



EIGHTH SESSION

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNIVERSAL  
APPLICATION OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Resolution unanimously adopted in the 91st Meeting  
of the Plenary Assembly on September 20, 1961.  
Dr. George M. Dimitrov (Bulgaria) Rapporteur

Albania

Bulgaria

Czechoslovakia

Estonia

Hungary

Latvia

Lithuania

Poland

Romania

THE ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS

Noting that in sharp contrast with the vast process of decolonization which has taken place since the end of the Second World War and which led to the establishment by peoples formerly subjected to Western colonial rule of more than fifty independent nations, a reverse process of deprivation of freedom and national independence has been and is taking place in other parts of the world to the benefit of the Soviet Communist imperial system and at the expense of centuries-old free and independent nations;

Reminding that in this period in Europe alone three former free and independent nations, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union, while others - Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania, not to speak of East Germany - although left nominally independent, had the Soviet pattern of political, social and economic organization and subservient dictatorships foisted upon them by the direct or indirect intervention of the military and police forces of the Soviet Union;

Reminding further that the status of subordination of the above captive nations finds expression in the concepts of proletarian internationalism and fraternal aid, standing respectively for Soviet control and the promise of Soviet intervention against any attempt to overthrow a Communist government, and that these concepts were officially proclaimed in public pronouncements of the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party which, in actual practice and even according to the terms of the Soviet Constitution, is a super-government of the Soviet Union;

Stressing that the complete spiritual, political and economic subordination of these countries to the government of the



Soviet Union is secured through the Soviet controlled Communist Party machinery - the only source of political power - and through the Soviet military and police forces which have direct control over all armed forces in each of the captive countries;

Emphasizing that the imperial control which the rulers of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union wield over the aforementioned countries has been deepened and strengthened by a policy of economic integration and exploitation they are conducting through a so-called Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (COMECON);

Considering that as a result of these actions the Soviet Union robbed the captive nations of the free exercise of their right of self-determination and continues to prevent them from freely choosing their institutions and governments, from living in harmony with their own national traditions, from being the judges of their own national interest and from determining their relations with other nations;

Considering further that the will of the peoples concerned to live under institutions and governments of their choice has been amply demonstrated by the resistance - culminating in the 1956 Hungarian Freedom Revolution - they have been and are still opposing their oppressors, and finds recognition in the fact that Soviet and Communist control can only be maintained by a policy of violent repression, systematic terror, and complete denial of human rights and political freedoms;

Warning that both the statement issued in December 1960, in Moscow, following the meeting of the 81 Communist Parties and the draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published on July 30, 1961, not to mention other equally basic documents, openly proclaim the determination of the Soviet-controlled Communist movement to expand throughout the world and clearly prescribe the strategy and tactics to be pursued to this end;

Being convinced that both past record and the professed purposes of the Soviet Union constitute ample evidence that the freedom and independence of all free nations and more particularly of the militarily weak and the geographically exposed countries are being seriously jeopardized by the same power which has suppressed the independence and liberty of the once free nations of Central and Eastern Europe;

Hoping that all free nations will heed this warning, will come to recognize their moral and political involvement in the struggle of all other peoples for national independence and freedom and will uphold in the United Nations a single standard of international conduct;

Appeals to the free nations represented in the United Nations and more particularly to the newly independent nations:



- (1) to ask for the inscription on the agenda of the 16th United Nations General Assembly of the issue of denial of self-determination to the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania on the basis of Article 1 (1) and (2), Articles 14 or 34, 55 and 56 of the Charter;
- (2) to urge the United Nations General Assembly to call (a) for the strict observance of and respect for human rights, and (b) for the holding of free elections, under effective safeguards and international supervision, in the aforementioned countries;
- (3) to propose or lend support to proposals aimed at the enforcement of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the Question of Hungary, and to reject the credentials issued by the Soviet-imposed Kadar regime;
- (4) to stress in the debate on the item entitled "The Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples", which was inscribed as Additional Item 1 on the Agenda of the 16th General Assembly, the universal character of the provisions of Resolution 1514 (XV), to call attention to the non-observance of these provisions in areas controlled by the Soviet Union and to urge identical measures of implementation for all countries and peoples forcibly deprived of the right of self-determination.