologise for the delay in beginning this meeting. The delay is due to the fact that the Plenary Session—the closed Session—which met this morning was not able to finish its business before 2.30. So you can appreciate that it was impossible to meet at the scheduled time, that is 3 o'clock.

At this Open Plenary Session there is not much business to be transacted. Discussions have already taken place, first in the Committees, then again in the Plenary Session this morning and the Resolutions adopted.

At this Open Session, at which the press and also invitees are present, the Resolutions will be submitted and there will be short speeches to explain, as briefly as possible, the purpose of the Resolution concerned. The Open Session was due to be held from 3 to 5 p.m. but now we are beginning at quarter to 4, and so I hope we will be able to finish by quarter to six, that is, in the two hours that have been originally fixed for the Open Plenary Session.

As you know, this Convention has met, above all to consider the issue of Tibet. I would like therefore to request Dr. Roem to place before you the Resolution on the Political Rights of Tibet.

Dr Roem

Mr. Chairman, the Resolution of the Political Rights Committee is as follows....

Chairman

May I request you, and also the other Chairman of Committees to come to the dias? May I also ask the other Chairmen to move up here?

Mr Frank Moraes

Mr Chairman, I would like to draw your attention to one mistake—a very important mistake, which was pointed out this morning. It has somehow crept into the cyclo-styled copy. For the words “a national regional sovereignty” in quotations, there should be “national regional autonomy”. I would particularly request the Press and the delegates to take note of this change.

Dr Roem

Mr. Chairman, this Resolution has been adopted unanimously after long deliberations in which the delegates demonstrated complete understanding of mutual opinions. The Resolution is as follows :

“The Afro-Asian Convention salutes the valiant Tibetans who, against overwhelming odds, resisted and still are resisting bravely, the brutal efforts of the Communist Chinese Government to obliterate their national identity and to suppress them politically.

“2. The Convention notes that the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of May 23, 1951 which was signed by the Tibetans under threat of military occupation, promised the Tibetans “the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People’s Government”, undertook not to alter the existing political system in Tibet, guaranteed freedom of religious belief and protection of monasteries, promised to maintain the established status and powers of the Dalai Lama, and declared that in matters relating to various reforms in Tibet, there would be no compulsion by the central authorities. Not only were these pledges and promises cynically violated by the Communist Chinese, but the Central People’s Government systematically set about destroying the foundations of Tibet’s social and religious structure, its economic and political life, and, by bringing in millions of Chinese settlers into Tibet, the Central People’s Government now plans to alter the ethnic character and composition of the Tibetan people.

“3. Believing that all efforts to subjugate human spirit and destroy freedom should be resolutely and ceaselessly resisted, and believing in the right of people to govern themselves, this Convention supports and demands the right of the Tibetans for self-determination which the Tibetans could freely exercise only after the withdrawal of the occupation forces and only after excluding the Chinese settled in Tibet after 1950, by the choice of complete independence or any other political form the Tibetan people desire. The Convention urges all freedom-loving nations of the world to help the Tibetan cause by peaceful ways and work resolutely for its realisation.”

Chairman

I should like to request Senator Tan to speak on this Resolution.

Mr Tan

I have very great pleasure to second, on behalf of the Malayan Delegation of which I happen to be the leader, this Resolution of the Political Committee. The Resolution which has been accepted unanimously—and with acclaim—by the Convention, I believe, embodies very aptly the feelings of the free peoples of Asia and Africa. It expresses fully their sympathies towards the people of Tibet. It is, I feel, a Resolution which cannot fail to stir the hearts and emotions of those who hold dear the freedom of man. It gives me great pleasure to second it.

Chairman

Does any one want to say anything further about this Resolution? Should I take it that no one wants to speak on the Political Rights Resolution....The Resolution has already been voted upon at the Plenary Session. There is no need for me to take votes again.

I have a request from the press that I should introduce the speakers. Dr. Roem who moved this Resolution is a former Foreign Minister of Indonesia and Vice Chairman of the Masjumi Party. Senator Tan is Honorary Secretary, Alliance Headquarters, which is the Ruling Party of Malaya.

Mr. Hirota of Japan will now present the Resolution on Human Rights.

Mr. Hirota is connected with the Research Institute of China Affairs and is a leader of the Tibet movement in Japan. He was formerly a diplomat and is a noted scholar.

Mr Hirota

Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose that the Resolution as passed by the Committee be accepted by this Convention. The Committee on Tibet Human Rights met in the morning and afternoon of yesterday and again this morning and has adopted the Resolution. Before the Resolution was adopted the Committee considered :

(A) Sections (a) and (b) and Document 13 in the Report on the Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law issued by the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1959.

(B) Report of April, 1960, issued by the Refugee Relief Society of Nepal.

(C) The overall evidence by the Chief Private Secretary to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The Committee after examining the evidence listed here and after examining the witnesses and hearing from the delegates from Tibet, arrived at the conclusion that there was unbelievable cruelty and that atrocities have been committed in Tibet by the Communist China. We, therefore, adopted the following Resolution :

“The Committee on Human Rights is of the unanimous opinion that there has been a systematic and barbaric violation of human rights in Tibet and recommends that :

- “(i) the Convention should appeal to the United Nations that speedy action be taken under the 1948 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, and for the restoration of full human rights, which again is feasible only when the Tibetan people are helped to win back their liberty;
- “(ii) that the Convention calls on all free people, governments and international organisations of the world to lend their moral and political support to the unfortunate people of Tibet in their desperate struggle;

- “(iii) that there be established a permanent Council for Tibet working for the rights and liberties of the Tibetan people, actually assisting Tibetan refugees stationed in India, Nepal and elsewhere to rehabilitate themselves and regain their Tibetan way of life; and
- “(iv) that the permanent Council for Tibet should collect information regarding Tibetan life and vast historical and art treasures that have now been destroyed and about which information can be gleaned from some of the learned men who are in India.”

I would like to propose that the Convention agrees to adopt this Resolution and try to stop the suffering of the people which is continuing in Tibet and stop bloodshed, blood which is still flowing in Tibet. I would like all the Delegates, who are here from many countries—who understand the situation—to agree to adopt this Resolution.

Chairman

The Resolution has been moved. Will somebody second it ?

Dr Raghu Vira

Mr. Chairman, I speak with a heavy heart about the sufferings of the Tibetan people. For the benefit of a large number of friends who have come from outside, I may make it clear that the Tibetan people are a distinct people. There has been some sort of a vague idea that Tibetans belong to the Chinese race and are associated with them in many ways. I may, Sir, point out simply that the Tibetans in their language, in their literature, in their history and geography and the territory which they occupy—since the last two thousand years—are distinct from the people of China. They have had connections with China as they have had connections with Nepal and India. The sufferings which they are undergoing to-day are cruel.

If we look at the attitude and the culture of the Tibetan people, they are not only humanitarian and conciliatory in their outlook but they go further and manifest a cosmic view. Even their daily worship and literature have cosmic elements. And it is remarkable to what extent they have

developed these cosmic elements not only as a system of philosophy and thought but as a system which governs their daily activities. Perhaps, it is due in a certain measure to their cosmic approach to human problem that they long ago gave up to resort the arms and force in their national affairs. And for that reason it becomes the duty of other nations who are their neighbours, and who are now controlling to a large extent the international affairs of this world to help these people who have been overwhelmed with the superior might of arms.

With these few words, Sir, I recommend to the Convention that the sufferings of Tibetan people be taken into account and something definite be done to move the conscience of civilised humanity to come to their aid. The people who are trying to destroy their way of life and destroy their race, are uncompromisingly cruel. It makes for great importance, Sir, of taking action quickly and actively.

Chairman

As I have explained, earlier, the Resolutions have been formally adopted. I am not therefore placing it before you for adoption. If however any one wishes to speak on it, he is free to do so.

We now move on to the third Resolution—The Resolutions that have come from the Anti-Colonial Committee are yet being cyclostyled. They are not before us. They have not come as yet. We shall in the meanwhile, take up the Resolution which has come from the special Sub-Committee and which was considered this morning by the Plenary Session and adopted. I shall request Mr. Anwar Z. Nuseibeh from Jordan to move this Resolution. Mr. Nuseibeh is a former Minister of Education and Defence and Reconstruction. He is also an Advocate.

Mr Nuseibeh

Mr. Chairman, I feel privileged that you have asked me to move this Resolution. The Resolution which was adopted by a special Sub-Committee, is as follows :

“This Convention resolves that an Afro-Asian Council be established.

“2. The objectives of the Council shall be *inter alia* to work for

- (i) the right to self-determination of the people of Tibet and all other peoples.
- (ii) the end of all forms of colonialism and racialism ; and
- (iii) the defence of Human Rights.

“3. The Council shall be composed of

- (a) all delegates attending this Convention who desire to join ; and
- (b) others who are not present at this Convention from participating as well as non-participating countries on the recommendation of the National Committees which are to be set up in such countries.

“4. The Convention shall elect the first President of the Council, who shall also be Chairman of the Executive Committee.

“5. Delegates to this Convention will, on returning to their countries, endeavour to form National Committees in their respective countries.

“6. The Executive Committee shall consist of the Chairman and not more than two members elected by the Convention from each of the participating countries and not more than two members from other countries where National Committees may subsequently be established.

“7. In between the meetings of the Council, the Executive Committee shall exercise all the powers of the Council.

“8. The Executive Committee shall select its other office-bearers and shall have power to appoint committees with such functions and forms as the Committee may consider proper.

“9. The Bureau of the Council shall be in New Delhi.”

I have the honour to move that this Resolution be adopted.

Chairman

I request Mr. Mohammad Ali Kasuri of Pakistan to second this Resolution.

Mr Kasuri

The Resolution has been read out and I will just try to explain very briefly the purport of this Resolution.

The idea in passing this Resolution is to have an organisation of friendly people inhabiting the continent of Asia and Africa to which, of course, all countries in Asia and Africa will be invited to send their representatives—so that the main objectives of this Convention receive some kind of permanent support.

The principal objects are enumerated and they are to mobilise support for the right to self-determination of the peoples. Tibet in particular has been mentioned because we think that it is the struggle in Tibet that should receive firm and immediate recognition of this Convention but we will not discriminate in the exercise of the right to self-determination of various people. We believe that international relations should be conducted on the basis of equality.

We are fully conscious that the main responsibility for, some time at least, of sponsoring the objectives of this Convention will lie here in India. We were more than convinced that we could not do better than select our present Chairman to be the Chairman of the Council and the Executive Committee. We, who have come from other countries, have found in Mr. Narayan a real friend of humanity in all parts of the world. We have found in him ardent human sympathies. We have therefore requested him—and I am very glad that he has accepted our request—to be our First President.

As I have said, for some time at least, the main responsibility will lie in Delhi. We have, therefore, decided that the Bureau shall be in New Delhi.

Mr. Chairman with these words I commend this Resolution for the acceptance of this Convention and I can

assure the delegates that the objectives are shared by each and every one of us here.

Chairman

I should like in pursuance of this Resolution to again remind the Delegates present that they should send two names of the Executive Committee from their countries before this Session ends so that the Executive Committee might have its first meeting tomorrow. We agreed that the meeting should be held at 3 p.m. tomorrow in Committee Room C. So please do not fail to send your two names from each country. I think also it is very necessary that we meet immediately to take steps such as we can for the implementation of this Resolution. Therefore, I think you will all agree with this suggestion that I have to make that the delegations might suggest their names and when they go back and when the National Committees are formed in their respective countries the National Committees may change the names if they like or confirm the names that have been given here. Is that acceptable to you ?

Is any one opposed to this suggestion....None. All right then.

I must apologise again for the way in which we are conducting our business here. Having finished our work at 2.30 everything is in disorder. The Resolutions were given their final shape at that time and our Secretariat is not so efficient as to be able to give you the cyclostyled copies in such a short time of all these various Resolutions.

Now, friends, President Naccache...I am very sorry, I forgot to introduce our friend, Mr. Mohammed Ali Kasuri. Mr. Kasuri is a prominent advocate from Lahore and a public figure in Pakistan.

President Naccache will now place before you the Resolution on anti-Colonialism. You all know him. He is a former President of Lebanon as well as former Chief Justice of Lebanon.

Mr. Naccache

Gentlemen, the Resolution is as follows :

“1. The Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet and Against Colonialism in Asia and Africa rejoices that in recent years the struggles of millions of colonial peoples for freedom have been crowned with success. This Convention extends its solidarity to those who are still struggling to assert their birthright of self-determination and independence. It appeals particularly to those Western Powers that have already recognised the march of events of our times and have won goodwill and often friendship of the dependent peoples who have had their freedom restored, not to cling on to their colonial possessions. Such a persistence is bound to destroy that goodwill.

“2. This Convention upholds self-determination as an inalienable right of all peoples and pledges support to its early realisation. Likewise it condemns racial discrimination and affirms its determination to assert complete racial equality, the violation of which constitutes a grave challenge to the conscience of man.

“3. This Convention appeals to the peoples of Asia and Africa to unite to rid the two great continents of the twin evils of colonialism and racialism and enable their peoples to progress in freedom and equality.

“4. This Convention calls upon the imperialist Powers concerned to recognise the right to self-determination and independence of the territories in Africa where colonialism is still having its stranglehold and to release all the political prisoners as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and negotiate forthwith the accredited leaders of these territories. It further demands the abrogation of all discriminatory laws, the establishment of a common electoral roll based on adult suffrage with provision for one man one vote, with any safeguards to minorities, if necessary. It is also shocked to note that Portugal in its colonies in Africa terrorises the people, hounds them into forced labour camps and throttles all political rights. It extends its sympathy to those people as well as all those in Africa, who are fighting against imperialist domination:

“5. This Convention considering that the future of the mandatory territory of South-West Africa has been debated at the United Nations for the last 13 years, and that the Hereto, Name, and other African inhabitants, who have been petitioning to the United Nations during that time, still complain of the loss of their lands and

their humiliating subjection to the *Apartheid* system, demands that the powers concerned to take immediate steps to grant the self-determination and independence of these indigenous people.

“6. This Convention views with concern the persistence of the vestiges of Imperialism in Asia. Recognising that West Irian is historically part of the Indonesian territory and Goa an integral part of India, it demands that these pockets be restored to their respective territories.

“7. This Convention views with grave concern the denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Eastern Turkistan by the Chinese Communist Government and to the people of the Soviet Muslim Republics by the U.S.S.R.; and urges that the problem be further pursued, studied and investigated by the permanent Bureau to be established by the Convention.

“8. This Convention views with deep concern the continued tragic plight of the Palestine Arab Refugees and urges that a just and speedy solution for the Palestine question be found in conformity with the United Nations’ Charter, the Resolutions of the United Nations as reaffirmed at the Bandung Conference of 1955.

“9. This Convention urges that the Asian and African countries in the interests of Afro-Asian solidarity should settle all their disputes *inter se* peacefully and amicably, and that the disputes between India and Pakistan including Kashmir be settled in the same manner.

“10. The Convention, while affirming its faith in freedom and Human Rights without equivocation or reservations of any kind, resolves to work for the freedom of all dependent peoples and to be vigilant for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the millions of Asian and Africans that have been achieved after heavy sacrifices and heroic determination.”

Chairman

The Resolution covers a large ground as you know.

Mr. Krishnamurthi would you like to say something on this....

Mr Krishnamurthi

I propose that the Resolution be adopted....

Mr Oyangi

I have heard of a clause in the resolution referring to safeguards for minority, if necessary....

Chairman

Which clause is it ?

Mr Oyangi

I heard something of that sort.

A Delegate

It is clause No. 4.

Mr Mukaya

I think this clause is very embarrassing indeed as far as the affairs in the African Continent are concerned, because we feel that when the nation is struggling....

Chairman

Will you please read out the portion to which you are referring and taking objection ?

A Delegate

It is para 4—Safeguards for minorities.

Mr Oyangi

It is four lines from the bottom.

Chairman

Yes, all right.

Mr Chang-Kuo-Sin (Hong Kong)

On a point of order, Mr. Chairman, are you throwing the Resolution open to discussion because it has not been seconded as yet ?

Chairman

Let us hear what he has to say.

Mr Mukaya

It says : "It further demands... the establishment of a common electoral roll with provision for one man one vote, with any safeguards to minorities, if necessary....." This I do not know where from the Committee got the idea of minority safeguards....

Chairman

Mr. Mukaya will you please let this Resolution be seconded.

I might point out that this is entirely a formal kind of thing—this moving of Resolutions and seconding it here. As I have been telling you from the very beginning that all these resolutions have been discussed in the Plenary Session and they have been adopted. As far as I remember this clause was there when this Resolution came up before the Plenary Session and I think you also were there, Mr. Mukaya. Anyhow we shall go into that. Let it be first seconded. The Algeria question is still on the anvil there. He is still doing something about it.

Anyway let Mr. Krishnamurthi second it and then you can have your say.

Mr Krishnamurthi

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have only to second this Resolution.

I should mention that this Afro-Asian Convention is one of the most significant events in Asian and African history because for the first time it brings together on a non-official level peoples of Asia and Africa, and it enables the peoples of these countries to come together on one platform to discuss the problems and to understand one another. While these approaches have been made for these people to come together, it is a deplorable thing that in the minds of a majority of us there is an ignorance about these African problems. We in Asia, probably because of the consequences of colonialism, know less about our own countries and less about Africa itself than about the colonial powers. We are more acquainted with the history, the culture and other things of the colonial powers than about Africa or about the Asian countries. So, I would

like to speak more on behalf of these African nations.

I know that certain objections are being raised and I would like to anticipate those objections here and answer all the arguments.

In supporting this Resolution, Sir I believe that we have to take cognisance of the fact that Africa is a rising nation and no one here can deny the fact that the process of African freedom is coming to its own and it is not possible for any one to stay that process. But, I am conscious of the problem of minorities in certain territories in East Africa and the Central African Federation. In these territories the problem of Nationalist Africa is made difficult by the fact that there are certain alien White elements from Europe and certain others from India. These are the people whom we refer to as a 'minority' in Africa. Hitherto these people had entrenched themselves into a very strong position, and politically the White minority in Kenya and in Central African Federation was an obstacle to the realisation of Independence of those African territories. Those of us who have studied the history of Kenya, Uganda and the parts of Africa know that how the White minority in Kenya is possessed of the enviable lands—fertile lands—in Kenya denying to the African the very right to cultivate his own land. In times past these lands belonged to the Africans. They were their birthright, but with the establishment of Railways a number of Europeans were brought in and also the Asians, and these people began to colonise these plains and deprive the Africans of their natural rights. Though the British Government had found a solution to these problems on the basis of forming a multi-racial society, this society was a perpetuation of another form of colonialism and the Africans have been rightly protesting against this form of imperialism, and in recent constitutional reforms the adult franchise—the idea or the principle of one individual one vote—has been accepted. And, it has shown that the struggle of the Africans can never be stopped whatever might be the position of these minorities ; whatever the strength of these minorities, it is not possible for this minority to prevent the Africans from realising the freedom or to check the process of African freedom.

The same happens in Central African Federation. There are at present a few White minorities who are perpetuating the domination on the African majority and it is only to perpetuate this domination that they brought into being

this Central African Federation—in spite of the all African opposition to this Federation. If they are opposed to this Federation it is not because they are opposed to the idea of a Federation, but because they are opposed to the idea of White Racial domination. It is from this point of view that they have been against it all along and we wholeheartedly support them in their opposition to it not because we have any kind of enmity against the Federation by itself but we are against the Federation which means to give powers to the White minority, which means to encourage the domination of the White minority over the Africans. So, it is from this point of view that we are opposed to the Central African Federation, and we believe that the Central African Federation is a perpetuation of another imperialism. And, in a similar manner for Uganda too, though I am conscious and I have to confess this fact that Asians have not been very fair in Africa and it is a brutal fact and there is no need to be ashamed about it.

In this situation I have to say that whether it is Tanganyika or Uganda, it is being realised that the minority communities particularly the Indians should not have any kind of privileges. They should not demand any kind of privileges in Kenya, Nyasaland. I am sure good and progressive leadership is coming up in Kenya and there are leaders who are giving a lead to the Africans that the majority rule cannot be indefinitely postponed and that the people of Africa cannot accept the White domination or the minority domination in any form.

Still I believe that even after the Africans come to power in Uganda and Kenya, it will be necessary for those people to maintain these racial minorities, not that these racial minorities should be given any kind of privileges but it is only our hope that this African majority rule when it comes, these African rulers would be able to provide some kind of safeguards for these people. It is a hope that we are expressing on behalf of these minority communities, not that we want that they should commit themselves to this principle.

In our Resolutions we have mentioned some of the problems relating to Goa and West Irian. We urge that Goa is a part of India and West Irian part of Indonesia and it is necessary that these two pockets should be restored to their respective territories. We small nations have to face bigger powers. It is necessary that we move

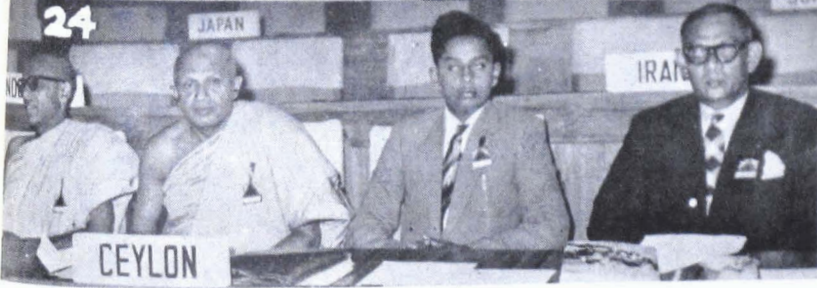
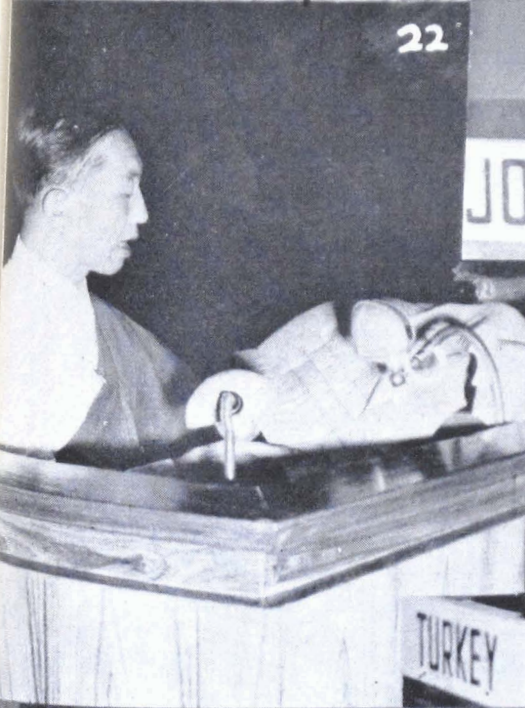
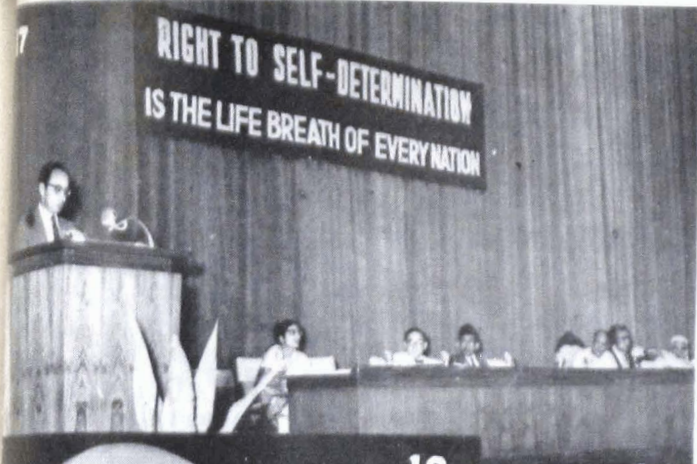
together, mobilise public opinion and have a kind of solidarity among ourselves. It is with these few ideas that I would like to second this Resolution.

Chairman

Now Mr. Mukaya would wish to say something.

Mr Mukaya

I am sorry I am not convinced by any of the explanation given by my friend. I come from Kenya. Recently there was a Conference in London where all leaders were invited to review their cases before the British Government. It was agreed that majority will rule Kenya and that was first mentioned by one of the Asian delegates that the Africans would govern Kenya. When I come to the question of minority safeguards I think that this Convention will seem to be of no use at all especially when you are discussing matters regarding Africa. This thing comes in as minority safeguards. Thus I am very much moved to criticise this phrase here. It looks very ugly. It was agreed in the London Conference and the African leaders made it very clear that there will be a bill of rights. Rights will be granted as an individual and not in a minority or majority sense. Africa is struggling for independence in Kenya. Previous to that there was no mention of minority safeguards and the Africans were very strongly urging for independence and if this question is being taken up by this Convention and enquired, this will encourage some division in the country. If you include this clause it will give some sort of a notion and people may not realise their responsibilities with regard to Kenya which is now in formation. Mr. Chairman, I strongly oppose the inclusion of this particular phrase and if it is included we say that we have become quite irresponsible on affairs in Africa. What is happening in Africa is a struggle against colonial power. The colonial power is not from the West, it is also from the East and that this must be realised when discussing this important matter. We are referring to Tibet as a ruined nation and it is worthwhile referring to African nations not based on minority or majority in a society. It is high time that we realise that point. If it is included I am afraid it would be very embarrassing for us here from Africa who are struggling against this important thing.



23. Mr. Bulent Yazici and Mr. Yumer Yamin

24. Rev. Soratha Thero, Rev. Gnanissara Thero, Mr. Jayalath and Mr. Edward Cosme

17. Mr. Samin Khan (Pakistan) addressing the Inaugural Session 18. Mr. Patrice Lhoni (Congo)
 19. Mr. Law Yone (Burma) 20. Mr. Vu-Ngoc-Vy, Mr. Co-Van-Hai and Mr. Le Xuan Khoa
 21. Mr. Nuseibeh 22. Mr. Wangchen Gelek (Tibet) reading address at the Inaugural Session.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman, I have got something to say before this Resolution is formally accepted or rejected. I personally feel, the Resolution is incomplete. I was the Chairman of the Anti-Colonial Committee and I am ashamed to say all I see before me is an incomplete Resolution and I would suggest that instead of its being adopted here, we leave it for the time being so that it is completed. I say that because we have got Resolutions we made on specific problems like the problem in South Africa which are not here with us....

Chairman

But the Resolution is there. That is a separate Resolution on South Africa. Is it not? It is not a part of this Resolution and that it was considered in the Plenary Session. It is coming. I know this is a mis-statement. The Resolution on South Africa is there and it is coming before the House and to that extent it is not incomplete because it is not a part of this Resolution....

Mr Oyangi

There have been other mistakes in the Report which are very unfortunate. We actually had written the Resolutions down properly. For example, there is in paragraph 5 a reference to South-West Africa. It is not a Trusteeship territory at all. It is a Mandatory one. That is one of the mistakes. I think a shameful....

Chairman

Now, well, may I again interrupt. May I tell the Delegate from Kenya that all these Resolutions—there are several Resolutions which have been strung together as it were and numbered one, two, three and so on. The wording is exactly as it came from the Committees. And then it was discussed, some changes were made perhaps by the Plenary Session and accepted. This particular mistake to which Mr. Oyangi has just referred has been pointed out in a slip which has come from the Delegate from India. Mr. Shiva Rao, will you please give me the slip? It is Mr. Shiva Rao who wishes to point out that in para 5 there is an error. "South-West Africa", Mr. Shiva Rao says, "is not a Trust territory. It was a Mandatory territory in the League of Nations—South Africa being the Mandatory power; the fight in the U.N. was to bring South-West

Africa under the Trusteeship system. But, so far South Africa has not accepted that position." I think the term 'Trusteeship' should be dropped. That suggestion has come from Mr. Shiva Rao. I think this error is of typing. This is as it came from your Committee. You must have some record of it.

Mr Oyangi

I think, my Secretary will correct me.

Chairman

If you accept what Mr. Shiva Rao has pointed out is an error, that will be corrected. That is merely the correction of an error. And, there is a Resolution on South Africa and it is coming. Now, if you wish to say anything further on this question of minority rights or safeguarding of minority rights or anything about this Resolution which has come from your own Committee, please do so.

Mr Mutuc

I still oppose the idea of debating this because as we have approved the Resolution...

Mr Oyangi

Some words of the Resolution have been taken out especially on Africa. The specific problem like South Africa and about their territories for instance. We passed a Resolution. I thought that would be put in our Resolution. But I find, for example...

Chairman

This I want you and your Rapporteurs to check up. Let the Resolutions be read as they were passed and if anyone has made any changes those changes should be removed.

It was decided by the Plenary Session that because the number of Resolutions that came from this Committee was too great, I mean, there were fifteen Resolutions, it was decided that they should be strung together to make one Resolution or as few Resolutions as possible, and that is what has been done by paragraphing the whole thing. But, if any change has been made without the consultation of the Chairman or the Plenary Session, then I suggest that the Chairman of the Committee and the Rapporteurs sit down together and see if there has

been any mistake in the typing or anything has been left out. ... You two meet together and see if any change has been made and if anything has been left out. Only the Algeria resolution was not adopted because a fresh attempt was to be made by those who had disagreements to come together. I would suggest that Mr. Krishnamurthi—you have those slips—you compare and see if there has been any change in the typing. I shall hold this over till the Chairman of the Committee and the Rapporteurs agree that the draft that has been placed before you is a correct draft. In the meanwhile, the discussion on the Minority Rights might be continued.

Mr Masani

I think the Delegate from Kenya who spoke a few minutes ago must be labouring under very a grave misconception. Otherwise I cannot believe that he would oppose the Resolution that was adopted this morning in the Plenary Session on the recommendation of the Third Committee. Referring to safeguards for minorities, the Delegate from Kenya asked whether we in our countries provide statutory safeguards for minorities. I, Sir, would say that we in India are proud that our Constitution has provided statutory safeguards for the protection of minorities against tyranny by the majority. We in our country are happy and proud that we have guaranteed these rights to our minorities. Whether it is Switzerland in the West or India here, it goes out of its way to see that minorities, however small, are safeguarded and protection that they may need is afforded.

The United Nations Declaration on Universal Rights, which is a very notable document, accepted by all members of the U.N.O. unanimously, provides specifically for the protection of minorities wherever that protection is necessary. I have been a Member of the U.N. Commission for the protection of minorities. The Commission agreed simultaneously for the end of discrimination and the establishment of minority protections because it appeared to be different sides of the same coin.

If I may remind the Convention about the Resolution which has been adopted this morning, it wants "a common electoral roll based on adult franchise, with safeguards for minorities, *if necessary*." If they are not

necessary, there would not be any safeguards, which nobody would argue. There can be racialism on one side and another on the other side. This Convention does not want racialism of one kind or the other. We are against racialism of any kind.

Chairman

Does anyone else want to say anything?

A Delegate

I was a member of this particular Committee and it was after a long discussion that this particular formula which is included in the Resolution was adopted. I submit it would be unfair to the members of the Committee if even after that formula had been accepted it is reopened here. It was I who suggested that when democratic rule is being established in Asian countries as well as in African countries, if there are minorities, their rights should also be safeguarded. Democracy does not mean dictatorship of the majority. The suggestion which I made in the Committee was for the word 'adequate'. It was not accepted and instead of 'adequate' we agreed to the word 'safeguard'. In view of this fact—that a compromise formula has been accepted—it would not be fair to the members of the Committee as well as to the Delegates here to reopen the whole question again.

Chairman.

When a compromise formula was accepted, do you mean to say that Mr. Oyangi and Mr. Mukaya accepted it?

An Indian Delegate

Mr. Mukaya was not Chairman, but Mr. Oyangi. It was heatedly discussed.

Chairman

Well on the question of opening the discussion again on the Resolution, I have already explained to you that these Resolutions were accepted unanimously when they were moved at the Plenary Session and if my recollection does not fail, I think Mr. Mukaya was present—but whether he was there or not—these Resolutions were accepted. We are going through the formality here of presenting—let us not say "moving," but of "presenting"—these Resolutions

and giving an opportunity to the delegates who have come to speak on these Resolutions. So, I am not going to have any facts discussed here. These Resolutions have already been passed.

A Delegate

Mr. Chairman, since the Resolution has already been adopted by the Committee and by the Plenary session of this Convention, I think that the debate on this particular issue be closed.

Mr Oyangi

As I suggested earlier, since we have not been able to agree with the Rapporteur on the question of the accuracy of the Resolution I suggest that we leave the debate on it for the time being until we have corrected what needs to be corrected and that in the meanwhile we discuss other problems like the question of South Africa and racial...

Chairman

How long do you think it will take? I do not want any inaccurate Resolutions to be presented here. The Resolutions should be exactly as they had been adopted in the morning. Beyond that I do not think any delegate has any right to ask. So how much time do you require more to find out if the Resolution's wordings are correct or not. Will half an hour do?

Mr Oyangi

I do not know how long it will take, but I think it will be a short time.

Chairman

The Plenary Session cannot wait long. There are fifteen Resolutions—two or three pages. I think you just sit down and ask somebody else to assist you. I was suggesting that meanwhile we continue on the Resolutions from South Africa and Algeria.

The Algeria Resolution, is it ready? That was the only Resolution which was left over for the afternoon Session—Plenary Session. All the other Resolutions have already been adopted and if in the typing or in the preparation of

the final draft there has been any error, the error should be corrected by the Chairman and the Rapporteurs themselves and a correct draft should be presented here and it should be taken as adopted.

Now, I think we had a useful discussion on this question of minority rights. If you will permit me I should like to say a few words about it.

Mr. Krishnamurthi had said that even though he was an Asian and he admitted that Asians had claimed in some parts of South Africa, certain special privileges, nonetheless safeguards for the minorities was a fundamental proposition which should be accepted by all those who are fighting for freedom and democracy. I personally would like to endorse that view. I am not here to support the conduct of all Asians in Africa. I am sure many of them may have committed mistakes and acted in a manner which probably showed on their part certain kind of race arrogance or superiority, they might have claimed special advantages for themselves or might have enjoyed special advantages under the European regimes there. But when the countries of Africa are thinking in terms of the future, when they will have their own democratic governments, I think, it should be advisable for them as democrats, as lovers of freedom to come forward themselves and say that whoever has become a citizen of our countries—not foreign residents as the Chinese in India, for instance, which Mr. Chow Ching-wen very correctly pointed out—but those who have become citizens and find themselves to be in a racial or in any other kind of minority, their rights, and not their privileges—their rights as minorities—would be safeguarded. I think this is, for all those who call themselves democrats and freedom lovers, a fundamental principle.

I am rather surprised that there should be any kind of a discussion raised over this question by our African friends. By raising this discussion, I think, they are throwing a shadow of doubt upon the kind of democracy that they wish to establish in their own countries when they are free. It is possible that the African people do not want these persons whom they call aliens who have come and settled down there to be given citizenship rights. I do not know. In that case do they want these people to be expelled from these countries or to be given some kind of second-rate citizenship? Do they want two kinds of

citizenship? They have already tasted the joys of dual citizenship—a system in which the Whites were the first citizens and the Africans were the second citizens? Do they want to reverse the order and say that now we will become the superior race and the Whites will become inferior for us?

As far as I have been able to understand the mind of Africa, I do not think they want to expell these people who have come from outside and taken citizenship, settled down there. They are not living as temporary residents, making money or doing business or in some profession or the other, and looking to the day when they will go back to their original homes. Those who have settled down there, I think, the African people would welcome as equal citizens, and the guarantee of equal citizenship would be embodied the Constitutions that will be drafted by the African people. They themselves would provide for minority rights. I think the proposition of adequate minority rights was well taken and it was a sound proposition, but let us say that if for some reasons the word 'adequate' was not accepted, Resolution as it stands now, I think, is one, that in principle no democrat, no patriot, no nationalist should find any exception. The proposition that the minority rights should be safeguarded, certainly not their privileges or special advantages which they may have enjoyed up till now, is one that none who is a democrat can object.

Subject to whatever corrections that might be made on account of typing errors, the Resolution that has been put before you is taken to be adopted.

Chairman

Mr. Frank Moraes will now move the Resolution on South Africa.

Mr Frank Moraes

I beg to present the following Resolution on South Africa :

“1. This Convention expresses its deep sense of horror at the recent events in South Africa where the doctrine of White supremacy has led to the brutal massacre of the Africans.

“2. This Convention emphatically condemns the policy of *Apartheid* so reminiscent of the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority which deprives 5/6th of the population of South Africa of all rights guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declarations of Human Rights and reduces this vast majority of the population to a position of abject slavery.

“3. This Convention considers that the policy of *Apartheid* pursued by the South African Government constitutes a grave danger and threat to world peace and hence it rejects the contention of the said Government that *Apartheid* is an internal issue. The savage oppression on the ground of race and colour can never be accepted as an internal affair of any country.

“4. This Convention warns the Government of Union of South Africa that the Asian and African peoples will not submit to racial arrogance and extends its solidarity to the people of that country who are valiantly fighting the battle of freedom and equality.

“5. This Convention appeals to the United Nations and urges upon each of its member-states to take effective steps to end this barbarous practice of *Apartheid* and, if need be, to apply necessary sanctions for that purpose.”

I do not think, Mr. Chairman, this needs any speech.

Chairman

Mr. Cosme will second it. Mr. Cosme is a Barrister from Colombo.

Mr Edward Cosme

I have great pleasure in seconding this Resolution on South Africa.

Chairman

Well then, the Resolution on South Africa has been presented. It is a Resolution on which much can be said, but obviously there is no need, in a Convention like this. The Resolution has been adopted already.

Now, there is only one resolution on Algeria on which there was no agreement in the Plenary Session this morning.

And I think Dr. Roem put it that there was only one vote against it. I am not sure, but no votes were taken. All I can say is only one Delegate was not in favour of any change being made in that Resolution. It was the wish of the Plenary Session in the morning that a few delegates who were more directly concerned with that question should sit together and evolve a new draft. And that draft is ready. It has just been got ready and so there are no copies available. I would ask Mr. Nuseibeh from Jordan to place the new draft before us, before all of you. This is a motion and not merely a presentation.

Mr Nuseibeh

I would like in the first place to apologise for the delay in presenting this and the arguments that seem to have preceded in our Committee which was on Anti-Colonialism in Africa and Asia. The reason has been that the subject which affected the government concerned was large. I think I might say that the importance of this question is proved the very fact that we have convened here today in order to discuss the problem in an open minded spirit of friendliness and understanding. But there are, as you have noticed, pockets in Africa and Asia where colonialism is still entrenched and one of the last pockets about which this Convention feels very concerned, is Algeria. I think all of us are in sympathy with the Algerian people and with their desire to attain self-determination. The only argument is concerning the method of presenting our Resolution, and I have now, with the help of my other colleagues, drafted a Resolution which, though I am afraid has not yet had the privilege to be accepted by our Chairman, nevertheless, represents the general trend of opinion in regard to this problem. This is the Resolution and I hope it will be accepted by the Convention as presented by the group of delegates who prepared it.

“This Convention salutes the fighters for freedom in Algeria, whose dedication to her cause has added a glorious chapter to the colonial people’s struggle for self-determination. It condemns the ruthless war of oppression that is being waged in that country and deplores that even the slight possibility of a settlement which had emerged, has been wantonly destroyed. It, therefore, appeals to the United Nations and urges upon its member States to make every effort to the end that the people of Algeria shall

enjoy their birthright of self-determination, and that peace be restored to that war torn country."

I now move that this Resolution in its present form be accepted.

Mr Tan

I have much pleasure in seconding it.

Chairman

Senator Tan from Malaya has seconded the Resolution. Now, the Resolution is before you for discussion.

Mr Mutuc

I propose that the present Resolution be adopted and there be no discussion because it has been discussed during the Plenary Session this morning.

Chairman

I am afraid I cannot agree because the draft is new and delegates are entitled to discuss it.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman, I would like on behalf of the People's Convention Party, to mention that the Committee had decided that the following shall be the Resolution: "This Convention salutes the fighters for freedom in Algeria, whose dedication to her cause has added a glorious chapter to the colonial people's struggle for self-determination. It condemns the ruthless war of France against the Algerian people and deplores that even the slight possibility of a settlement which had emerged, has been wantonly destroyed by France. It therefore, appeals to the United Nations Organisation and to each of the member States to bring such pressure on France as will restore peace and assure freedom to the peoples of Algeria."

Personally, I feel that this is the Resolution that should be presented to the Convention to be accepted. As it is the Resolution tells exactly what our particular place is in the war that is going on in Algeria, and what exactly is the problem against which this struggle is proceeding for a long time. I feel we must not hide facts but should be able to show them as they are. Even if the facts appear to be shameful we should not be ashamed. We will correct

what is wrong. We will tell France that it is doing wrong. They must negotiate with the Algerian Nationalists and nobody else should be able to negotiate. They are the rightful representatives of the people of Algeria. The war which is going on must be stopped and you must therefore support us. If you cannot support, if you are not going to support us, who will support us? If we condemn Communist China for colonising Tibet we must equally condemn France for colonising Algeria. We must equally condemn all the other powers who are also colonising in other areas. We should not qualify the condemnation and I feel very strongly that this view of the anti-Colonial Committee should be accepted and not the earlier Resolution.

Mr Mutuc

Sir, it is with great regret that I have to draw attention to the technicalities as regards the decision. I am compelled to ask the Chair to consider the fact that the Resolution is now in the form of a motion before this august body, duly seconded. If the gentleman from Kenya wants to amend that Resolution he could formally present and propose an amendment to the original Resolution, and then if the amendment is passed, the Resolution in its amended form can be put to the House for acceptance. As no such amendment has been moved I am very sorry that we have to accept the original motion.

Chairman

May I say, as far as the procedure is concerned that the Committee's Resolution was placed before the Plenary Session this morning, and after a fairly long discussion at the Plenary Session, it was decided that a new draft be prepared. And it was hoped that Mr. Oyangi would co-operate in the preparation of this draft. I am sure he has given all his cooperation but there has been no agreement possible. So, I do not think there is any mistake being made, or any error, as far as procedure is concerned. According to the decision at the Plenary Session this morning a new draft has been presented, formally moved and seconded, and I repeat, the Committee Resolution was not found acceptable by most of the members present in the Plenary Session; therefore, they wanted a new draft which has now been prepared and is here before you.

I agree with the suggestion that has been made by the

delegate from Philippines that Mr. Oygani must first move an amendment to the Resolution, on which there will be in turn, a discussion, because, some of the remarks which Mr. Oyangi has made might put the new draft in a very wrong light. It might appear that the Convention is not prepared to give its support to the fight for freedom that the Algerian people are so bravely conducting.

A Delegate

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful for the second time I find occasion to defend the Committee which drafted this Resolution among others on the subject of colonialism in Africa and Asia.

In the Plenary Session this morning we agreed that if the Resolution as drafted by that Committee was not accepted, had some formula would be devised. Otherwise it would be necessary for us or for any one of us to move any motion on the subject. We agreed to bring it in the Open Session also, or otherwise come to a compromise. That being so I feel that the Resolution as now presented is perhaps the most humblest from the international point of view and at the same time it is most effective for any aim which we have in mind.

Chairman

Would any one else like to speak on this Resolution. Mr. Oyangi, do you wish to move any amendment? What do you wish to do?

Mr Oyangi

I do not want to move an amendment; I stick to my earlier suggestion.

Chairman

The new draft Resolution is before the House and this is being considered. The Resolution before the house is what Mr. Nuseibeh has moved and it is for you—if you disagree with it, then you have to move an amendment to bring it more in line with your own view.

Mr Oyangi

My amendment is to delete the whole thing that has been moved and in its place have this. I am saying this,

Mr Chairman because I find some tendency in this Convention to water down resolutions affecting Africa....

I pointed out that the Resolutions affecting Africa were left out. Now we come to Algeria which is another serious problem. What would I say to my people if they ask me what I was doing in the Convention? I think it is useless for me to participate in the Conference. I feel strongly about it. We must do something for Africa if we are doing something for Tibet. This Convention is on Tibet and against the colonialism in Asia and Africa. Earlier in my Committee I have been able to tell my members of the Committee that the situation is grave. The people are dying in Algeria. I have pointed out that in South Africa, in Nyassaland 51 people were butchered ; in Kenya 11 persons were massacred....

Chairman

There is no discussion on Kenya and Nyassaland. Please speak on this Resolution on Algeria.

Mr Oyangi

I feel it is going to be very bad if all the Resolutions are watered down like this.

Chairman

You are the Chairman of the Committee, and the Resolutions on South Africa, on Goa, on Kashmir, West Irian—have been accepted as they came from your Committee. Now you are going to give us a correct draft. There is no question of watering down. I am not conscious of any watering down. I do not think that this remark is at all justified. How do you say that the Resolution on South Africa has been watered down? The Resolution has been accepted, with the correction of the error and other typographical mistakes that may be in the text presented to the House.

Mr Oyangi

Mr Chairman, may I correct you? I have not complained about South Africa. I am complaining about the draft that came out in your....

Chairman

But I would like to know what changes have been made.

We did not make any change. All that we said was that because 15 Resolutions would not sound well, let us string them. Let us make one statement as far as possible. If our friend from Africa has any feeling that there is watering down of their demands, I think that it should be made clear to us and I have asked Mr. Oyangi to tell us what are the instances where we watered down his proposals.

Mr Oyangi

Mr. Chairman, I hope I have pointed out that some Resolutions were dropped out...

Chairman

The 15 Resolutions, whatever the number was, were adopted in the morning minus the Algeria Resolution, which is before us for adoption. Those Resolutions were presented and our Rapporteurs were given the authority to make one Resolution of them. We had no right to change. There was no watering down. I think it is not fair to make that remark. The Resolutions were adopted. They stand as they were adopted. In what manner they have to be put and presented to the world is for Mr. Oyangi, Mr. Krishnamurthy and the other Rapporteur to decide.

Let us proceed with the Algeria Resolution.

The Delegates from Jordan, U.A.R. and Lebanon agree with the new draft Resolution and with the general statement of President Nasser and Mr. Nehru. This was brought up in the Plenary Session.

Mr Mutuc

I do not think we should waste any more time on it. It is proper to adopt it.

Chairman

Do we take votes? I want to avoid voting.

Mr Oyangi

This being the case, it shows that there is no confidence in me as Chairman of the Committee. Remarks made in this Convention as regards the position of African delegates, compels the Delegation of Kenya to withdraw and let you go ahead with the business of the Convention.

Chairman

Mr. Oyangi has made out a case of grievance to this Convention. He made a statement that the case of Africa was being watered down. On this question of Algeria as I have explained to you, the circumstances in which the new draft was prepared, a draft which has been accepted by U.A.R., the Arab Delegation and the Lebanon Delegation. Algeria being an Arab country, these three delegates perhaps could be supposed to be in greater sympathy with—could be supposed to have greater understanding of—the problem of Algeria. Therefore, I do not see what grievance the Delegate from Kenya could have; the question of having confidence in the Chairmanship of the Anti-Colonial Committee, does not arise. The Committee functioned very well. The Committee, after long deliberations which were carried far into this morning session—we were delayed because of the discussion in this Committee—came to agreed conclusions except on the question of Algeria because, there was some difference of opinion. So I really regret very much that Mr. Oyangi and his colleague thought it better to leave this Convention but I do wish to state that that action does not seem to be justified at all. I do hope that wise counsel will prevail later and we will have the presence of the Delegates from Kenya.

Now, we should proceed with the business of the House. The Resolution moved on Algeria by Mr. Naseibeh is before you. Do you all agree? There is no opposition. Well, it is passed unanimously after the withdrawal of Kenya Delegation.

We now move on to the next item of business.

The names of the members of the Executive Committee have been given. Would you like to hear them?

Burma : Mr. Law Yone; Ceylon : Rev. Malewana G. Thero and Mr. Edward D. Cosme; Eastern Turkistan : Mr. Isa Yusuf Alptekin and Mr. Mehmet Emin Bugra; Congo : Mr. Patrice Lhoni; Hongkong : Mr. Chang Kuo-Sin and Mr. Lee Chiu Sheng; India : Mr. Asoka Mehta, M.P. and Mr. M.R. Masani M.P.; Indonesia : Mr. Imron Rosjadi, M.P. and Mr. Mohammad Roem, M.P.; Japan : Mr. Masao Makiuchi and Mr. Yoji Hirota; Jordan : Mr. Anwar Z. Nuseibeh; Lebanon : Mr. Alfred Naccache and Mr. Beshara Ghorayeb; Malaya : Mr. T.H. Tan, M.P.

and Mr. R. Sathiah; Nepal : Mr. Damodar Prasad Ghimire and Mr. D.P. Kumari; Pakistan : Mr. Mohd. Samin Khan and Mr. Mohd. Ali Kasuri; Philippines : Mr. Amelito R. Mutuc and Mr. Jeremias U. Montemayor; South Vietnam : Mr. Co-Van-Hai, M.P. and Mr. Nguyen-Thieu, M.P.; Tibet : Mr. N. Taring and Mrs. Taring; Turkey : Mr. Bulent Yazici and Mr. Emin Yumer; U.A.R. : Mr. Abdel Raouf Ali.

A Delegate

We take it that the business of this meeting is over.

Chairman

I do not want to inflict another speech on you—there is no need whatever. I think we must have become rather sick of hearing one another's voices. We have been discussing the questions before us for the last three days, with animation. But, yet, I should like to make a few concluding remarks.

Even though the proceedings of the Convention have been marked by the withdrawal of the Kenya delegates, I think, you will all agree that this Convention has been a success beyond all expectations.

I say that for several reasons; the first being that even though our attempt was an entirely private attempt, i.e. the attempt of the Indian Committee, you friends in such great numbers from so many countries were kind enough to respond and to take the trouble of coming all this distance to India. This shows that the peoples of Asia and also Africa—I am sure there would have been many more delegations from Africa if the African situation had not been so disturbed right at this time. We had telegrams from so many countries saying, "We have elections; our delegations or conferences are going to England and to other places; negotiations are beginning and therefore we want to be excused," and so on and so forth. Therefore, I am justified in saying that we would have certainly many more delegates from Africa. So the very fact that this gathering was possible in this manner shows that there is great interest among the peoples of Africa and Asia in coming together and trying to solve the problems of common interest, problems of urgency and so on. I think that this Convention by giving an opportunity for non-official representatives of the peoples of Africa and Asia to meet together has rendered a great service.

I think that before this last moment non-cooperation of our Kenya friends, which I really fail to understand, there has been throughout our discussions, general concord seriousness and earnestness. And most of our decisions, I should say all our decisions, except this last one on Algeria, have been unanimous decisions. There are delegates here, I am sure, who hold different views on many political and economic questions, and on many international questions, but yet, we have been able to give a demonstration of such complete unanimity that it augurs very well for the future of the Afro-Asian Council.

Regarding the question of Tibet, which was the main question before the Convention for which the Convention had originally been called there has been complete and enthusiastic and unhesitating agreement about it, about the right of Tibet to be free. There were differences, of course, in Committee discussions about the international status of Tibet before the 1951 Agreement, or after it, but there was no difference of opinion whatever on the question that China had committed aggression or that China had forcefully or forcibly occupied Tibet, and that the people of Tibet should be given, as soon as possible, the right to choose their own destiny. And it gladdens our heart to hear even our Chinese delegates say that even if the Tibetan people chose complete independence they would have absolutely no hesitation in accepting that position. (*Applause*).

Friends, I would like to impress upon you that this is a great advance in the international understanding of this question of Tibet. It was said in our dailies the other day that the whole world accepts the fact of Chinese aggression in Tibet, which is not in fact, true. If it had been accepted by all the countries of the world that China had committed aggression, then there would have been an unanimous resolution passed at the United Nations naming China as an aggressor in Tibet. but the political aspect of the question was not brought up. Even Ireland—and Malaya, or Iran, or Turkestan—which supported the human rights resolution, failed to bring up this question because the legal question was involved. They said : Is it not an internal question of China ?

Now friends, I shall hope that those of you who have come from different Asian and African countries, when

you go back, you will try to educate public opinion in your countries on these lines, about the right of Tibet to freedom, which right she can only exercise, as the Committee Resolution said, only on the withdrawal of the Chinese military and civil forces from their territory or country of Tibet. I hope that this Convention will start a process of enlightenment on this question of Tibet, a world-wide process. If that is done, we would have won half the battle because, I do not think that the world is such a jungle, in which the ferocious nations could do what they like, as it used to be before. And as Mr. Rajagopalchari said the other day, it is not always that you need military interference to correct an international wrong, and he gave the example of the Anglo-French invasion of Suez, or Egypt. This was corrected by the moral pressure and world public opinion.

Then friends, an evidence of the success of this Convention is that all of you unanimously have agreed to form this Afro-Asian Council and to appoint this Committee which will immediately take up, not only the cause of freedom through Asia and Africa, but also the cause of human rights throughout these two continents. Some people think that merely passing resolutions or forming organisations not enough. But for any action resolution is necessary; for any action organisation is necessary. They ask : Precisely, what are the practical steps you have taken ? Are these not practical steps—that there has been a Convention attended by the delegates from 18 countries, that they should come together and form a Council which is entrusted with the implementation of the decisions of this Convention ? I should think that it is a very important practical step that has been taken. I am sure that the Executive Committee would consider how the case of Tibet should again be raised at the United Nations, how the decisions that have been arrived at here will be presented to the United Nations, etc. All those are practical things which the Executive Committee will consider tomorrow, and from time to time when it meets, or may be, through other means.

Now friends, I do not want to take any more of your time. I should like to express to all of you, my very deep appreciation for the cooperation that I have received from all of you as Chairman of the Convention.

I had already expressed my very deep thanks, deeply felt thanks, deeply expressed thanks to the Plenary

Session this morning for its decision to nominate me as the President of the Afro-Asian Council. I wish once again to thank you all friends very warmly for this very great and signal honour that you have done to me which I assure you I do not deserve in the least. Thank you.

Yes, Mr Surkhang of Tibet wants to say something and also President Naccache.

Mr Naccache

At the end of this meeting, we must, I think, thank you, Sir, heartily for your patience.

Chairman

Thank you, Sir.

Mr Surkhang

The leader of the Delegates from Tibet requests the permission of the Chair to express his gratitude and thanks to the fellow delegates and to you, Mr. Chairman, particularly, for the great sympathy that you have shown over Tibet and the unanimous vote which has been given to the Tibetan people. We wish to express our deep gratitude.

Mr Tan

I do not want to interrupt you. I, in fact, wanted to seek your permission. I would like on behalf of the Delegates to thank you for organising this Convention and making it possible to demonstrate to the world the solidarity and unity of the Afro-Asian people. Mr. Chairman, in you we have found some one who has been very sympathetic with us, very patient, and from whom we have learnt a great deal. It remains for me to say to the other fellow delegates how happy I am personally to have had the pleasure of meeting all of them especially those coming from Japan, Jordan and Ceylon. We would like to thank the Chairman of the various Committees Mr. Matsumoto and his colleague, Dr. Roem, and we would like to thank all of them not only for the work they have done but for the useful work they will be doing.

The deliberations of the Convention concluded at 6.45 p.m.

List of Delegates

BURMA

Mr. Law Yone. Editor of "The Nation".

CEYLON

Mr. Edward Dalpatadu Cosme. Barrister-at-Law and a well known Social Worker.

Rev. Malewana Gnanissara Thero. Buddhist Monk, Chief Organising Secretary, All Ceylon Buddhist Monks Union.

Mr. Somaratna Jayaratna. Managing Editor, Bulletin of the Sri Lanka Maha Bhikkshu Sangamaya.

Rev. P. Soratha Thero. Buddhist Monk and Joint Secretary of the All Ceylon Buddhist Monks Union.

EASTERN TURKISTAN

Mr. Isa Yusuf Alptekin. Former Secretary General, Government of Eastern Turkistan.

Mr. Mehmet Emin Bugra. Former Deputy Governor of Eastern Turkistan.

HONG KONG

Mr. Chow Ching-wen. Author, Publicist.

Mr. Chang Kuo-Sin. Journalist, Publisher.

Mr. Hsu Yu. Novelist, Poet ; Chairman, Hong Kong Cultural Workers Association.

Mr. Lee Chiu-Sheng. Editor-in- Chief, Hong Kong Times.

Mr. Pok Shau-Fu. Journalist, Author.

Mr. Ma Yi. Publisher.

INDIA

Mr. Asoka Mehta. Member of Parliament; Chairman, Praja Socialist Party.

Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Member of Parliament and Secretary, All India Jana Sangh.

Mr. Balraj Madhok. University Teacher.

Mr. P.K. Deo. Member of Parliament.

Mr. Frank Moraes. Editor-in-Chief, Express group of newspapers.

Mr. Hansraj Gupta. Chairman, Reception Committee.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. Leader of the Sarvodaya and the Bhoodan (Land-gift) movements.

Mr. V.B. Karnik. Trade Unionist ; Secretary, Indian Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Mr. M. R. Masani. Member of Parliament ; General Secretary, Swatantra Party.

Dr. K.B. Menon. Member of Parliament.

Mr. K. Krishna Menon. Joint Secretary, Praja Socialist Party.

Mr. B.S. Krishnamurthy. Research worker on Africa.

Mr. H.R. Pardivala. Advocate.

Mr. D.C. Patole. Journalist.

Mr. S.L. Poplai. Secretary-General, Indian Council of World Affairs.

Mr. N. G. Ranga. Member of Parliament ; Chairman Swatantra Party.

Dr. Raghu Vira. Member of Parliament.

Mr. Samar Guha. University Teacher ; Convener—Secretary, All India Tibet Convention.

Mr. B. Shiva Rao. Journalist.

Mr. M. L. Sodhani. Secretary, Reception Committee.

Mr. Sinha, Ganga Sharan. Member of Parliament ; Former Chairman, Praja Socialist Party.

Mr. Siva Raj. Advocate ; Member of Parliament.

Mr. Shridhar Mahadeo Joshi. Member of Legislative Assembly (Maharashtra) ; Leader of Praja Socialist Party.

Miss Sushma Malik. Secretary, Preparatory Bureau, Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet.

INDONESIA

Mr. Imron Rosjadi. Member of Parliament.

Mr. Mohamad Roem. Member of Parliament, Chairman, Masjumi Party; Former Foreign Minister.

JAPAN

Mr. Junsho Ohta. Chairman, Japan Buddhist Federation.

Mr. Masao Makiuchi. University Teacher.

Dr. Tokumei Matsumoto. Chairman, Peoples' Council for Tibetan Problems.

Mr. Yoji Hirota. Director, Research Institute of China Affairs.

JORDAN

Mr. Anwar Zaki Nuseibeh. Former Minister of Education, Defence and Reconstruction Author.

KENYA

Mr. Elijah Mukaya. Asst. Organising Secretary, Peoples' Convention Party.

Mr. Jafetha Mbaja Oyangi. Organising Secretary, Peoples' Convention Party of Kenya.

LEBANON

Mr. Alfred Naccache. Jurist, Former President of Lebanon; Former Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

Mr. Beshara Ghorayeb. President, Middle East Economic Service.

MALAYA

Mr. Dahari Ali. Journalist & Member of Parliament.

Dr. R. Sathiah. Medical Practitioner.

Mr. T. H. Tan. Senator, Secretary General, Alliance Party.

NEPAL

Mr. Damodar Prasad Ghimire. President, Refugee Relief Society.

Mr. D.P. Kumai. Merchant.

PHILIPPINES

Mr. Amelito B. Mutuc. Attorney ; Former President of Asia, Junior Chamber International.

Mr. Jeremias U. Montemayor. President, Federation of Free Farmers, Dean, Faculty of Law.

PAKISTAN

Mr. Mahmud Ali Kasuri. Senior Advocate.

Mr. Samin Khan. Barrister-at-Law.

REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Mr. Patrice Lhoni. Representative from Institute for Congolese Studies.

TURKEY

Mr. Emin Yumer. Civil Engineer.

Mr. Bulent Yazici. Economist.

TIBET

Mr. Kheme Sonam Wangdu.

Mr. Namgyal Dorji.

Mr. Phala Thupten Wangden.

Mrs. Rinchen Domal Taring.

Mr. Rinchen Sudutsang.

Mr. Surkhang Wangchen Gelek. Member of the Kashag.

Mr. Trichupon Dorji Palsang. Representative from Amdo.

Mr. Wangdu Dorji. Representative of Kham.

U. A. R.

Mr. Abdel Rauf Ali. Counsellor Government of the U.A.R.

VIET-NAM

Mr. Co-Van-Hai, M.P. Member of Parliament, General Secretary, Vietnam Socialist Party.

Mr. Holy Thrich-Tri Dung. Buddhist Monk.

Mr. Le Xuan Khoa. University Professor.

Mr. Vu-Ngoc-Vy. Deputy Secretary General, Vietnam Socialist Party.
