



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 67:

Question considered by the second emergency special session of the General Assembly from 4 to 10 November 1956 (*continued*)..... 505

**President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).**

AGENDA ITEM 67

Question considered by the second emergency special session of the General Assembly from 4 to 10 November 1956 (*continued*)

1. Mr. JARAMILLO ARRUBLA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): Many meetings of the Security Council and the General Assembly have been taken up by the Hungarian question, with which we are all familiar. Various resolutions have been adopted, by a large majority of the countries here represented, calling upon the USSR Government to desist forthwith from all armed attack on that great people and from any other form of intervention in their internal affairs. We, the Members of the United Nations that adopted those resolutions, see with regret that our Organization's efforts are in vain, for, despite our repeated pleas, the troops of the Soviet Union continue to occupy Hungarian territory and there seems to be not the faintest hope of their speedy withdrawal.

2. For the representatives of a country like Colombia, which throughout its history has proved faithful to its undertakings of every kind and has steadfastly respected the principles on which friendly relations among nations are based, the present international crisis, and, above all, the future of the United Nations itself, can only be a matter of the gravest concern.

3. At various meetings in the past few days we have listened attentively to the many eloquent speeches delivered in this hall, and my delegation can only express its anxiety at the manner in which they are received by international public opinion, for the millions of men and women everywhere who are closely following these debates want less oratory and more practical results.

4. When, some days ago, I left my country to come to this Assembly, I read in various newspapers of all shades of political opinion commentaries on the tragic situation in Hungary, all of which were obviously doubtful of the effectiveness of our world Organization. And now, without going any farther afield, I can see in front of our buildings groups of persons of various nationalities, carrying placards calling for more action and fewer words.

5. I know that under the United Nations Charter our Assembly is empowered only to make recommendations. But those who at Yalta laid the foundations of the United Nations can hardly have intended that this body should become a laughing-stock. If they made no provision for action by the Assembly, or if they did not see fit to set up machinery for enforcing its decisions, it is the duty of all peace-loving peoples and of this vitally important institution itself to amend the Charter immediately, so that the Assembly itself can enforce compliance with what are today called, and unfortunately are, simply recommendations.

6. And it cannot be argued that the Security Council has power to take enforcement measures under the Charter, because we well know that it is bound by the famous veto which enables some of its members to obstruct any desired action. It is quite true that despite this well-known defect, to which I am pointing only in my desire to render our great and necessary Organization more effective, we have in our ten years of existence—which we recently celebrated with fitting ceremony—a satisfactory record of achievement. Mediation and conciliation, carried out with great success in various disputes and conflicts, as in the case of Indonesia and the Netherlands, Kashmir, Palestine, and the northern frontiers of Greece, not to mention work done in other fields, show the efficacy of our Organization in this respect and the importance of such machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes.

7. But it is clear that mediation and conciliation require good will and a desire for settlement by the parties, and the great defect of the United Nations Charter is that it contains no provisions whereby the General Assembly can render its decisions effective in the absence of good will or good faith on the part of aggressor States or parties to disputes.

8. Were it otherwise, we should perhaps not be discussing a further measure such as that now before us, reiterating the call upon the USSR Government to comply with previous resolutions of the Assembly; we might perhaps be approving practical measures to deal with the situation, such as economic sanctions or other appropriate action, or we might be observing their implementation.

9. It will be said that in the matter of the Suez dispute, the Assembly has done better, as evidenced by the announcement that France, the United Kingdom and Israel are proceeding to comply with its resolutions. But if that is so—and the deep feeling of responsibility towards the United Nations shown by those three countries deserves praise—it is none the less obvious that the General Assembly should not continue to be exposed to situations in which it can take successful action solely in respect of States of good will, and is powerless and incapable in respect of those which pursue contrary policies and are absolutely lacking in morality and respect for others or for world public

opinion, and despise the principles of the Charter and those of peaceful relations among nations. Such an organization could serve to keep the peace only among archangels.

10. It is hardly necessary for me to state before this Assembly that, when I speak of the need to make our decisions effective, I am only following the consistent policy of my country; because it should not be forgotten that Colombia has always been prepared to act in support of decisions of this Organization. That was shown by the presence and the distinguished action of our troops in Korea in defence of the principles of the United Nations, and our soldiers are at this moment giving further demonstration of it, in Egypt, having been the first to join the Emergency Force established by the courageous decision of the General Assembly.

11. My delegation shares the concern of the countries sponsoring the draft resolution [A/3413] under discussion. We share their desire to see a speedy cessation of all intervention by the Soviet Union in the domestic affairs of Hungary; we join our voices in the request that the Soviet Union cease to deport citizens from Hungary and return those who have already been deported to their homes; that it withdraw its armed forces from the country and cease its oppression of that courageous and much-tried people.

12. We shall accordingly vote for the draft resolution, in the belief that no effort should be spared to bring, through the peaceful means of persuasion, some satisfactory outcome from this appalling tragedy, and because we still preserve our confidence in the moral authority of the wise decisions taken by this Assembly.

13. My delegation is especially anxious to express its support for the draft resolution under discussion in that it repeats the request to the Soviet Union and to the Hungarian authorities to comply with previous resolutions and permit United Nations observers to enter Hungarian territory, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary-General, and also in that it requests the Governments of both States to communicate to the Secretary-General, not later than 7 December 1956, their consent to receive United Nations observers.

14. My delegation believes that it is necessary to insist that the Soviet and Hungarian authorities should permit the entry of these observers, all the more so if it be true, as certain speakers defending the Communist cause said yesterday, that life in Hungary has returned to normal and that the theatres, schools and factories are now open. If that is so, why not allow the United Nations observers to visit the country?

15. In voting for the draft resolution under discussion, my delegation cannot refrain from drawing attention to the inescapable duty of aiding the Hungarian refugees. Colombia repeats its offer to receive 10,000 of them, and expresses its sincere wishes that their unhappy state may soon be remedied.

16. Nor, as a Catholic, can I pass over in silence the unfair attack made here yesterday by Mr. Kuznetsov, Chairman of the delegation of the Soviet Union, on that illustrious prince of the Church, Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, who has for several years, in company with his people, been suffering courageously and with abnegation the usual persecutions of Bolshevism.

17. We have all read that distinguished prelate's first statements concerning the recent terrible events, and

his description of the trials through which his flock is passing. There is one passage among those statements to which I should like to draw attention. When he was asked how the Church in his country stood, he replied that he would like public opinion in the United States and throughout the world to know that the Bolsheviks had carried off everything in Hungary, and that the country's need was urgent. He asked the Americans to take pity on the country. The people needed medicines and foods, but he could say no more at that time because he had to save his voice. He gave his blessing.

18. Spiritually-minded peoples, peace-loving, law-abiding, God-fearing, with a belief in moral values, such as Colombia, cannot forbear to confirm their very definite position in the face of the scandalous situation in Hungary. My delegation, in doing so, would recall the authoritative statement of the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, His Holiness Pope Pius XII, who, in his encyclical to the bishops of the world on 28 October 1956, demanded a just peace for Hungary and the other persecuted peoples of Europe in these moving words:

"We are certain that the same faith and the same love for our Divine Redeemer still inflames the souls of this people, however the supporters of atheistic communism strive with every means to strip from their minds the ancient religion of their forefathers. Therefore we feel confident", continues the Supreme Pontiff, "that this most noble people, even in the grave turmoil in which it now finds itself, will again pour forth fervent prayers to God for the ardently desired peace based on right order. We also cherish the earnest hope that everywhere throughout the world all true Christians, as evidence of their common charity, will join in suppliant prayers with their brothers who are oppressed by so many calamities and wrongs."

19. Mr. DE FREITAS VALLE (Brazil): My delegation has refrained, until now, from taking part in this debate, for two main reasons: first, because we could not add any new and constructive element of thought to what had been so eloquently stated and rightly proposed by different delegations as a course of action for this Assembly to embark upon; secondly, because our position had been made abundantly clear when this vexing question was discussed at the second emergency special session and in the address that I had the honour to deliver during the course of the general debate [581st meeting].

20. We have now learned of a new, highly important fact that, in our opinion, has shed light on much that was obscure and confused in the situation that has developed in Hungary. I am referring to the statement made at Pula by the leader of the Yugoslav nation. I attach so much weight to the declaration of Marshal Tito, not only because he is the chief executive of a country that has gained the respect and admiration of the whole world for its unrelenting struggle for independence, but also because he is a Communist—with intimate knowledge of the processes and methods applied by the Soviet Union in the implementation of its foreign policy.

21. Up to now, our position was based on the scanty information that filters through the tight curtain of secrecy surrounding every Soviet move. It was also based on the opinions and, in our view, judicious and sound conclusions derived from whatever knowledge

we had of the recent occurrences in embattled Hungary. Now that Marshal Tito has spoken, we have, for the first time, a witness of the greatest importance, for he himself took part in some of the conversations with the Soviet leaders that led to the armed intervention of the USSR in the internal affairs of subjugated Hungary.

22. First of all, Marshal Tito dispels the contention put forward by the Soviet delegation as to the reactionary character of the revolution. He states plainly that "a large part of the working class and progressive people" fought against the Soviet armed forces and that he is convinced that when the "demonstrations" started it was not possible to speak of any counter-revolutionary tendencies. Then the Yugoslav leader calls the intervention of the Soviet army "a fatal mistake". "This mistake", he continues, "has resulted from the fact that they"—the Soviet leaders—"unfortunately still believe that military strength solves everything. But such is not the case."

23. This responsible and well-informed statement is, in our view, the greatest indictment against the conduct of the Soviet Union in international affairs. A blow has been dealt to socialism. It has been compromised, says Marshal Tito, as a result of the Soviet action in Hungary.

24. With all this we agree and, with the Yugoslav leader, "we hope that a little light will reach the eyes of the comrades in the Soviet Union and that they will see that it is no longer possible to work in this way".

25. The passages I have quoted from the speech at Pula speak for themselves, and I will say no more at this stage.

26. To conclude, let me state my deep conviction that an irreversible trend towards greater independence is afoot in the countries closely linked to the USSR. The gallant people of Hungary will have the tragic honour of being the first to shed their blood in a struggle whose outcome can be no other than total victory. To this people goes our deep respect and unbounded admiration.

27. My Government has offered to extend its hospitality to 3,000 Hungarian refugees. The Brazilian Immigration Commission, operating in Austria since the beginning of November, has been instructed to take the necessary steps to implement our offer.

28. One last word now on the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by the fourteen Powers [A/3413]. This draft resolution would not have been necessary had the Hungarian *de facto* Government complied with the previous decisions taken by the General Assembly. To make clear, however, to the authorities in Budapest that the United Nations is resolved not to abandon the Hungarian people, I think it proper to adopt the draft resolution, and my delegation will therefore vote for it.

29. Mr. MICHELET (France) (*translated from French*): The other day, speaking from this rostrum [583rd meeting] in a voice ringing with emotion, the United States representative spoke of the tragic sight which had greeted him on his arrival, in the wake of General Patton's liberating army, at Dachau concentration camp. Speaking to you now is a former inmate of Dachau, a comrade of many Hungarian patriots whose names and grief-stricken faces are ever in his memory, a faithful companion of so many Magyar patriots who, after enduring the horrors of Nazi

camps, are now again being transported to some other parts of the sinister world of concentration camps.

30. News agencies whose consistent testimony cannot be questioned have given us detailed accounts of happenings which we had never expected to hear of again: the knock on the door in the small hours, men snatched from homes they hold dear and herded into prison trains (known there as "Stalin pullmans"); tragic messages pushed through chinks in the floors and sides of the vans, to be picked up by some charitable stranger; dismal journeys towards an unknown, but inevitably terrifying, destination.

31. It is absurd to say, as was done here yesterday, that these accounts are merely malicious fabrications. A few minutes ago I received an authentic letter dated less than three weeks ago, namely, 15 November; it is signed by a Hungarian comrade and it reached me through an organization officially recognized by the United Nations (the International Commission against Concentration Camp Practices which, under the chairmanship of Mr. David Rousset, speaks on behalf of 100,000 former deportees). I will read a few extracts:

"I, the undersigned, Peter Vereshazy, student, formerly a resident of Budapest (seventh district) declare on my honour as follows:

"On 15 November 1956, towards 9 a.m., I went with my sixteen-year-old sister to my grandparents' house, which was in the vicinity. At the corner of Aradi Street and Lenin Boulevard, we were stopped by three Soviet soldiers, a Russian in civilian clothes and a Hungarian in civilian clothes. They forced us into a shop where there were already ten other young people, including three girls. When we protested, the Russian civilian twice slapped my face while one of the Russian soldiers hit my sister. They searched us and a revolutionary pamphlet was found in my possession. I was promptly beaten. A little later, a truck stopped in front of the shop. They took us to the Western Station. By now, there were about twenty of us. We were taken into an underground passage. There, they separated the men from the women. That was the last I saw of my sister Vera."

Further on this tragic account goes on to say:

"At dawn, the train started. As it started, everyone sang the Hungarian national anthem. The Russians fired into the air to silence us. We travelled for two days and two nights. During daylight hours, the train was at a standstill more often than in motion. On two occasions we were given some hot soup and 150 grammes of bread.

"On 18 November, towards 4 p.m., the train stopped again. We knew that we were somewhere beyond the Tisza near the town of Szolnok. We also knew that traffic was at a standstill because the Hungarian railwaymen were on strike . . ."

All of us who were in the European resistance movements remember how we too, used to paralyse railway traffic.

"When the train started moving again, we began to dismantle the floor-boards; during the night, when the train stopped by a large village, we left the van one by one . . ."

I will not read the rest of this tragic letter, except for the concluding words:

" . . . after many difficulties, I succeeded in reaching the Austrian border. The Russian soldiers opened fire on us, but at dawn on 21 November I

got into Austria. I thank the Austrian authorities for their very warm welcome.

"Done at Vienna, 21 November 1956.

"(Signed) Peter Vereshazy"

Mr. Vereshazy's signature is witnessed by a municipal official.

32. For exactly a month, the Security Council and the General Assembly have attempted to discuss these events, either directly with the Soviet Government or with the Hungarian authorities who are merely its agents, but their words have been addressed to deaf ears.

33. Yet it was only yesterday [605th meeting], in listening to Mr. Kuznetsov, that we fully realized how different were the languages spoken by the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations and that used by the Soviet Government.

34. The facts themselves could not be any simpler. In order to understand them, we need only recall the happenings of 3 November, which sparked the chain of events round which this debate has revolved.

35. On 3 November 1956, the Security Council was in session [753rd meeting]. Before it, as you will recall, was a note from the permanent delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic containing a letter, dated 2 November, addressed by the Prime Minister and acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Secretary-General of the United Nations [S/3726]. That vital document signed by Mr. Nagy read as follows:

"On 2 November 1956, further and exact information, mainly military reports, reached the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, according to which large Soviet military units crossed the border of the country, marching towards Budapest. They occupy railway lines, railway stations and railway safety equipment. Reports also have come that Soviet military movements of east-west direction are being observed in the territory of western Hungary.

"On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, the Hungarian Government deemed it necessary to inform the embassy of the USSR and all the other diplomatic missions in Budapest about these steps directed against our People's Republic.

"At the same time, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic forwarded concrete proposals on the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, as well as the place of negotiations concerning the execution of the termination of the Warsaw Pact, and presented a list containing the names of the members of the Government's delegation. Furthermore, the Hungarian Government made a proposal to the Soviet embassy in Budapest to form a mixed committee to prepare the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

"I request Your Excellency to call upon the great Powers to recognize the neutrality of Hungary, and ask the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start the negotiations immediately.

"I also request Your Excellency to make known the above to the members of the Security Council."

36. Thus the legal—I stress the word "legal"—government of a Member State of our Organization warned the Security Council that, despite its stated

wishes, another Member State was continuing to send troops into its territory. It therefore asked the Security Council to help in negotiations which it wished to enter into with that other State in order to obtain the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in its territory.

37. I will not dwell, for the time being, on the events of the preceding days, when Soviet troops fired on unarmed demonstrators—an intervention which in itself would have justified United Nations action. I only wish to stress, in passing, an important fact which twenty trustworthy witnesses have reported: Soviet soldiers refused to fire on Hungarian workers and young patriots. I venture to suggest that, in so doing, they saved the honour of their country.

38. On 3 November, the legality of the Nagy government was not questioned by anybody, not even by the representative of the Soviet Union. On that day, Mr. Sobolev told the Security Council the following:

"I have been asked to comment on the report that negotiations are being conducted between Hungarian and Soviet representatives concerning the Soviet troops in Hungary. I can confirm that such negotiations are going on."¹

39. Moreover, a certain Mr. Szabo, who on that day claimed to be representing the Nagy government and whom we heard a few days later announce from this rostrum, with tragic cynicism and effrontery, that he was representing the Kadar government, made the following statement:

". . . I should like to inform the Council with satisfaction of the following promising information" (you will appreciate the cynicism behind that word 'promising') "received from Budapest today. The leaders of the Hungarian and Soviet armies met today at noon, and both parties expressed their views on the technical questions involved in withdrawing the Soviet troops. They agreed that they would study each other's proposals and that they would meet again at 10 o'clock tonight, Budapest time. According to the Soviet proposal, no more troops will cross the border until an agreement is reached."²

40. A few hours later, Soviet troops, surrounding the place where the alleged negotiations were taking place, brutally interrupted the meeting. The Nagy government was spirited away, and the Hungarian people, who rose as one man, suffered at the hands of a foreign army one of the most terrible and bloody repressions in history.

41. And today it is suggested that our Organization, which received an appeal from the head of the legal government of Hungary, should accept the statements of the Soviet Government and of the puppets which that Government has installed and agree that this is an internal matter which concerns only Hungary! The Soviet delegation knows perfectly well that no free nation will accept that proposition.

42. What is more, as I listened yesterday to Mr. Kuznetsov's long speech, I had the feeling that the tragic events in Budapest were no longer even an internal Hungarian matter but were becoming a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of the Soviet Union. I am inclined to believe that that is so. But that does not mean that we must relax our efforts. Surely the reverse is the case.

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year, 753rd meeting, para. 132.

² Ibid., para. 2.

43. Many speakers have already pointed out that, despite the resolutions this Assembly has adopted by large majorities, the Soviet Government not only has failed to withdraw its forces from Hungary, but has continued to send in new units. We still do not even know to what extent effect has been given to the Assembly resolutions calling for food and medical relief for the Hungarian people. Moreover, despite his efforts, the Secretary-General is still unable to obtain authorization to send observers to Hungary.

44. In particular, the provisions of the resolution [A/RES/408] of 21 November 1956, which the representative of India defended from this rostrum with so much warmth and conviction, have not yet begun to be implemented, notwithstanding Mr. Menon's warning that:

"... I would be failing in my responsibility if I did not say here—and I hope that my voice reaches further—that the Government of Hungary will assume an extremely heavy responsibility if it does not respond as quickly as possible to the urging, to the request that we are making, a request which we are making not as part of a political grouping, but as expressing the feeling that is welling up all over the world." [586th meeting, para. 35.]

45. In that resolution, I repeat, the Assembly asked the Hungarian Government to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General. We know the Hungarian Government's answer, since Mr. Kuznetsov took the trouble to quote it yesterday in his speech. In any case, we had read it on 29 November in the newspapers, which shows, incidentally, that communication with Budapest is not so difficult as the representative of the Hungarian authorities would have us believe. The answer was as follows:

"That is why the mere arrival of any United Nations observers in Hungary at the present time might lead to confusion in the minds of people. We can be quite sure that certain elements would not lay down their arms. At a time when we are aiming at consolidation, such confusion would be a step backward. In any case, why do we need observers, when there are more than 600 foreign Press correspondents in the country who have seen everything and from whom no information has been withheld?" [605th meeting, para. 110.]

46. These statements obviously require no comment, but as they constitute an answer to the General Assembly's requests in its resolution of 21 November, they fully justify the resumption of the discussion, and the submission of the fourteen-Power draft resolution [A/3413] which we have before us and which the French delegation whole-heartedly endorses.

47. Some will say that it is futile to reopen the question in view of the categorical refusal we have received. My delegation does not agree. We believe that the Assembly is in duty bound to continue to bring pressure to bear until it has obtained satisfaction.

48. Moreover, in the interview to which I have just referred, Mr. Kadar made a statement which Mr. Kuznetsov refrained from quoting. He said:

"There has been much talk in the foreign Press of the impending visit to Hungary of Mr. Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and of observers from that Organization. Why have

we declined this offer? We have done so for purely legal reasons."

Yet today, judging by the communication [A/3414] which was circulated yesterday, the Hungarian authorities say they are prepared to receive the Secretary-General in Budapest, subject to conditions that remain to be clarified.

49. There is reason to believe that it was the fact that this debate was to be held that led Mr. Kadar to reconsider his categorical statement of 26 November and to agree in principle to the Secretary-General's visit to Budapest.

50. The draft resolution before us has the further merit of proposing a measure not included in our earlier resolutions, a measure which should be possible to carry out immediately, namely, the dispatch of observers designated by the Secretary-General to countries other than Hungary, with the consent of the authorities of those countries, to obtain from witnesses of the Hungarian tragedy the information we are not permitted to get in Budapest.

51. The Romanian representative, who is a newcomer to this Assembly, was shocked at a recent meeting by the use of the word "satellite", and felt it necessary to give lessons in international democracy to a man whom we all respect and who, moreover, needs lessons in international democracy from no one. Operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution would, if adopted, allow the Romanian Government to show its independence otherwise than by words, since it could permit the observers designated by the Secretary-General to converse with Mr. Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, who, we have been told, went of his own free will to Romania, where he is alleged to be at present.

52. It is becoming increasingly apparent to this Assembly that the Hungarian tragedy is only one phase of a much larger drama which threatens to endanger world peace. As one of my fellow-countrymen aptly put it, for almost ten years Stalin said that black was white, and the world was divided into two camps which seriously debated whether what he said was true or not. His successors, who apparently had neither his authority nor his power and were not assisted in the same way by circumstances, have been unwilling to admit that white is white. They have tried to make people believe that it may be grey, but this time no one has believed them.

53. The Hungarian people for their part have heroically battled for the right to the truth. Now tens of millions of Europeans hitherto enslaved by the Soviet Union are demanding the right to the truth. There are tens of millions of men who have ceased to believe the article of the Marxist faith which asserted that war between two socialist peoples was absolutely impossible, just as there are tens of millions of men who have discovered the falsity of that other article of the Bolshevik faith: "The proletariat has no fatherland". Go and ask the Hungarian proletarians—as other proletarians could have been asked yesterday and still others could be asked tomorrow—if they do not have a living fatherland which they place far above the abstract theories of the alleged discoverers of the materialist conception of history, for these idealists, while remaining fervent internationalists, continue to sacrifice their lives for country and national freedom.

54. We were also told yesterday that the Hungarian revolt was the work of a handful of fascists. Mr. Kadar

refused to admit United Nations observers on the grounds that 600 representatives of the foreign Press in Hungary had seen everything and that nothing had been hidden from them. But it is precisely because 600 observers of the foreign Press have seen everything and because nothing could be hidden from them that no one in the world believes today that the Hungarian revolt was not the uprising of an entire people against a foreign imperialism.

55. It is indeed the foreign Press, to which Mr. Kadar refers us, that has shown us that the revolt was led by people who were too young ten years ago to have known anything but the Soviet occupation and the Communist régime. The Soviet Government and its delegation are fully aware of the fact.

56. An attempt has also been made to draw a parallel between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty. Whom did the Soviet delegation expect to persuade that any such comparison was possible? To my knowledge we have never seen the representative of the United States Government come to this rostrum to announce that this country's troops had razed a European capital and installed a government of its choice, and to ask that its action be considered a purely internal affair.

57. There has also been an attempt to draw a parallel between the intervention of Franco-British troops in Egypt and the repression in Hungary. The Soviet delegation knows full well that on this point again it has convinced no one, not even those who, for reasons which I do not wish to appraise here, have abstained from condemning the Soviet action in Hungary.

58. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, speaking in this Assembly [589th meeting], dealt fittingly with this insulting charge. For my part, I shall merely add that all the water of the Suez Canal will not wash away one-hundredth part of the Hungarian blood that stains Soviet hands.

59. We heard with interest and attention the speech made by Mr. Popovic, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, on 28 November, who told us:

"On the other hand, it is essential that certain foreign political circles should refrain from taking advantage of the present difficulties of the Hungarian people for purposes of propaganda or political strategy which are hardly compatible with the interests of peace." [599th meeting, para. 156].

60. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia can rest assured that it is not our intention to utilize the difficulties of the Hungarian people for purposes of political strategy. We believe, as he does, that an evolution is in progress, but we also believe that events in Hungary give grounds for fearing that the Soviet reactions to the aspirations of peoples who are resolved to free themselves from Soviet imperialism may seriously endanger peace. This is far and away the gravest problem that the Assembly has to consider this year, and, when we can see the matter in proper perspective, the fact will be obvious to everyone.

61. At the meeting of 24 November, Mr. Menon said: "I am prepared to understand that one delegation or group of delegations would be more exercised by one question than by another." [594th meeting, para. 114.]

We also understand that nations, like individuals, are more interested in problems which, for reasons of geographical proximity, community of race or religion, affect them more closely. But our Organization is not

the arithmetical sum of the interests of the major Members. It must be something more than that. It is the guardian of certain principles. It is responsible for the maintenance of peace. Otherwise, the United Nations, instead of performing the mission assigned to it, would become nothing more than the principal instrument of the largest group of Member States—mission—and on this point I am surely in agreement with Mr. Menon—is on a far higher level.

62. It is from this point of view that we must, in our final analysis, examine the events in Hungary and our decisions. To those who would have us remain on the sidelines while events take their course, however tragic they may be, I would say that if we resign ourselves on grounds of alleged political realism to the result of which they saw before the war—to the enslavement of a country, we are condemning that country to the graveyard of history, because we no longer believe in the vital force which keeps it alive.

63. I would say that no development could justify repression that is at this moment being visited on the Hungarian people. We do not have the right to resign ourselves to the enslavement of the Hungarian people. The free world must decide to organize a campaign of moral irredentism on behalf of the martyred people so that even the most cynical will be forced to hold them in their hold. In no other way can we prevent the upheavals in progress in Eastern Europe from seriously endangering peace.

64. You will forgive me, as the representative of France, for referring in conclusion to the emotion which my fellow-countrymen heard the Hungarian patriots greet their invaders with the lines of "*Marseillaise*":

"Quoi, ces cohortes étrangères
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers?"

["What, should these alien bands lay down the law for us, at home?"]

You will also forgive me for saying, as the Minister of France has said, that France recognizes the Magyar people's upsurge towards freedom—being drowned in blood—a movement similar to which swept through France at the time of the Revolution. Nor will you object if I invite some among you to consider the words of the man whom metropolitan France, like overseas France, still calls its liberator: "When there is a struggle between the people and the Bastille, it is always the Bastille which is wrong in the end."

65. Sir PIERSON DIXON (United Kingdom). Members of the Assembly must surely have listened yesterday to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union with something like stupefaction. More than five weeks have passed since the armed intervention of the Soviet Government in the internal affairs of Hungary was first brought to the notice of the United Nations at the Security Council, but yesterday, Mr. Sobolev more than five weeks ago, Mr. Kuznetsov coolly talked to us about counter-revolutionary, reactionary, fascist elements in Hungary and, without blink, ascribed to sinister foreign influence, to intrigues and broadcasts, the responsibility for what has been happening during these agonizing weeks. This is nonsense, a distortion of the facts, and all know it.

66. We all know that what has happened in Hungary is due to the indefensible policies of the Soviet Government itself and to the indefensible policies of

Hungarian hirelings. That much at least has been agreed in the course of the heated debates which the tragic events in Hungary have started up in Communist circles all around the world. Nowhere that I know of is there one single Communist bold enough to defend in public the record of Rakosi and his like.

67. So, in the name of logic, if not of decency, let us hear no more of the fable that the rising in Hungary was due to some reactionary plot conceived by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe and executed by a counter-revolutionary clique. That is the fable which the representative of the Soviet Union sought yesterday, laboriously, to blow up into some substance of life.

68. The facts, as we all know, are utterly different. It was the whole people of Hungary that six weeks ago rose outraged against their oppressors. How can anyone possibly explain otherwise the weeks of fighting in Budapest and elsewhere against the concentrated might of the Soviet army? How else can anyone explain the complete failure of what calls itself the Government of Hungary, in spite of Soviet tanks and guns, to command at least the respect, either in Budapest or in the countryside, of the people of Hungary?

69. There are those who say that the government of Mr. Nagy fell apart. I believe that to be an infamous falsehood. I believe that, had it not been for the ruthless intervention of the Soviet army, the government of Mr. Nagy, which commanded the sympathy of the majority of Hungarians, could have quickly completed the task of restoring order throughout the whole country. We know what the policy of that government was: the neutrality of Hungary under United Nations auspices, and friendship with all its neighbours.

70. But that was not good enough for the Government of the Soviet Union. So it set up the so-called Kadar government, ignored and despised by the whole population of Hungary, by workers and peasants alike, helpless in Budapest and without one scrap of authority in the provinces, where the administration is in the hands of freely elected revolutionary councils. Within the range of Soviet guns, order of a sort has reigned during the last few days. But elsewhere there has been an absolute refusal to co-operate in any way whatever with the puppet government. That, as I see it, is the position in Hungary itself.

71. But what of the position here in the United Nations? Resolution after resolution has been passed. None of them has been complied with. Even the offer of our Secretary-General to go to Budapest has been evaded. There has been no response to that, of the only kind that could satisfy the Assembly, an unconditional acceptance. I well understand, therefore, the feelings of those who say that our action at the United Nations has been useless, but I do not altogether agree with them.

72. Until now, there has been no sort of response from the Government of the Soviet Union to our repeated resolutions and, therefore, no real response either from the helpless authorities in Hungary. That is true. But, little by little, something that seems to me very significant has happened here at the United Nations. Little by little—and, as some of us may think, too slowly—the public opinion of the whole world has been brought to bear on what is taking place in Hungary. One by one, by the inexorable logic of events, the Governments which for one reason or another were blind to the use of brute force by a foreign Power

in Hungary have been brought to see that this is something they must face.

73. This is something I believe to be of profound significance. I doubt if even the Soviet Government, secure in the fastnesses of the Kremlin, however contemptuous it may be of opinion in its own country, will in the end think it expedient to flout the opinion of the rest of the world.

74. That is why I appeal to all delegations to consider the full meaning of the fourteen-Power draft resolution [A/3413]. For what, after all, does it amount to? As I see it, the draft amounts to this: it offers the Soviet Government—and those few Hungarians who go along with the present policies of that Government—an opportunity to persuade the United Nations to accept the case which they profess. Now, I frankly do not see how they can do it. But at least they have been offered a chance to do so and should accept it if they believe in their case. If they refuse to accept United Nations observers, having not agreed to accept even a visit by our Secretary-General, they condemn themselves.

75. Mr. HORVATH (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation made a statement on 19 November [582nd meeting] about what had happened in Hungary. Yet many among the representatives did not give credit to reports that, in the last days of October and in the first days of November, there was a serious danger of fascism coming into power in Hungary. The most suitable person to carry this through had already been singled out. It was planned to dismiss Mr. Nagy and to replace him by Cardinal Mindszenty, as leader of the fascist régime. The chauvinist elements were already putting forward demands to return to Hungary certain regions in the neighbouring fraternal countries which are partially inhabited by people of Hungarian extraction. This would have resulted in even greater disturbances and represented a serious threat of war.

76. The Treaty of Peace with Hungary signed also by the great Powers in 1947 fixed Hungary's frontiers. It is not the Hungarian Government's aim to have this changed. And what does fascism mean to the Hungarian people? It means living through a quarter of a century of the Horthy régime, under which the finest sons of Hungary, progressive people, anti-fascists, about 70,000 of them, were killed with or without a sham trial. Those years are still fresh in the minds of the Hungarian people. That is why, in the first days of November, they fought, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet forces, to defeat the fascist *putsch*, and thereby hundreds of thousands of lives were saved.

77. If the counter-revolution had won and the fascist dictatorship that was in power in the inter-war period had been restored, it would have meant the existence in the centre of Europe of a powder magazine which might easily have set the spark to a third world war. In this sense, the defeat of the counter-revolutionary uprising which utilized the popular democratic movement against the wrong policy of Hungary's former leaders was in the best interests of all the peoples of the world; of world peace, and not only of the Hungarian people. The majority of them realized this. The defeat of the counter-revolutionaries was possible only by the Hungarian Government calling on the Soviet Union for military assistance.

78. By preventing the revival of fascism, the Hungarian Government acted in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the Peace Treaty signed with the

Allied and Associated Powers. It is a regrettable fact, but some representatives are trying at this General Assembly to hinder the final consolidation of the Hungarian situation, thereby artificially fanning tension and threatening world peace.

79. Certain representatives talk about the Government of the Hungarian people simply as "Hungarian authorities" or the "Budapest authorities". This, of course, is not coincidental, but the Hungarian delegation can assure all those who are speculating on an anti-socialist government in my country that their illusions will come to nothing, like a soap bubble. These gentlemen will sooner or later have to realize that the legitimate government of the Hungarian people is the Kadar government, and it will remain so, however much they would like to see a different one in its place.

80. There are always some governments in other countries which one likes, and many one dislikes. It is a fact that has to be accepted, and the sooner the better.

81. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France complained in his speech here that the special session of the Security Council and that of the General Assembly considered the Suez problem more important, serious and urgent than the Hungarian question. This would appear quite natural, because a crisis springing from an imperialist aggression and affecting a considerable number of countries deserves more attention, even the exclusive attention, of the rest of the world, than a domestic problem that does not affect world peace. I think it suffices to refer to the plastic description by the representative of Ceylon in connexion with the "desperate haste" shown by some circles to discuss the Hungarian situation in the various United Nations organs—circles in whose interest it is to take the edge off the Suez aggression.

82. One of the basic demands made on all representatives to the United Nations is their contribution to solving problems on the agenda with sobriety and objectivity. Unfortunately some representatives, in their speeches on the Hungarian question, even outbid the most absurd, trumped-up stories of the sensation-hungry Press. The representative of Venezuela, for instance, stooped to the statement that "a great part of the population has been annihilated" [585th meeting, para. 132]. And the representative of Spain, with an imagination that would do credit to Don Quixote, envisaged the time when the Hungarians would be made loyal to the Soviet Union by the settling of Slavic peoples in Hungary. The representative of Haiti, among others, said [584th meeting] that the Soviet Union had abolished Hungary's folklore. This far-fetched insinuation can best be repelled by British, French, Dutch and other Western papers, none of which can be accused of sympathy to socialism, which wrote words of praise on the recent Western tour of the Hungarian State Song and Dance Ensemble.

83. The Hungarian people are anxious to live in peace with all peoples, particularly with their neighbours on all sides. The policy of peaceful coexistence and its application enables the Government to get on with its programme, which has already been outlined to the General Assembly, for which it has the people's backing, because it gives them a better life. What is more, having got rid of past mistakes, there is still greater opportunity to contribute more intensively to peaceful coexistence and the magnificent cause of safeguarding peace.

84. This programme was announced only a short time ago, and yet considerable progress has been made. The situation is being stabilized, although the Government is still contending with many difficulties. Reaction inside the country is putting spokes in the wheel of the Government, at this stage no longer with arms, but by means of instigating sabotage and strikes, and by other underhand methods. The majority of the Hungarian people recognize the new Government's policy as standing for the complete elimination of past mistakes and the radical improvement of the people's living standards. The Kadar Government has unequivocally made a break with the wrong policy pursued under Mr. Rakosi. The Hungarian people know that those days will never return. Having placed their faith in the Government and its policy, the Hungarian working people are striving to overcome the difficulties caused by the disturbances. What the Hungarian people need now is calm and peace, like a thirsty man needs a glass of water.

85. Certain quarters refuse to recognize the return to normal in Hungary. When the workers returned to work, they talked about the strike continuing. When about 80 per cent of the workers were actually back at their jobs, they admitted only 15 per cent, but added that they were not working, only contemplating a new strike. The persistent wishful thinkers are misleading their own people, as well as themselves.

86. In spite of shortages in transport, fuel, and electricity, more and more people are returning to their jobs: 90 per cent of the miners at Ozd are back at work; the colliery workers of Tatabanya have pledged themselves, as they said, to bring more coal to the surface than the Rakosi régime could ever have dreamed of. All factory and office workers have resumed work. The chimneys on the island of Csepel, one of Hungary's largest industrial centres, near Budapest, are smoking again. The same is true of plants in Győr, Miskolc and elsewhere. A helping hand has been extended from many sides.

87. There is a proverb which says, a friend in need is a friend indeed. Our friends sent bread, coal and window glass, and those who are not our friends sent arms to overthrow the people's rule. Major General William J. Donovan, who has just arrived back in Washington from Hungary and Austria, is reported by the *New York World Telegram and Sun* on 30 November as saying that he thought the best way to help the Hungarian people was to get arms to those who were still fighting. "We made a mistake in not helping the revolutionaries when they appeared to be winning" he said, "but it is not too late even now."

88. Assistance from friendly countries, the International Red Cross and other organizations has been forthcoming, amounting to more than \$100 million already, about half of which is being supplied by the socialist countries. Many thousands of tons of coal are being promptly delivered to start off railway traffic. Up to now, between 80 and 90 per cent of autumn agricultural work has been completed. The strike has ended, textile mills and collieries are working in three shifts, transport facilities are returning to normal, nurseries, cinemas and bars have opened their doors.

89. The Hungarian people know that the best kind of help is self-help. There is a Hungarian saying: "God helps those who help themselves."

90. As for the alleged deportations, the reports of these have proved to be unfounded, as even some

Western papers have admitted. More than 600 journalists and Press photographers were in Hungary at the time of the disturbances, and none of them mentioned deportations, simply because there were none, until the American-sponsored Radio Free Europe filled the air with false reports about deportations.

91. That infamous organization which calls itself "Free Europe", and was set up by General Clay, cost 63 million German marks, most of which was approved by the United States Congress. It is useless for anyone to claim that Radio Free Europe is not a United States agency. The time has come for the United Nations to put a stop to the activity of that body. It would be in the interest of many peoples, who would be grateful to the United Nations for all time for an act that would enhance its prestige.

92. The newspapers also wrote about alleged deportations for certain delegations which might wish to quote them in their speeches.

93. The representative of the United States referred yesterday [604th meeting] to a Hungarian paper appearing in Debrecen, which, he said, admitted that there were reports of deportations, although, on that day, 16 November, and after, the Hungarian papers firmly denied this, but wrote about rumours of deportations. In order to put an end to this rumour-mongering, the Government agreed with the Revolutionary Council of University Students to send a joint delegation to the border station of Zahony to investigate every train bound for the Soviet Union. I should like to add that the students' organization did examine the trains, and it became evident that the news about deportations was fabricated. I am only sorry that the representative of the United States did not quote that news too, although it also appeared in the same Hungarian newspaper.

94. What harm the rumour-mongering about deportations did can be seen from the following two cases.

95. A twenty-three-year-old student of economics, Endre Vermes, vanished unexpectedly from his home in Schönherz Street, Budapest. Having heard so much about deportations, his parents were convinced that he had been rounded up to be taken to Siberia. But a few days later Endre turned up and confessed that he had crossed the border into Yugoslavia because he, too, had been taken in by rumours about young people being deported. In Yugoslavia he had met about fifty other lads like himself and it soon turned out that they had all been fooled. None of them knew of any concrete cases of people having been deported. They asked the Hungarian authorities to help them to return home.

96. Then there was the case of Ferenc Vag, a worker in the Budapest lamp factory, who, together with his distressed wife, burst into the local police station one night and demanded back their son Pal. As far as they knew, he had been taken to the army barracks in the vicinity and was waiting to be sent to Siberia with many other boys. The police officer accompanied them to the barracks to look for Pal; but neither Pal nor anyone else was there. Two days later a telegram arrived saying that the boy was safe and sound with his uncle in the country.

97. The cases which I have mentioned are only two of the many thousands which I could cite of young boys being frightened with the bogey of deportation. Such malicious rumours are being spread to stir up hatred towards the Soviet Union and its people. But the Hungarian people refuse to be misled, because they know full well that it was the Soviet Union which liberated

them from nazism twelve years ago and from the restoration of fascism in the critical days of November this year.

98. The rumours of mass deportations have made many tens of thousands of Hungarians leave the country, and this causes serious difficulties—chiefly to the Austrian Government. Mr. Ferenc Münnich, Minister of the Armed Forces, stated that the inmates of whole camps in Austria have expressed a desire to return home. They know that not one of those who have been repatriated has been victimized. The Austrian Government has also indicated that a large number of refugees do not want to leave Austria, because they intend to return to their native country after the situation has become clarified.

99. On its part, the Hungarian Government is doing its utmost to facilitate their repatriation. Agreement has already been reached with the Austrian Government enabling refugees under the age of eighteen, who arrived without their families, to be sent to the Hungarian legation in Vienna, and from there back to Hungary and their parents. The task at present is not to obtain immigration quotas for refugees, but to help the majority of them to return home.

100. Order and calm are required for the Kadar government to carry out in full its programme in the field of foreign policy, and for the earliest possible return of Soviet forces to their bases and, finally, for their complete withdrawal from the country.

101. We ask the United Nations to help the Hungarian people to return to normalcy. The Hungarian Government is ready and willing to co-operate in any international humanitarian mission and to receive the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

102. Let us jointly devote our attention to real problems concerning world affairs, problems that still have to be solved.

103. I am instructed by my Government to keep in continuous contact with the Secretary-General concerning his journey to Hungary, humanitarian relief, relevant information, and other questions. To implement my Government's invitation to the Secretary-General to visit Budapest, I have communicated my readiness, at any time convenient to the Secretary-General, to meet him to discuss the settlement of the date and arrangements for the visit.

104. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the Secretary-General.

105. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have been gratified to note the clarification which has just been given of the reply from the Government of Hungary to my request concerning direct contact in Budapest. I shall immediately get in touch with Mr. Horvath to discuss the date.

106. The PRESIDENT: I call on the United States representative on a point of order.

107. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The statement just made by the Hungarian spokesman is very carefully worded, and the meaning of two parts of that statement is not completely clear.

108. The Hungarian spokesman says that he has communicated his "readiness, at any time convenient to the Secretary-General, to meet him to discuss the settlement of the date and arrangements for the visit". It is not clear whether the words "any time convenient" apply to the meeting with the Secretary-General or to the date of visit. Furthermore, the Hungarian

spokesman says that he is ready to meet the Secretary-General "to discuss the settlement of the date"; he does not say that he is ready to meet the Secretary-General "to set a date", which would be a very different matter.

109. I now move that this meeting should be recessed for one hour, during which the Secretary-General and the Hungarian spokesman can fix a definite date for the Secretary-General's visit. I think that one hour should be sufficient for that purpose. I propose that if, at the end of an hour, the Secretary-General does not announce a definite date for the visit, the Assembly should proceed with its debate and adopt the pending draft resolution.

110. The PRESIDENT: Under rule 78 of the Assembly's rules of procedure, I should immediately put

the United States representative's motion to the vote. The position, however, is this. The Mayor of New York is giving a reception for the United Nations this evening, and it was my intention to propose that the present meeting should be adjourned at 6 o'clock. If we were to adopt the United States representative's motion and suspend the meeting for one hour, we should have only fifteen minutes left before 6 o'clock. It was also my intention to propose that the Assembly should meet tonight at 9.30. Would the United States representative agree to our adjourning this meeting now and meeting again at 9.30 p.m.?

111. Mr. LODGE (United States of America) (*from the floor*): That is satisfactory.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.