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

**AGENDA ITEM 20**

**Election of a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart**

1. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with this item, members have before them three notes by the Secretary-General. The first of these [A/3171/Rev.1] deals with the situation created by the death of Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart; the second [A/3428] refers to the terms of appointment of a new High Commissioner; and the third [A/3429] contains the nomination made by the Secretary-General to the Assembly of Mr. Auguste Lindt for the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

2. I call upon the Secretary-General.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I put before the General Assembly two proposals. I submit as a candidate for the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees the name of Mr. Auguste Lindt. In another paper I indicate the terms of the contract which I propose for the newly elected High Commissioner.

4. I need not say anything here about the personality of Mr. Lindt. It is a privilege for me to propose him as a candidate for the post of High Commissioner. This post at the present juncture has acquired an added significance and will require the highest personal qualities from the incumbent. For me, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, it would be most gratifying to have a man of the great qualities of Mr. Lindt in charge.

5. The suggestions I make concerning the terms of the contract for the new High Commissioner are based on the set of rules elaborated by the Fifth Committee and approved by the General Assembly in 1950 [resolution 887 (IX)]. At that time, I made it clear that the change of terms in relation to the system previously prevailing in no way reflected a change in the position or responsibilities of the most senior members of the

Secretariat. It is in view of this fact that I have been able to accept as applicable also to the High Commissioner the terms established for the Under-Secretaries. In fact, it is on that understanding that I, as Secretary-General, can leave unchanged the emoluments once established by the General Assembly for the Under-Secretaries. Their importance for the United Nations and their key responsibilities are amply demonstrated in the present situation in which, due to circumstances that I do hope are fully appreciated by all Members of the General Assembly, I have had to delegate most important functions to some of my colleagues on that level.

6. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece) [*translated from French*]: The Greek delegation is particularly happy at the Secretary-General's initiative in proposing to the Assembly the appointment of Mr. Lindt as High Commissioner, the post left vacant by the untimely death of Dr. van Heuven Goedhart. Dr. Goedhart's death has left a gap in the administrative structure of the United Nations, a gap which is the wider for his great abilities and his high moral stature. It could not be better filled than by the Swiss observer to the United Nations, Mr. Lindt.

7. The proposal is particularly gratifying to the corps of permanent representatives of which Mr. Lindt is, in effect, a member. We all have the highest opinion of Mr. Lindt, and have learned to appreciate his ability, his tact and his contribution to our work. The role of an observer who knows his job is much greater than might be thought. His contribution to the work of the United Nations is direct and constructive. The observer is not a man who speaks but a man who thinks, and as such he can often be very helpful.

8. We are certain that if Mr. Lindt is elected, he will fulfill his functions brilliantly and render the United Nations great service in its highly important work on behalf of refugees. Moreover, Mr. Lindt is Swiss; he belongs to a country which is geographically small but which we all recognize as one of the greatest countries in the world from the point of view of international human values, for though Switzerland may be neutral with regard to our polemics and quarrels, it is always in the forefront when it is a matter of serving man, peace, or any good cause.

9. We shall be very happy if the Assembly elects Mr. Lindt to the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

10. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) [*translated from Spanish*]: I wish only to endorse the words—so apt and so true—of the representative of Greece.

11. Mr. Lindt is a familiar figure to all engaged in the work of the United Nations. His ability, his experience, his devoted labours, and his enthusiasm for the cause of the United Nations, have long been known, and as the representative of Greece rightly observed, he will be further assisted in his work by the fact that

he is a citizen of a country which is ever ready to assist in any cause that will further human rights and the cultural and humanitarian purposes of the United Nations.

12. The delegation of Peru wholeheartedly supports the Secretary-General's nomination of Mr. Lindt.

13. The PRESIDENT: I feel certain that I interpret the feelings of all members when I say that we warmly welcome the nomination of Mr. Lindt, and, unless a vote is requested, I would suggest that Mr. Lindt be elected by acclamation.

*Mr. Lindt was elected by acclamation.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 67

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

14. The PRESIDENT: A draft resolution on this question has been submitted jointly by seventeen Members [*A/3436 and Add.1*].

15. Before the debate starts, I call on the representative of Austria for a brief statement.

16. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): In its resolution of 4 December 1956 [*1130 (XI)*], the General Assembly recommended "that . . . the Secretary-General arrange for the . . . dispatch to Hungary, and other countries as appropriate, of observers named by him pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1004 (ES-II)". Under operative paragraph 4 of the same resolution, the General Assembly furthermore requested "the Governments of all Member States to co-operate with the representatives named by the Secretary-General".

17. In accordance with these provisions, the Secretary-General has asked the Austrian Government if it would permit observers to enter Austria.

18. The reply of my Government to this letter has been in the affirmative. My Government feels that by giving this permission it is showing its willingness to co-operate in the spirit of the principles of the United Nations, and in particular in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Charter.

19. It should be pointed out, however, that on account of the presence of many tens of thousands of refugees in Austria, as a consequence of the events in Hungary, my country is in a special position. The United Nations observers will undoubtedly be able to gather first-hand impressions of the situation of the Hungarian refugees. Their visit will afford them an opportunity to see for themselves, firstly, that reports containing some criticism of the treatment and conditions of refugees in Austria are incorrect; secondly, that the Austrian Government, in co-operation with various relief organizations, has done its utmost to care for and assist the refugees; and, thirdly, they will be able to ascertain what I said in my intervention on 4 December in this Assembly [*608th meeting*], that any refugee who wants to return to Hungary of his own free will can do so at any time.

20. My delegation is confident that such activity of United Nations observers will help to clarify the situation.

21. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) [*translated from French*]: The resolution adopted by the Assembly on 4 December addressed a last appeal to the Soviet Union and to Hungary. It called upon them

once again to comply with the Assembly's resolutions. That appeal has had no more effect than its predecessors. It is now five weeks since the first resolution [*1004 (ES-II)*] was adopted, calling upon the Soviet Union to desist forthwith from any intervention in Hungary, to withdraw its armed forces without delay, and to give United Nations observers free access to Hungarian territory. The Secretary-General reported to us on 30 November [*A/3403*] and 7 December [*A/3435*] that he was unaware of any steps taken to comply with these requests. On the contrary, judging from the latest news reports, it would appear that the repressive measures are increasing in severity. The Budapest radio has announced that the workers' councils have been dissolved and that martial law has been proclaimed. A strange way to celebrate the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights!

22. The Assembly has certainly not displayed any excessive haste in this matter. It has deliberated on the question at length and has done everything in its power to ascertain the facts. It is incumbent on the Assembly to pronounce judgement on this question, and any further delay in doing so would constitute a serious blow to its moral authority.

23. No one in this Assembly, apart from members of the Soviet bloc, has claimed that the Hungarian question was a purely domestic matter, outside the jurisdiction of our Organization. On the contrary, even some of the delegations which abstained from voting on the last resolution, such as those of Burma and Ceylon, have vigorously refuted the allegation that the United Nations lacks jurisdiction. Some representatives have pointed out that it was the Soviet Union and not the United Nations which was intervening illegally in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

24. No one in this Assembly, apart from the members of the Soviet bloc, has contended that the revolt was only the work of fascist terrorists and of bandits intimidating workers who desire only to go about their work. On the contrary, even in those neighbouring communist countries where public opinion could be freely expressed, the revolt was recognized as a spontaneous national movement resulting from legitimate grievances, and a striking manifestation of a nation's will to regain its freedom and independence.

25. The Hungarian people have an indisputable right to their freedom and independence. They have a right to choose freely a government responsive to their national aspirations. They have been prevented from exercising this right by the Soviet army, and it was in a desperate effort to regain this right that so many Hungarian workers, soldiers and students fought and shed their blood with indomitable courage.

26. We have been told that the intervention of the Soviet army was requested by the Hungarian Government. This allegation is answered by the fact that, on the contrary, the government of Nagy, a government recognized by the Soviet Union itself, protested against this intervention and requested the United Nations to help put an end to it [*A/3251*]. The intervention was requested only by the authorities whom the Soviet army itself had foisted on Hungary. One would need to be very naïve indeed, or else a partner in the plot, to be deceived by an argument based on such a trick.

27. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the Budapest authorities subject to its control, have permitted United Nations observers to enter Hungarian territory.

\* Resumed from the 609th meeting.

Despite their denials, there can no longer be any doubt about the essential facts.

28. By employing its armed forces to prevent the Hungarian people from regaining their freedom and independence, by thus attacking their fundamental rights, the Soviet Union has committed a flagrant violation of the Charter. The Assembly cannot pass over this violation, but must expressly condemn it and again call upon the Soviet Government to desist forthwith from intervening in the internal affairs of Hungary, to make immediate arrangements for the withdrawal, under United Nations observation, of its armed forces, and to permit the re-establishment of Hungary's political freedom.

29. This is the purpose of the draft resolution [A/3436 and Add.1] which we, together with a group of delegations from different parts of the world, have the honour to submit for the Assembly's approval. It is drawn up in moderate terms—perhaps some will say that they are too moderate—but we wished to take into account, as much as possible, the doubts and misgivings expressed by some representatives during the previous discussions.

30. Among the delegations sponsoring this draft resolution there are some better qualified than the Belgian delegation to invoke the spirit of Bandung. However, I should like to remind you that my country's Minister for Foreign Affairs paid a public tribute to that spirit last year, during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter.

31. The Bandung Conference condemned colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, but what it had particularly in mind was foreign domination and exploitation.

32. There are countries in the heart of Europe which are protectorates in all but name, and which possess the defects of colonialism to at least the same degree as the former recognized protectorates. Indeed, the history of colonialism contains few darker and more cruel episodes than those which Hungary is experiencing today.

33. If the condemnation of colonialism which was expressed at Bandung is to win universal acceptance, it must, in fact as well as in principle, be applied without any exception. It cannot be applied in a partisan spirit or only to certain countries, but must apply equally to all, whatever form the domination and exploitation may take and whatever the nationality or race of the guilty nation and its victim may be.

34. It was thought that the fighting in Hungary had come to an end, but there have been sporadic recurrences. Strikes and passive resistance continue. However stubborn and heroic the Hungarian people may be, the time will presumably come when cold, misery, hunger and the overwhelming superiority of the Soviet forces will gain the upper hand. Conditions will gradually revert to the appearance of normality that prevailed before; the Soviet army will be outwardly less in evidence, but will be no less threatening or less ready to intervene at the first alarm. Perhaps the Secretary-General will finally receive permission to make his planned visit and will be confronted by the spectacle of a nation reduced to silence.

35. At that time we must remember that this silence will be that of a ravaged nation, but one still nursing only hatred for those who keep it in subjugation. The condemnation which we shall have to express must

lose none of its force, for it will have lost none of its justification.

36. It is true that the Assembly cannot impose any sanctions with mandatory force; it can only make recommendations. However, even if its powers are limited in the sphere of action, they are unlimited in the sphere of morality. In the present circumstances, its duty is to make use of those powers, and that is what it is asked to do in the draft resolution now before it.

37. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) [*translated from Spanish*]: The Hungarian tragedy appears to be continuing. Despite the fact that the General Assembly has adopted one resolution after another, the Soviet Union unfortunately continue to be deaf to our appeals and the same appears to be true of the Hungarian authorities which are now completely under the control of the Soviet Union.

38. In the name of humanity and of the principles of the Charter, we asked for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory. We also asked that the Hungarian people should be left free to choose the government they prefer. We asked—and this was the least concession that could have been made to us—that observers should be permitted to go into Hungary to ascertain the facts. Finally, the Secretary-General, whose impartiality is a guarantee of the accuracy and objectivity of any report he might make, offered to go to Hungary as the spokesman of the Assembly. However, he has not even been permitted to visit Budapest, although his visit would have been a tribute from the United Nations to the Hungarian people in their darkest hour.

39. In view of this adamant and categorical refusal, only one conclusion is possible. Hungary is today merely a territory, the inhabitants of which are being persecuted, hunted, enslaved and condemned to death, while a house to house search goes on for those responsible for the strikes and uprisings, and the most deadly weapons, such as tanks, are being used. All this we know from the reports of correspondents and there can be no doubt of their truth, for if they were not true, or were only partly true, or were less true than we believe, the USSR would have permitted observers to enter Hungary to disprove the exaggerations and ascertain whether the Kadar Government really has the backing of the mass of the workers.

40. The categorical, adamant and unjustifiable refusal to admit the Secretary-General or observers converts the moral presumption into absolute moral certainty. We can say without fear of doubt that everything the newspapers tell us about Hungary is absolutely true. Today Hungary is a huge pyre on which a gallant people of thinkers and artists who have remained loyal to their traditional faith is being sacrificed to the most oppressive sectarianism and indefensible imperialism. Those are the facts.

41. For us, this raises an extremely serious question. Intervention in a country's affairs may be accidental; it may be limited in area, in scope or in time. But in the present instance, there can be no doubt that what we are witnessing is an attempt by the Soviet Union to bring about the final conquest of Hungary.

42. A few days ago *The Observer* said that the impression was growing that there were two governments in Hungary: the Kadar Government, which was backed only by Soviet tanks, and the Workers' Council. Be it noted that it is the workers—not peasants, small landowners, Fascists or Titoists—who have set up a Coun-

cil and in a sense, as *The Observer* said, formed a government confronting the Kadar Government.

43. Yesterday's news brought some confirmation of *The Observer* correspondent's statement. In the face of this resurgence of revolution in the heart of the Hungarian working class, what has the Soviet Government done? It has once more proclaimed martial law; it has ordered the death penalty for all who refuse to submit. At this very moment, people are probably being executed daily, increasing the total killed in Hungary seven weeks ago. These are the facts.

44. The situation is therefore abundantly clear. We are a family of nations. Hungary, not as a geographical name, but as a living entity, a people with a tradition and a destiny—for nationhood is tradition and destiny—a glorious tradition and a proven destiny of freedom, was welcomed by us—without regard for the nature and ideology of its Government—as a member of the family of nations. And what we are witnessing today is an attempt to destroy and extinguish Hungary as a living nation and to annex its territory to the Soviet Union.

45. As a result of concessions and the fateful outcome of the war, the Soviet Union received a sphere of influence extending from Stettin to the Adriatic. Now an attempt is being made to turn that influence—which has been exercised in such an unpleasant way—from a mere protectorate into outright annexation and colonization. The aim pursued is the annexation and final conquest of the heart of Europe, the continent of freedom, of civilization and of the principle of nationality.

46. The problem is therefore extremely grave. This is not a passing error or limited intervention by one country affecting the freedom of another; it is a monstrous attempt to wipe out a nation, and to mutilate the United Nations as a corporate body. Mutilation, biologists tell us, is possible in the case of lower organisms but not in the case of the higher ones, particularly of sentient beings. An attack on a Member of the United Nations is an attack against the United Nations as a whole. For reasons of moral, as well as of legal solidarity, the injury, the assault, the crime committed against Hungary is not committed against Hungary alone; it is also committed against the United Nations.

47. The United Nations is an indivisible whole. Hungary is one of the entities that make up the United Nations. In defending Hungary we defend ourselves. When we defend the dignity, sovereignty and independence of Hungary, we defend the inviolability and sovereignty of each and every one of the Member States of the United Nations. We are defending the admirable and mysterious unity of this body corporate called the United Nations.

48. This is a critical moment. Peru has supported, and is co-sponsor of the draft resolution [A/3436 and Add.1] to which the representative of Belgium so eloquently referred. Simple as it is, that resolution contains a very serious statement which must be substantiated on legal grounds. We do not want to condemn an action of the Soviet Union without hearing, weighing, and scrupulously examining any arguments that may be put forward. Although reference has already been made to the documents, which are familiar to representatives, I should like, now that we are considering the adoption of such a grave resolution, to draw attention to the deep significance of the text of the documents by which the actions of the Soviet Union stand condemned.

49. Article 2 of part II of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary states:

"Hungary shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting."

The Treaty thus imposes upon the Government of Hungary the obligation to observe all fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religious worship, freedom of political opinion, freedom of expression of political opinions, and freedom of public meeting. The other parties to the Treaty, including the Soviet Union, undertake to ensure the fulfilment of Hungary's obligations and to assist it to that end.

50. Article 6, paragraph 3, in part II of the Treaty, contains a provision for the implementation of this principle:

"Any disagreement concerning the application of the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article shall be referred by any of the Governments concerned to the Heads of the Diplomatic Missions in Budapest of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, who will reach agreement with regard to the difficulty."

This means that all the Powers, including the Soviet Union, had a moral duty to ensure respect for those rights. And now we find that the Government of the Soviet Union is not respecting those rights and is in fact directly responsible for the violation of all those rights in Hungary.

51. We may be told that Hungary belongs to a system of alliances that has been described as the Eastern NATO, a system which provides for co-operation between the Governments of Hungary and the Soviet Union and makes such co-operation compulsory in specific circumstances.

52. Let us see, however, how the Warsaw Treaty operates. Article 4 of the Treaty clearly stipulates:

". . . each State Party to the Treaty shall, in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence . . . afford the State or States . . . attacked immediate assistance, individually and in agreement with the other States Parties to the Treaty, by all the means it considers necessary, including the use of armed force. The States Parties to the Treaty shall consult together immediately concerning the joint measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security".

This provision presupposes the existence in Hungary of a completely free Government, one not controlled by any other Government, and in a position to deal freely with the Soviet Union and consult with the latter in the event of danger from outside. But what are the facts? That Hungarian Government has been suppressed; there has been no consultation—merely a *diktat*; in other words, even assuming there was an outside danger, which was not the case, Article 4 of the Treaty would have been violated.

53. The Warsaw Treaty provides for Soviet assistance to Hungary only in the case of external aggression. Article 5 clearly stipulates that the contracting parties "shall likewise take such concerted action as may be necessary to reinforce their defensive strength, in order to defend the peaceful labour of their peoples, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and territories and afford protection against possible aggression". Consequently, under the Warsaw Treaty, the only

case to which the provisions on co-operation between the Soviet Union and Hungary apply is that of an attack on the Soviet Union or Hungary from outside. I would ask what attack has been made against the frontiers of the Soviet Union or those of Hungary by any country.

54. The Warsaw Treaty, patterning itself on the admirable Treaty of the North Atlantic Organization, which was itself modelled on our mutual defence treaty, contains an explicit provision to the effect that foreign forces present on Hungarian territory should in no event intervene in the internal affairs of Hungary. Therefore, even in case of danger or attack from outside foreign forces could only be used for specific purposes and could not intervene in domestic affairs.

55. Let us examine article 8 of the Warsaw Treaty and ponder its meaning, weighing every word and comma:

"The Contracting Parties declare that they will act in a spirit of friendship and co-operation to promote the further development and strengthening of the economic and cultural ties among them, in accordance with the principles of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and of non-intervention in each other's domestic affairs."

The Warsaw Treaty thus reaffirms the obligation, which is stated in the Charter, to respect the independence and sovereignty of Hungary, and provides for something more, namely, non-intervention in domestic affairs.

56. The Soviet Union can in no case intervene in the domestic affairs of Hungary and the agreement establishing a unified command, annexed to the Warsaw Treaty, does not alter the Treaty's provisions. The unified command was set up with a view to co-operation between the Soviet Union and Hungary, not in the internal affairs of those two countries, but, as stated in the final paragraph of that document, exclusively for the following purpose:

"The disposition of the joint armed forces in the territories of the signatory states will be effected by agreement among the States in accordance with the requirements of their mutual defence."

Any intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary is therefore totally precluded.

57. Thus not only does the Charter clearly impose upon the Soviet Union a general obligation to respect the independence and sovereignty of Hungary; the Warsaw Treaty imposes a specific obligation to do so. That is why we have requested the Soviet Union in accordance with the Charter, and also in accordance with its treaty obligations towards Hungary, to withdraw its forces, since there is no external danger and those forces can only remain there by agreement with a free and independent government, a sovereign government representing the interests of Hungary.

58. How can the Soviet Union's actions be explained? I must confess that, in the face of this persistence in error and this deliberate departure from the basic principles of morality and law, my feelings of indignation have turned to pity, because what has been done to Hungary has inflicted untold injury on the unfortunate Hungarian people, but Hungary will live again. After all the sacrifices there will be a marvellous resurrection. But the moral injury which the Soviet Union has inflicted upon itself is immeasurable. The Soviet Union used to be separated from the Western world by an iron curtain; but events in Hungary have now

set up a curtain of blood which will separate the Soviet Union from the whole civilized world.

59. A great specialist was telling me yesterday that even in the most perfect eyesight there is a blind spot where there is no vision at all. The eye, however perfect, has always one defect: partial blindness. The human mind, also created by God, is in a sense the work of man in its action, its functioning and its fulfilment and, unfortunately, the human mind also has its blind spots. There are areas of total blindness in our moral perception of events. When crimes are committed, there is not only evil intent but total blindness regarding the consequences of the criminal actions.

60. I have sometimes thought that the conduct of the Soviet Union in the Hungarian case is an instance of total blindness regarding the moral significance of an act which has been condemned on all ethical and juridical grounds, and—what is more serious for the Soviet Union which has a materialistic rather than a spiritual conception of life—regarding the consequences of that act.

61. I should like to draw the attention of the Soviet Union *sine ira et studio* to the areas of moral blindness in which it seems to be floundering. What is the point of refusing to comply with our latest appeal? What is the point of insisting on maintaining troops in Hungary at all costs, whatever happens and regardless of the casualties and the amount of bloodshed? What will the consequence be? What will be the Soviet Union's position in the United Nations? How can a country responsible for the total annihilation of a nation co-operate with us with a clear conscience, a sense of responsibility and a feeling of trust?

62. The memory of Hungary, of the crimes committed in Hungary and of the Hungarian dead will always intrude like a ghost to prevent any discussions, negotiations or exchange of views. Macbeth found that some crimes murder sleep; there are some situations which destroy the possibility of negotiations or discussions and make ordinary human intercourse impossible, difficult or distasteful.

63. For my part, I am grieved by this situation because I hate no one; I cannot hate the Soviet people whom I admire and esteem and of whose civilization I have made such a deep study. I have often praised certain aspects of Soviet achievement in industrialization and in the struggle against illiteracy. I speak therefore with great sorrow.

64. How is the United Nations going to continue to work? I would ask you to recall that, during the Berlin blockade and the Korean war, when the United Nations was a debating society, our forum was always open to the Soviet Union which heaped abuse upon all the Powers and all the United Nations. We survived that crisis because Stalin died and because there was an economic crisis, which I had forecast from this floor even before the death of Stalin, and a change of policy. Then came the Korean armistice and so-called peaceful coexistence. But I ask myself and I ask the representatives of the Soviet Union whether we can survive this crisis when the dying body of Hungary lies before us? What confidence can we have in an international treaty?

65. It is possible that the Soviet Union and the Soviet people may need international co-operation, that they may want some measure of tranquillity. Their Government knows it full well since it has reduced conventional armaments. That was no mere symbolic gesture; it was done in response to a need, because

more workers are required for the production of consumer goods. The people of the USSR, like the Polish and Hungarian peoples, can no longer tolerate a system in which all-out production of armaments and war materials means the production of a trickle of consumer goods, in which the working day is getting longer with no increase in salaries, while in the maligned West, with its system of free enterprise, the workers enjoy the highest level of living and can obtain all the goods they want.

66. The Soviet rulers know this perfectly well and know they must negotiate with the West for a reduction of armaments, not as a Utopian or idealistic goal, but as a necessity. But how can a reduction of armaments be brought about? How can we have confidence in a disarmament treaty, however perfect? Will the Soviet Union fulfil the treaty clauses on inspection and control when it fails to comply with, and even flouts, the most elementary principles of the Charter and does not deign to carry out General Assembly resolutions?

67. The outcome will be an unfortunate psychological situation, which I predicted and which is confirmed in the Press. The young people of the Soviet Union—to whom I pay a tribute over the iron curtain—with their thirst for culture cannot accept an indefinitely prolonged state of war. The workers cannot accept the continued martyrdom of longer working hours, unsatisfied needs and lower standards of living. Above all, as Salazar has so aptly put it, mankind is becoming increasingly aware of the fear of fear: the fear of atomic war. Mankind wants to be free from the nightmare of nuclear war and the armaments race. If the differences between East and West are not resolved, they will continue to create the psychological factors that make nuclear warfare possible. And one day an incident, an act of folly or blindness—and we know that blindness is possible even in the case of the ablest minds—may bring us to the brink of disaster. The students and workers of the Soviet Union will be entitled to ask their Government: "Why do you persist in this anti-Charter policy, for the sake of an imperialist dream, a brutal domination which is bound to have the effect of a boomerang", just as the alarming situation in Hungary will react against the Soviet Union?

68. We do not want a nuclear war. We are not interested in fresh conquests. A century ago, military occupations and expeditions were carried out to the accompaniment of fanfares of nationalism and patriotism. Today, the peoples are more realistic than their leaders; a military occupation is judged by the casualties incurred, by the costs, and by its effect upon the international reputation and the honour of the nation. Fortunately, the conscience of humanity has been revolted. It is of no interest to the Soviet people whether the hammer and sickle flies over Hungary. They are interested in the poor Soviet soldiers who died in that unequal struggle. They are interested in the serious economic situation in central Europe as revealed in our documents and those of United Nations specialized agencies; they may also be interested in the good name of the Soviet Union in America, Europe, Asia and Australasia.

69. Why is the Soviet Union blind to these facts? In spite of the conventional words spoken here by its allies and by those countries which have collaborated with the Soviet Union, we can all guess the fear that must lurk in the minds of the Poles and in Bulgaria and Romania that an attempt at revolt may tomorrow bring upon their countries brutal repression of the

kind that has been inflicted on Hungary. It is with dismay that I ask how intelligent men, men who claim to have a realistic approach to life, can be blind to these ineluctable facts, blind to the strength of moral forces. I can understand that they may not believe in the immortal light and voice of the spirit, but they cannot be blind to the consequences I have ventured to describe.

70. The Assembly has therefore only one course open to it: it must make a final request, condemning what has been done, as it should be condemned. The Assembly must once more voice the demands of men and women everywhere. I would ask the Soviet Union to consider that it cannot shake itself free from the decisions of the Assembly; today, they take the form of spontaneous resolutions, tomorrow that of considered studies by experts and specialists who will show us what we must do. The voice and the conscience of the United Nations, however, will continue to pursue the deeds of the Soviet Union as the eye of Jehovah followed Cain to ask him: "Where is Abel thy brother?" And as in the immortal verses of Hugo, whatever the subterfuge to which the Soviet Union may resort, the eye of Jehovah will be present to demand retribution for Abel's blood.

71. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): At the present stage of our debate, and as we celebrate Human Rights Day, martial law has been proclaimed in Hungary. The views of the Italian delegation on the grave problem which confronts us were fully stated several weeks ago [583rd meeting] by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the issue at stake was clearly defined.

72. I myself have on several occasions, and recently on 3 December [605th meeting], expressed the deep concern of the Italian Government at the flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter which has been committed by the Soviet Union.

73. I do not need to argue these points any further. In my opinion, there are no more points which can be argued.

74. The contention of the Soviet delegation that the Hungarian affair is purely an internal matter has been firmly rejected by the Assembly, by the indignation of public opinion in Asia as well as in America, and by Europe as well as Africa. The plea, as has very well been stated by the representative of Ceylon [605th meeting], can no longer be raised; the moral judgement of the world has been cast. The USSR can ignore this moral judgement, as it has ignored it until now; it cannot contend that it has not been passed. And the fact that the Soviet Union remains indifferent to it does not detract anything from this judgement; it detracts only from the position of the Soviet Union in the community of nations.

75. We now know perfectly well where we stand; we know what we can expect from the Soviet Union in the United Nations, and we know what value we have to give to its commitments under the Charter, to the words, the promises and the assurances of its Government. Again, this is a fact which concerns not only Hungary and the Hungarian people, but all of us, all of our countries and all of our peoples and, indeed, the very prospects of peace and security in the entire world, a peace and security which cannot alone rest on treaties—and the Soviet Union has violated every treaty—but, I should say, even has rejected and offended this moral standard of the civilized world.

76. Various representatives have said in the Assembly, during the various stages of the debate, that we must



be governed in our judgement and in our action by reason and not by passion. I do not think that passion can be condemned when it is a passion for freedom, for respect of law, for defending the moral values of human coexistence.

77. But reason, and not passion, leads us today to the conclusion that we are now facing an issue of vital importance for the peace and security of our countries. Reason, and not passion, compels us to make a choice between admitting that the Soviet Union, because it is provided with a powerful military force, has the right to decide what kind of a government a small and weak nation has to have, or admitting that the members of our community have the right and, I should say, the duty to uphold what is the very essence of the Charter: the preservation of political independence, of fundamental rights, and of the sovereign equality of all Member States.

78. This is the very essence of our Charter, and if we close our eyes to what is happening in Hungary, if we close our eyes to the fact that the Soviet army is in occupation of Hungary, that the Hungarian Government is controlled by the Soviet military authorities, that the Hungarian people have been deprived of their fundamental rights, and that Hungarian sovereignty has been reduced to a mere legal fiction, we, and not only the Soviet Union, would be violating our Charter.

79. This is the situation, and this is the real issue. Let us not indulge in discussing circumstances and details, no matter how important they may be. Let us not sidetrack the Hungarian question on the rails of minor issues. Let us not fall, above all, into the vicious circle to which we might be led were we to adopt the theory that before taking any decision we must await the result of the investigation as regards circumstances and details, or that in order to investigate we must send observers to Budapest, and that the observers to Budapest cannot go there unless the Hungarian authorities permit them to go there, and since they are not being permitted to go there, we cannot know the facts and therefore cannot judge.

80. All this is perfectly legalistic and looks perfectly logical. As often, perfect legalism and perfect logic become a trap; it is a trap for delay and for obstruction of the fulfilment of our duty, as was clearly revealed on 4 December [607th meeting] in the ridiculous manoeuvring of Mr. Horvath to stop the adoption of our resolution; and this was done in a manner which received the kind assistance of the Bulgarian representative who assured us [605th meeting], that "in Hungary, legal order has been restored". The Soviet representative also stated that the counter-revolution in Hungary had been defeated and that the Hungarian people had started work to fulfil the Government's programme. The Byelorussian representative said that life in Hungary was becoming normal and output was increasing. The Romanian representative told us that the Government of Mr. Kadar was made up of the strength and the very flower of Hungarian intellectuals and workers, unaware, as I hope he was, that the puppet government of Hungary was dissolving the Hungarian trade unions and putting in jail the very flower of intellectual workers. And since an element of comedy is always present in every tragedy, Mr. Horvath also told us the following:

"This far-fetched insinuation can best be repelled by British, French, Dutch and other Western papers . . . which wrote words of praise on the recent

Western tour of the Hungarian State Song and Dance Ensemble." [607th meeting, par. 82]

No observers are necessary in Hungary because the Song and Dance Ensemble is touring Western Europe.

81. We hope to be able in the future to ascertain the circumstances and the details of the Hungarian events, and I urge the observers whom the Secretary-General will appoint to start immediately their investigation of the Hungarian events whenever this is possible, pending the question of their admission to Hungary, and to collect and scrutinize, whenever it is consented to by other States, the evidence which thousands and thousands of Hungarian refugees in Europe and in America are able to give. These details on Hungarian events which they will establish will enable us to obtain a clearer picture, in future, of these tragic events.

82. But we do not need to know these details to establish the main fact. The main fact—which has not been denied by the Soviet representative here or by Mr. Horvath—is that whatever the circumstances in which the Hungarian uprising took place, the Soviet forces have been fighting the Hungarian people who are striving for their independence, and have been and are crushing a popular upsurge, and that they are now in occupation of Hungary.

83. Hungary today is under the rule of a foreign army and of martial law. This is the relevant fact. And this fact is so certain that neither the various Soviet representatives nor Mr. Horvath have had the courage to deny it, although they had the courage and—somebody said in this Assembly, the effrontery—to tell us that this is being done in order to protect the Hungarian people; and they are so keen evidently to preserve real freedom and real sovereignty that they have suppressed them.

84. To the naked display of power which the Soviet Union has shown in occupying Hungary, they add the cynical insult of justifying their violence with the dangerous doctrine that the freedom of democracy and independence of Hungary is not and cannot be the freedom, the democracy and the independence for which the Hungarians have been striving, but rather that particular freedom, that particular democracy and that particular independence which the Soviet Union is ready to grant to them under martial law. This is in fact the meaning of all the speeches we have heard in the Assembly by the various Soviet representatives, and we will undoubtedly hear more later in this debate. They afford us the best evidence that Hungary is being considered and treated by the Soviet Union purely and simply as a conquered territory.

85. This very clearly defines the issue which we have in front of us: whether we can permit a Member State to be reduced to the State of a conquered territory, in defiance of our duty. Perhaps this duty was already very well defined by the Soviet representative when he said a week ago:

"It would be a crime to obstruct the Hungarian people in their efforts to strengthen their people's democracy." [605th meeting, para. 119]

And this, according to the Soviet representative, is a crime, this crime which, in the restrained language of our draft resolution, we call a violation of the United Nations Charter. We have to condemn the action of the Soviet Union.

86. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): My delegation is sponsoring this draft resolution because we feel that, whatever else it does, this Assembly must formally put on

record its condemnation of the Soviet Union and its Hungarian agents. We wish that the United Nations were able to do much more than simply condemn it; we wish it were in a position to carry out its sentence. As we debate our resolutions here while heroic Hungarians continue their struggle alone, we are reproached by the saying of Pericles: "Acts deserve acts, not words, in their honour." We should have liked to have seen a beginning of action made here in this Assembly, by unseating and ejecting the men who claim to be the delegates of Hungary. All of us know whose delegates they are—they are not the delegates of Hungary, they are the delegates of the enemies of Hungary. It is a grave reflection on our rules of procedure if we can do nothing about this and if we must continue to put up with these impostors.

87. As far as wider action is concerned, we are checked by two main factors. The first is the need to be sure that whatever we do will not harm the Hungarian people instead of their rulers. There has been, for example, mention of economic sanctions, but we know that if these were applied it would be the Hungarian people who would suffer most. The only kind of help the West has been able to bring to Hungary has been economic help, in the form of relief. You cannot combine a relief programme with economic sanctions.

88. The second great factor which impedes us is the nature of this Organization itself. This Organization is not, under its Charter, able to impose its will upon a malefactor, if that malefactor happens to be a great Power. We in this Assembly are the heirs to decisions made at Yalta and Potsdam and elsewhere, decisions in which great foresight was shown by the representatives of the Soviet Union. In this situation we have no other resource than to see what can be done by maintaining and increasing our moral pressure—the pressure of world opinion, which more and more turns against the Soviet Union and its agents in other countries. We do not hope to move them by our appeals and our condemnations; they may be moved, however, by their own increasing isolation. They should be moved by the resounding defeat of their own once formidable propaganda machine. We must therefore emphasize that isolation and pursue the destruction of their propaganda by every means to hand.

89. One such means is available here. We may not be able to expel the spurious representatives of Hungary; we can at least refuse to listen to them. The weapon of the boycott, which had its origin in my country, is often surprisingly effective. The present situation would seem well suited for its use.

90. In this dark hour every free nation honours the Hungarian people. This honour is not just a kind of tribute on the lips of statesmen on formal occasions; it is in the hearts of simple people everywhere. It is a great spontaneous wave coming from very deep down and its effects are, at present, incalculable. One of them may be the destruction of the power which the communist myth has had over the minds of many men. The men who died to free Hungary are also freeing man's mind. They have left an undying example of what man can be and do.

91. In contemplating the sacrifice of the Hungarian people and measuring its possible outcome, I suppose people in every country will quite naturally apply the standard of the most glorious events in their own history. In our own case, we think of Easter Week 1916, of a rising against hopeless odds and doomed to immediate defeat which yet, by the unforeseeable

logic of history, led to victory and to freedom. The sacrifice of 1916, as the poet Yeats perceived, brought about a kind of transfiguration which was in itself the beginning of freedom: "All changed; changed utterly. A terrible beauty is born."

92. With this in mind, we do not think of the Hungarian revolution as having ended, we think of it as having begun. We therefore support this draft resolution and we hope it will win the majority support which it deserves.

93. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): All else having failed, the General Assembly now comes to a solemn climax and must face the issue of voting a condemnation of the Soviet Union for its actions against the tragic and valorous Hungarian people. There can be no doubt about two sets of facts: what has happened in Hungary and what has happened in the United Nations.

94. In Hungary we have seen a sequence of events which is indistinguishable in essence from the kind of thing which was done by Adolf Hitler in the Second World War. We have seen the suppression of a small country by a large and powerful dictatorship. We have seen a large and powerful dictatorship put its agents in control of that small country and we have seen a local puppet government make a treaty with the large external dictatorship, authorizing it to tamper in every respect with the internal affairs of a small country. Finally, we have seen the people of that country left with only personal valour to stand between them and the large external dictatorship. This is the kind of thing that happened under Adolf Hitler to small countries; it is what happened under Josef Stalin and it is what is happening in Hungary today under Khrushchev. There is no essential difference between what is being done by the Soviet Union today and what was done by Nazi Germany in its day.

95. There is equally no doubt as to what has happened here in the United Nations. We have been extraordinarily patient and persistent in exhausting every single remedy which our Charter authorizes us to use. The record of the General Assembly action on the situation in Hungary begins with the resolution adopted on 4 November [1004 (ES-II)], the very day Soviet troops began to take over the country. Since then eight more resolutions have been adopted, and in order that we may have perspective, I would like to summarize our actions.

96. On 4 November, the Assembly called upon the Government of the Soviet Union to stop its armed attack on the people of Hungary; it called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw all its forces, without delay, from Hungarian territory. It called upon the Government of the Soviet Union and of Hungary to permit observers, designated by the Secretary-General, to enter Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings. It called upon all Members to cooperate in making available to the Hungarian people food, medicine and other supplies. The response of the Assembly to the tragic situation in Hungary was immediate.

97. On 9 November, in resolution 1005 (ES-II), this call was repeated; and on that same day, in resolution 1006 (ES-II), we asked for emergency assistance to the growing number of refugees from Hungary. On 9 November also, in response to the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people were being subjected, all Members of the United Nations were asked in resolution 1107 (ES-II) to participate



in giving immediate aid by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothing.

98. On 10 November [*resolution 1008 (ES-II)*], the item concerning the situation in Hungary was transferred to the agenda of the eleventh regular session; and on 16 November the Secretary-General appointed a group of three experts to investigate the information available regarding the situation in Hungary [*A/3359*].

99. On 21 November, we again asked for the admission of observers and demanded that the Soviet Union stop its brutal programme of deportations. We demanded that those who had been deported be returned promptly to their homes. Two resolutions [*1127 (XI)* and *1128 (XI)*] were passed with overwhelming support in one day. On that same day, 21 November, we urged in resolution 1129 (XI) that Governments and non-governmental organizations make contributions for the care and resettlement of Hungarian refugees. Efforts made to meet the problem of Hungarian refugees were described in a report by the Secretary-General on 30 November [*A/3405*].

100. After receiving the report of the Secretary-General on 30 November [*A/3403*], noting that no information was available to him concerning steps taken in order to establish compliance with decisions of the General Assembly, which referred to withdrawal of troops or related political matters, the General Assembly met again on 4 December to consider the situation in Hungary and on that day in resolution 1130 (XI), the General Assembly called once more for compliance with its previous resolutions. The General Assembly recommended that the Secretary-General arrange for immediate dispatch to Hungary and other countries as appropriate of observers named by him, pursuant to the General Assembly's first resolution on Hungary [*1004 (ES-II)*].

101. A deadline of 7 December was set for a reply from the Soviet Union and Hungary to a request for admission of observers. Since then, we have been met with continuing and complete obstruction by the Soviet Union. At one minute past midnight of 7 December the deadline set by the General Assembly for a response to the request for the admission of observers passed.

102. Although the Government of Austria had communicated its willingness to receive observers, observers had not been permitted to enter Hungary; Soviet troops had not been withdrawn; the proposed date for the proposed Secretary-General's visit to Budapest had not been granted and had been met with a wall of silence. We had no reports of any return of deportees to Hungary. These actions show that there has been a magnificent response by the people the world over to the plight of the Hungarian people—but all of the resolutions calling for action by the Soviet Union have been ignored by them and by their Hungarian agents. We have seen an unparalleled demonstration of the flouting by a single State of the repeatedly reported wishes of an overwhelming majority of the nations of the world.

103. In the words of President Eisenhower, spoken on the occasion of Human Rights Day, we have seen the Soviet Union impose a terror upon Hungary which ". . . repudiates and negates almost every article in the Declaration of Human Rights . . ." The President continued:

"It denies that men are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and that all should act in the

spirit of brotherhood. It denies the right to life, liberty and security of person. It denies the principle that no one shall be subjected to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. It denies that no person shall be arbitrarily arrested, detained, or exiled. It denies that all are equal before the law and entitled to its equal protection. It denies the right to fair and public hearings by an independent and impartial tribunal. It denies the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. It denies the right to freedom of opinion and expression. It denies the right to freedom of peaceful assembly. It denies that the individual may not be held in slavery or servitude. It denies that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government. That these human rights have been so flagrantly repudiated is cause for world-wide mourning."

104. At one minute after midnight of 7 December, the deadline passed for a reply authorizing the entrance of observers into Hungary. Yet the tragedy goes on. Thomas Jefferson said, and President Eisenhower quoted him: "The human spirit knows that the God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." The President added: "The courage and sacrifices of the brave Hungarian people have consecrated that spirit anew."

105. The truth is that this uprising in Hungary is an uprising of youth. This makes it the deadliest of condemnations, the most abject of failures of the whole Soviet system, of its middle-aged inability to sense the modern mood, of its ritualism, of its monstrosity, and of how completely it carries within itself the signs of its own dissolution. That system was based on the idea that if what they call the dictatorship of the proletariat would only stay in power long enough, the new generation would grow up without ever knowing anything else and would, therefore, be solidly, dependably Communist.

106. Now we have seen the failure of that whole idea. The trouble with the idea was, and with the whole Marxist idea for that matter, that it ignores that which is noble and spiritual in human nature, and sees the world through the prism of Karl Marx's bitter and self-pitying frustration. It totally ignores what Abraham Lincoln called "the better angels of our nature".

107. The repudiation of the Soviet system by the youth of Hungary is a deadly blow to Soviet prestige, which will continue to shrink in world standing and influence as snow melts in the summer snow. Let us vote this draft resolution so that the world may know of our condemnation.

108. Mr. MIGONE (Argentina) [*translated from Spanish*]: This General Assembly faces a flagrant violation of the Charter: serious intervention by one Member State, the Soviet Union, in the internal affairs of another Member State, Hungary. But the General Assembly is demonstrating its unshakable determination to discharge its responsibilities to the full.

109. In accordance with the international tradition of the country it represents, the Argentine delegation deems it a duty to associate itself with any proposal for appropriate and effective action to resolve the present crisis, and must once again affirm its position.

110. Argentina is a Member of the United Nations because it believes that States must renounce, without reservations of any kind, the use of violence as a means of settling international disputes. That belief is

an imperative deriving from our history and the will of our people.

111. The Argentine Republic has settled all its international problems by peaceful means. It has had the honour to state, in a collective war in which it was obliged to take up arms, the principle that "victory confers no rights" and to affirm, in defence of a Latin American country, the illegitimacy of the use of force to secure payment of public debts. My country has not tolerated in the past, and will not tolerate in the future, any intervention by a foreign country in its internal affairs. It has never used armed force to intervene in any other State. Armed with this authority it has joined resolutely with the States which support the principle of non-intervention as the cornerstone of international law.

112. These are the reasons for Argentina's concern that the duties imposed by the Charter on Members of the United Nations should be scrupulously fulfilled. Our attitude could not be otherwise.

113. The seriousness of the present intervention in Hungary is evidenced by the fact that a representative Government has been replaced by the Soviet armed forces. The cost of this replacement has been a bloody struggle with the Hungarian people, which has preserved its identity for thousands of years and continues to resist despite the loss of 65,000 dead and 100,000 driven into exile.

114. Nothing can justify the intervention of Soviet forces in Hungary. It is not justified by the Warsaw Treaty, article 8 of which lays down the principle of non-intervention. Nor, of course, is it justified by the United Nations Charter. The only use of armed force authorized by the Charter is in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence. An attempt may be made to argue that the action of the Soviet forces in Hungary is justified by special agreements, but Article 103 states: "In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, the obligations under the present Charter shall prevail."

115. It is not justified by any request on the part of the Hungarian Government. The last Government, which was undoubtedly representative of all sectors of the nation and particularly of the workers, not only denounced that Treaty, in exercise of an inalienable right, but requested the withdrawal of the Soviet forces. I refer to the Government which appealed to the United Nations and with which the Soviet Union negotiated when it started to comply with that request.

116. The Chairman of the Soviet delegation stated, in his speech of 22 November [589th meeting, para. 95], that his country's intervention was justified, among other things, by fascist reaction in Hungary "which would have served as a springboard for the international forces of reaction seeking to revive fascism and re-establish their power all over the Continent". The argument is without merit, either at the national, Hungarian level or at the international, European level.

117. There is no need for the Argentine delegation to reaffirm the democratic faith which inspires its Government. The people and the armed forces of my country were able to restore democracy in Argentina without foreign assistance of any kind, and we believe that the defence of democracy is an individual responsibility of each nation which each nation must discharge by its own efforts.

118. At the international level, we believe that there can be no better defence of democracy than a genuinely and fully operative United Nations, for the United Nations was founded to achieve, ensure and complete the triumph of democracy throughout the world.

119. The competence of the United Nations in this matter is beyond question and the appointment of observers, in accordance with the Charter, is an essential right of our Organization if it is to function effectively in cases like this, and all Members are accordingly in duty bound to accept them.

120. It is therefore a regrettable fact that United Nations observers have not been admitted to Hungarian territory or, apparently, to neighbouring countries behind the iron curtain. It implies that those who wield power in Hungary and those who govern the neighbouring countries are not prepared to respect the Assembly's resolutions, or even to allow an investigation to ascertain the facts which would provide a proper basis for the Assembly's decisions. What is even more serious, it means that the United Nations is being practically barred from exercising its rights and duties in this area.

121. The result is an anomalous situation which jeopardizes the future of the United Nations. While this group of States takes a hand in the solution of problems arising between other Member States of the United Nations, when problems affecting them or their part of the world arise, they refuse to let the United Nations take action. We are thus confronted with a one-sided situation which cannot be accepted and a kind of hidden veto which illegitimately paralyzes the Assembly's action.

122. My delegation can understand the special interest taken by some countries in the areas on which they border. But at the present stage of international development, no State can expect to exercise or maintain its influence in such areas by undermining the system of rights and obligations of the international body we have created. If the United Nations was created to ensure collective security, it is folly to sacrifice this permanent and universal agency for a partial and temporary strategic advantage.

123. The United Nations represents the culmination of a long and painful historical process, the greatest safeguard of all nations and of the future of mankind. Whatever its apparent or temporary limitations, it is a great moral force which we all have a sacred duty to preserve. No Government blinded by the desire to protect a national material interest can deliberately damage this international Organization without betraying the trust and hope of the peoples.

124. In this "moment of truth", when a choice must be made between strategic advantage and morality, we urge the Soviet Union to choose morality and to vindicate itself in the eyes of the world. History shows that no political power which disregarded morality and was governed solely by strategic considerations has been able to endure.

125. We submit a draft resolution [A/3436 and Add.1] which some may consider inadequate, but which we believe to be appropriate to the situation as it is today. We hope that the great majority of delegations will join with us in voting for it—even if some have to sacrifice strategic objective—in order to give this resolution as much authority as possible and the backing of world opinion.

126. We hope that the Soviet Union will heed the voice of this Assembly and will return to the cause of the United Nations, of which it has been one of the principal architects.

127. Mr. WALKER (Australia): My delegation has noted with appreciation the admirable and courageous decision of the Austrian Government to accept the entry of United Nations observers to Austria. Our hope is that the observers will be appointed and sent to Austria immediately to begin their tasks. We also believe that it should be possible for the Assembly to have some indication of what role the group of three experts appointed by the Secretary-General can play in the immediate future in the collation of available and confirmed material. For it is important that the evolving situation in Hungary be reported on to the Assembly objectively and authoritatively.

128. The General Assembly already has enough uncontested facts to justify the action we propose today. The Australian delegation has joined in sponsoring this draft resolution because we consider it the duty of the General Assembly to pronounce itself in the clearest terms following the rejection by the Soviet Union of the Assembly's decisions on Hungary. The step we are asking the General Assembly to take is a serious one, not merely the reiteration of our previous appeals to the Soviet Union to desist from the use of its armed might to deprive the Hungarian people of their basic political rights guaranteed under the 1947 Peace Treaty, but also—and this is a grave step—the pronouncement of a formal declaration that the Soviet Union is violating the political independence of Hungary and of a solemn condemnation of the Soviet Union's violation of the Charter.

129. We take this action in the first place because we believe that justice demands it; we take it also in the hope that the Government of the Soviet Union will take due note of this expression of world public opinion through this General Assembly and alter its present course of action. What happens in Hungary is important for the conscience of mankind. Must we assume that the minds and the hearts of the rulers of the Soviet Union are completely and utterly isolated from the rest of mankind? The discomfort of the Soviet delegation at this Assembly as it has endeavoured to defend and explain the action of its Government has been plain for all to see.

130. The Soviet troops who have gone to Hungary in the expectation of putting down reactionary dissidents and Horthyist supporters have been shocked to find that their task is to repress the workers and peasants of Hungary. There may be no United Nations observers in Hungary at present, but the young soldiers of the Red Army can see with their own eyes the revolt of the young people against an imposed tyranny. What do they think of the attempt to enforce the dissolution of the workers' councils? The continued resistance of the Hungarian masses must give the Soviet people and their Government material for reflection and for the examination of their conscience.

131. Let the voice of the United Nations also be heard at this time. What happens in Hungary is also a lesson to the world. Do the Soviet rulers not realize that their behaviour in Hungary is a much more significant factor in the world's opinion of the Soviet Union than all the declarations and propaganda regarding Soviet policy and its relations with other countries?

132. When, following the death of Stalin, the misdeeds of his régime were denounced and renounced by

Soviet leaders and a new policy of peaceful coexistence with the rest of the world was announced, the flickering flame of hope began to shine more brightly throughout the world. There were many who scoffed at any suggestion that Soviet policy towards the outside world could really change in this way, but many people and many Governments have been prepared to take a more pragmatic view, to test the Soviet Union's new declarations of policy by the Soviet Union's actual deeds.

133. Today we all ask ourselves: what is the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence? Do the rulers of the Soviet Union realize how widespread is the impression that their treatment of the working classes of Hungary depicts more clearly than any slogan or statements the true nature of their régime and raises the gravest doubts regarding the significance of their protested desire for international co-operation?

134. At least let the Assembly speak today with no uncertain voice in the hope that the USSR Government, even at this late hour, will listen not only to the Assembly but also to the counsels of moderation that are presumably being advanced by such people in Moscow as see the present situation more clearly.

135. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): The United Nations once again has to cope with a case of defiance of an almost unanimous opinion expressed in this Assembly and throughout the world. The Soviet Union has cordoned off the Hungarian borders so that crimes may be perpetrated, hidden from the scrutiny of impartial public opinion of the world. It tries to base its unjustifiable action on the assertion that this is an internal affair, internal for Hungary and, strangely enough, internal also for the Soviet Union.

136. It is fortunate that this Assembly has not been duped by this crude fiction. It can never be. No one, in his clear conscience, can accept that Hungary should be presented to the world as a sovereign entity possessing all its sovereign attributes while, internally, another State dispossesses it of all the functions of a sovereign State, assumes complete control over the internal situation and undertakes the severest repression against a people ever witnessed in modern history.

137. The very fact that the Hungarian Government has called on foreign troops to suppress national uprisings within its territory removes any doubt as to its sovereign character. It is therefore clear beyond any doubt that the present Hungarian Government does not exist as such, but rather as a shadow of a foreign Power which internally treats it as a subordinate agency while externally using it as a shield for its armed intervention.

138. Such being the case, the responsibility can now be properly assessed. This Assembly has enough evidence to form an intelligent opinion of this grave situation. It is vital for our Organization to continue to press for the admission of United Nations observers into Hungary. But what we already know is more than enough to stir our human feelings and our conscience to raise our voice against this cruel case of subjugation of a small nation by a larger one.

139. The inescapable conclusion is now clear. The Soviet Union, by choosing to use its armed force to intervene in the affairs of another State, either under the pretext of maintaining a particular social régime or, more factually, to preserve its political and strategic control over Hungary, must face its responsibility—responsibility for armed intervention in violation of the express provisions of the Charter and responsibility

for its refusal to heed the calls of this Assembly for the withdrawal of its armed forces from Hungary and restoration to the Hungarian people of their freedom and independence.

140. Its persistence in ignoring these reasonable calls to honour its obligations so clearly established by the Charter will gravely endanger its own position, as well as the position of this Organization, and plunge the world into chaos and lawlessness. Faced by this terrible implication, the large and small nations which are represented in this Assembly can only act in unison to put a halt to the development of this dangerous trend and to ensure that the perils thus generated do not ultimately spread to their own homelands. I have no doubt as to the wisdom of this Assembly, which, I am sure, will give its unstinted approval to the draft resolution now before it.

141. Mr. MAURER (Romania) [translated from French]: The draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation and other delegations is leading the General Assembly to discuss, for the fifth time, the alleged problem of the situation in Hungary. The successive resolutions which have been brought forward on every occasion the matter has been discussed have gone further and further each time and their objectives have become more and more opposed to those of the United Nations Charter and contrary to international interests and international co-operation.

142. All this has brought about a disturbing situation for the United Nations and for the cause of international co-operation and cannot fail to disturb any Member of the United Nations which genuinely desires to see the principles of the Charter applied in practice.

143. What purpose has been served up to now by discussion in the United Nations of the so-called problem of the situation in Hungary? Leaving aside all the propaganda, lies and slanders which have been brought up in this connexion and looking only at the true facts, we are forced to the inescapable conclusion that discussion of this question has only served to encourage the attempt to overthrow the people's democratic régime in Hungary, to revive the cold war and to increase international tension. We ought, therefore, to put a stop to this course of action directed against the interests of peace and the rights and aspirations of peoples.

144. In previous debates, the Romanian delegation and other delegations advanced cogent reasons why the so-called question of the situation in Hungary cannot and should not be an item for discussion by the General Assembly.

145. A powerful popular movement has recently developed in Hungary aimed at eliminating the serious errors of former leaders, strengthening the people's democratic régime and carrying forward the socialist development of the country. Irrefutable evidence and a great number of facts presented here by various delegations have shown that fascist and Horthy elements, strongly supported by international aggressive groups, exploited these circumstances to prepare a bloody *putsch* designed to overthrow the people's Government and to restore the Horthyist régime in Hungary.

146. Reference has been made here to human rights and fundamental freedoms. The truth of the matter is that during the bloody days of the Horthyist *putsch*, the rights and freedoms won by the Hungarian people were seriously threatened. The big landowners of former days tried to take back the land which had been

divided up among the peasants by the people's democratic régime. The big manufacturers hurriedly returned from abroad to regain possession of factories which had become the national property of the people. Thousands of workers, intellectuals and peasants were assassinated in a cowardly manner, by the fascists.

147. The fact that the *putsch* failed undoubtedly represents a great success for the Hungarian people, who are eager for peace and progress. The Romanian people warmly welcome the victory of the democratic forces, the collapse of the Horthyist venture and the defeat of the vengeful forces which tried to make Hungary a hotbed of disturbance, agitation and provocation directed against the peace and security of the peoples of central and eastern Europe.

148. In considering this problem, the Romanian delegation keeps strictly to the facts, to the clear and indubitable historical realities, and disregards articles in the Press, which are not founded on fact and are written solely to serve the interests of those groups which are trying to increase international tension in order to intensify the armaments race and to undermine the peace and security of humanity.

149. What is the present situation in Hungary? What new factors have arisen and how can they be reconciled with the resumption of the discussion of this question by the General Assembly?

150. The salient feature of the present situation is the increasingly active part being played by the Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals in restoring normal life in Hungary. The workers of Budapest are demonstrating in favour of peace, order, and calm. The Hungarian peasants, who strongly support the people's democratic régime, are working hard to complete their autumn labours 90 per cent of which have already been done.

151. What the Hungarian people desire, therefore, is peace and calm in which to complete the restoration of law and order, put the national economy on its feet again and eliminate the tragic consequences of the anti-democratic rebellion.

152. But those who sponsored the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly today and who have been responsible for the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question, refuse to draw this sound and logical conclusion from the situation now prevailing in Hungary.

153. From the outset, we have shown, from facts which have not been and could not be denied, that the success of the fascist-Horthy elements in organizing the counter-revolutionary *putsch* was due, in the first place to the intervention of reactionary forces from outside, which stimulated and assisted them directly by means of propaganda, the dispatch of arms and of fascist émigrés organized into military units, etc.

154. Now that the attempted *putsch* has been crushed, the reactionary groups are not giving up their policy of interfering in the domestic affairs of Hungary; they are trying to further it by dragging the United Nations along the same path.

155. The Romanian delegation, like other delegations, has strongly emphasized the fact that foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary, even if done in the name of the United Nations, is inadmissible from the standpoint of the basic principles of international law. Its results cannot be other than extremely harmful; they can but hinder the return to normal life in that country.

156. The course of events since the adoption of the first resolutions on the situation in Hungary fully confirms this. The very fact that the question of sending observers was brought up was immediately used by the terrorist elements—few in number but well armed—to provoke fresh disturbances. A pamphlet distributed by these people on 7 December 1956 states:

“We are informed by reliable sources that the United Nations intends to send observers to the frontiers of Hungary, whom we too will be able to contact. This alters the whole situation and we are therefore postponing until 15 December all the demonstrations planned for 6 December.”

157. It is clear that no intervention by or resolution of the United Nations can be of any benefit in a situation which lies exclusively within the competence of the Hungarian people and Government. If, therefore, the United States delegation and other delegations nevertheless force the United Nations to adopt an endless series of resolutions on the situation in Hungary, it can be only with the object of stimulating the activity of terrorist groups and prompting fresh actions against the Hungarian Government. The dangerous and irresponsible nature of such a policy should constantly be stressed.

158. This draft resolution represents as an intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary the action of Soviet troops—which were on Hungarian territory in accordance with the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and, in response to the appeal of their legal Government, helped the Hungarian people put down the counter-revolutionary uprising.

159. It has long been clear, however, that this assertion is intended simply to cover up a real intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary, namely, the unceasing intervention organized by the United States.

160. In this connexion, the Romanian delegation feels that it must draw attention to the harmful role played by the inflammatory propaganda put out by Radio Free Europe, the American broadcasting station in Western Germany. Many influential persons and newspapers in the United States, France, the United Kingdom and other countries have admitted that the inflammatory propaganda broadcast by that station was largely responsible for the launching of the fascist attack in Hungary.

161. As you know, Radio Free Europe, with a main network of twenty-nine powerful transmitters, has for many years been broadcasting the most outrageous slanders on the popular democratic countries of eastern Europe. It exhorts people to commit acts of sabotage on the territory of other States, spreads rumours intended to destroy their confidence in their national economies, broadcasts provocative statements of American politicians and open incitements to rebellion against the régimes which the peoples of that part of the world have themselves chosen.

162. The succession of bloody events which have taken place in Hungary have demonstrated that Radio Free Europe is also a centre for the direction of subversive activities against the Governments of the people's democracies. On the eve of the fascist *putsch* in Hungary, Radio Free Europe hastily gathered together the most reactionary elements among the Hungarian *émigrés* and representatives of the American espionage and diversionist agencies. At No. 32 Lokerstrasse, in Munich, former Horthy officers and other fascist *émigrés* were recruited and organized into task forces and then sent into Hungary.

163. Large sectors of Western German public opinion were opposed to the activities of Radio Free Europe and asked that they be stopped. The newspaper *Das Freie Wort*, the organ of the Free Democratic Party of the German Federal Republic wrote:

“A propaganda whose provocative ends must, in the long run, be paid for by the blood of deluded people, whoever may be its authors and against whomsoever it may be directed, is a crime against humanity.”

164. The newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of the German Federal Republic also wrote:

“In all political circles indignation is felt at the propaganda activity [of Radio Free Europe] . . . Can Bonn close its eyes simply because our American ‘friends’ want it to?”

165. Faced with the general indignation provoked by the activity of this agency of propaganda and incitement, American official circles have been trying to clear themselves of responsibility by maintaining that Radio Free Europe is run by a private agency and that the Government has nothing to do with it. The facts and official documents contradict these assertions.

166. Last summer, while the United States Senate was discussing the question of increasing the well-known \$100 million fund, Senator Douglas proposed the setting up of an official United States Government agency to be called the “Freedom Administration”. As stated in the *Congressional Record* (Volume 102, No. 109 of 29 June 1956), the so-called “Freedom Administration” was intended to carry out a vast programme for the maintenance and expansion of broadcasting activities, the printing and distribution of pamphlets and information, the encouragement and assistance of refugees, and the financial support of so-called resistance groups in the socialist countries.

167. The State Department, commenting on this proposal, said that the Executive Branch was fully in agreement with the policy set forth in the proposal; a large number of its programmes were directed towards those very objectives. The Mutual Security Programme and the activities of the United States Intelligence Agency, were examples of the efforts being made by the Government in that direction. Explaining the tactical considerations which led it to adopt that attitude, the State Department stressed the fact that certain activities could best be undertaken by United States government agencies, while others could better be handled by private non-governmental groups.

168. Subversive activity and interference in the domestic affairs of Member States of the United Nations is thus the confirmed policy of the State Department, and of the United States Government.

169. The Romanian delegation considers that this policy of interference in the domestic affairs of other States, a policy whose object is to overthrow the established institutions of those countries, constitutes a flagrant violation of the universally recognized rules of international law and of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

170. As long ago as 1936, the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace was adopted at Geneva and was acceded to by States. Under this Convention States undertook, *inter alia*, to “prohibit and, if occasion arises, to stop without delay the broadcasting within their respective terri-

ories of any transmission which to the detriment of good international understanding is of such a character as to incite the population of any territory to acts incompatible with the internal order or the security of a territory of a High Contracting Party". By its resolution 841 (IX) of 17 December 1954 the General Assembly commended this Convention to Member States.

171. In view of the fact that the Radio Free Europe broadcasts manifestly contravene the provisions of this international Convention, it is clearly time that this centre of international instigation and provocation should be suppressed. If we genuinely desire to remove the causes of the bloody events in Hungary the General Assembly must take a stand against the harmful activity of Radio Free Europe, because this activity undeniably constitutes gross interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

172. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that in the early days of the fascist counter-revolutionary *putsch* in Hungary, the *New York Herald Tribune* of 25 October 1956 used the heading "Eisenhower policy hailed as stirring up satellites" over the statements of Mr. Patrick J. Hillings, a member of the House of Representatives.

173. What can be the meaning of this attempt to persuade the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution before us which is designed to harm the most powerful and decisive factor in the defence of international peace and security, namely, the Soviet Union? What it tries to do, in fact, is to pave the way for elements hostile to peace and international co-operation, and to the freedom and independence of peoples, to achieve their aggressive aims.

174. The interference of the United States in the internal affairs of Hungary, the initiation of debate in the United Nations on the so-called Hungarian problem, the discussions held and the resolutions which have so far been adopted have, indeed, already contributed to the increase of tension in international relations. Reference is more and more frequently being made to the events in Hungary as an excuse to postpone discussions on disarmament, to wipe out in a single gesture the marked progress achieved by dint of great effort in improving the *rapprochement* between peoples, mutual understanding and cultural exchanges, and to give free rein again to propaganda designed to sow mistrust and to set nations against each other.

175. It is for these reasons that we believe the General Assembly should reject the new draft resolution sponsored by the United States and sixteen other Powers, that it should reaffirm the desire of the United Nations to put an end to the trend toward deterioration of the international situation which the reactionary groups are seeking to bring about by exploiting the so-called problem of the situation in Hungary.

176. Guided by these considerations the Romanian delegation will vote against the draft resolution before the Assembly.

177. We are convinced that the peoples of the world who have in recent times demonstrated their desire for peace, international co-operation and progress, will gather strength day by day and will redouble their vigilance in order to frustrate the new plans of the international reactionary circles.

178. Mr. MICHELET (France) [translated from French]: Today, as never before, we feel that the United Nations is facing the most serious crisis in its

history. Those who still had some doubts on this score have now had their eyes opened.

179. On 24 October 1956 Soviet troops fired on an unarmed crowd in Budapest, killing 600 people, as a start.

180. On 2 November the head of the legal Government—I say that advisedly and I repeat, the legal Government of Hungary—in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations [S/3726], proclaimed the neutrality of his country and requested the Security Council to help him to begin negotiations with the Soviet Union with a view to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory.

181. On 3 November, in other words quite recently, the Soviet Government, stated through its representative at the 753rd meeting of the Security Council that those negotiations were under way. He was deceiving us, he was lying shamelessly. There were no negotiations in Budapest. Instead a cynical and treacherous trap was being laid for the legal Government of a Member State of the United Nations. Today, the man who confidently wrote to the United Nations proclaiming the neutrality of his country has vanished in mysterious circumstances. Since his disappearance the Soviet army has been subjecting the Hungarian people, who had risen as one man, to one of the most bloody campaigns of repression in history.

182. Not one of the six resolutions adopted by the Security Council and by this Assembly has prevailed against the fixed determination of the Soviet Government to drown the Hungarian people's desire for freedom in blood. The Security Council and this Assembly had asked the Soviet Government to refrain from any interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary, to withdraw its troops from Hungarian territory and to stop the deportation of young Hungarians to Soviet territory.

183. What has happened in the past twenty-four hours proves that all these resolutions have been ignored. Unfortunately there is every reason to believe that they will continue to be ignored for a long time to come.

184. The Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs himself has given a reply to the Assembly's recommendations. On 5 December, Mr. Shepilov said: "Not a single Soviet soldier will remain on Hungarian soil against the wishes of the Hungarian Government and people. As soon as order is restored this question will be discussed." The matter could not be put more clearly. The Soviet Union will not discuss the withdrawal of its troops with any Hungarian authority until Soviet order is restored in Hungary.

185. People still remember as an example of cynicism the historic statement made after a similar insurrection in the nineteenth century when a neighboring people rose against the soldiery of the Russian despot: "Order has been restored in Warsaw". Order was indeed restored in Warsaw, as it will no doubt soon be restored in Budapest.

186. The only difference between the two situations is that a hundred years ago there was no organization like the United Nations. Its failure to act would therefore reflect a moral retreat which must needs be a matter of concern to those who believe that the United Nations cannot afford to make any more mistakes if it is to avoid an inglorious and unhonoured end that would—one cannot blink the fact—be the beginning of a general collapse.



187. The Soviet Government, we are in fact being told, is determined to continue its repressive action and to keep its troops in Hungary until the Hungarian people is subjugated and a Government obedient to Moscow's orders is firmly in power in Budapest.

188. We must recognize the fact, have the courage to admit our failure and, above all, draw the necessary conclusions. Those who hoped or pretended to hope that the Hungarian authorities would agree to the admission of United Nations observers to their territory or to the Secretary-General's visit to Budapest, now know where they stand.

189. It is unfortunately evident that so long as the Hungarian people continues to resist, the Soviet Government will never permit the Secretary-General or observers designated by him to visit Hungary in order to ascertain the facts, nor will it allow the Hungarian people to talk to them freely.

190. In this connexion, the attitude of those who have improperly been called the Hungarian authorities is a striking admission that things are happening in Budapest that must be concealed at all costs.

191. Nor is that all. The Hungarian authorities and the Soviet Government tried to mislead this Assembly by stating on 4 December [607th meeting] through the Hungarian representative that the Budapest authorities agreed in principle to the Secretary-General's visit to Hungary. Later, when Mr. Hammarskjöld made a specific proposal, the Budapest authorities went back on their word in a way that is really an insult to this Organization but which at least has the merit of having removed any shadow of doubt.

192. I now leave it to those who asked us on 4 December to give formal approval to the proposals submitted by the Secretary-General to Mr. Horvath, to draw the logical conclusions from the evasive attitude of the Hungarian authorities. Perhaps they will now understand why we were distrustful and did not want to go along with them and why the French delegation abstained in the vote on this proposal.

193. Never before has the United Nations faced a situation as serious as this. Never have the facts been as clear as they are now.

194. I do not wish to be so simple or hypocritical as to address my remarks to the representative of the so-called Hungarian authorities here. I shall only say that when we agree just a year ago, after seven years of hesitation, to the admission of Hungary to the United Nations, we never thought that we would see among us a man who would rise to approve the massacre of his compatriots by a foreign army.

195. It is to the Soviet delegation that I, as a representative of a country which gave the world the Declaration of the Rights of Man, would address my remarks. I should like to say that no honest person in this Assembly believes for a moment that the Hungarian revolt was the work of fascist elements. It was not against fascist groups that the Budapest Government took action yesterday. It dissolved workers'

councils and proclaimed martial law in order to bring them into line.

196. The whole world knows that for the past six weeks the fire of the Soviet tanks has been directed against the working class. The whole world knows that for six weeks the Hungarian workers have been engaged in a life and death struggle in defence of their inalienable fundamental freedoms and the independence of their country.

197. I therefore wish to tell the Soviet delegation that it lied shamelessly to us and deceived us when it told us at the 753rd meeting of the Security Council on 3 November that its Government was negotiating with the Hungarian Government; it lied to us again and shamelessly deceived us when, in its many statements, it tried to make us believe that the rebellion in Hungary had come to an end.

198. In the light of these facts, I find it inconceivable that any Member of our Assembly, with the exception, of course, of the Soviet Union and those who more than ever deserve to be called its satellites, should not support the draft resolution which has been just submitted to us.

199. Today, more than ever before, the attention of the world is turned towards the United Nations. World public opinion assumes with good reason that the Soviet Union did not lightly decide to defy the United Nations. It is aware of the gravity and the implications of the drama which is unfolding in eastern Europe. Two trials of strength are in progress—in the first a gallant and indomitable nation of ten million seeking to recover its freedom is pitted against one of the two strongest military Powers in the world; the second trial of strength is between this great Power and the United Nations.

200. We must now decide whether our Assembly can long allow its resolution to be flouted, and whether our Organization can permit one of its Members consistently to violate the principles of the Charter.

201. We must decide whether an Organization which, eight years ago to the day, unanimously adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, will now, through its inaction, create a new right, the right of a certain inhuman theory of so-called socialism to decide the fate of peoples against their will.

202. The United Nations cannot resign itself to inaction while a Power uses its immense resources to carry out the first stage—and I emphasize, the first stage—of the enslavement of a part of Europe.

203. If it did so, it would betray not only the great statesmen who willed and established the United Nations on the ruins of nazi totalitarianism; the conspiracy of silence would also betray the memory of the millions of men who gave their lives on the field of battle and in the crematoria of concentration camps so that totalitarianism—whatever else it may be called—might no longer imperil the dignity of man.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*