

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, 21 November 1956,
at 3 p.m.

ELEVENTH SESSION

New York

Official Records

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 67:

Question considered by the second emergency special session of the General Assembly from 4 to 10 November 1956 (*continued*)..... 183

President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 67

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker on the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting, I recognize the representative of Israel on a point of order. That representative wishes to make a short explanation. Of course, any discussion of his statement will not take place until the Assembly has completed its consideration of the question of Hungarian refugees.

2. Mr. EBAN (Israel): This morning, the representative of Syria made a wild and untrue allegation from the rostrum of the General Assembly. He asserted that an attack on Syria by British, French and Israel forces was being planned from the territory of Israel. This is obviously a diversionary manoeuvre, coming at a crucial stage of the debate on Hungary.

3. No attack on Syria is intended or planned from the territory of Israel, either by Israel forces or by anyone else. The whole charge is a pure fabrication. There are United Nations truce personnel in the area, and they have reported nothing which bears out the Syrian contention.

4. The question arises whether this Syrian charge does not imply some aggressive intention or plan on Syria's part. There have been disquieting reports of a heavy flow of arms into Syria and of new concentrations on the Israel frontier, in violation of the General Assembly's resolution [997 (ES-I)] of 2 November 1956. That is the only aspect of the Syrian situation which justifies any alarm.

5. Having given this assurance, my delegation expresses the view that the General Assembly should ignore this diversion and proceed with the urgent business of the debate on Hungary, in accordance with orderly procedure.

6. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like first of all to express the gratitude of the people and the Government of Cuba for the full support that the great majority of this General Assembly has given to the Cuban draft resolution [A/3357/Rev.2]. Eighteen heads of government, min-

isters for foreign affairs and a vice-president of a republic have spoken from this rostrum in clear and unequivocal support of our proposal. Eighteen others, heads of delegations, have also given us their firm support. In other words, the majority of this Assembly has already expressed its views, and we wish to express our heartfelt gratitude.

7. In view of this support, we cannot accept any proposal that would consign our draft resolution to the waste-paper basket, for it represents the opinion of the entire free world, as well as that of peoples enslaved by force who are not free to express their opinion in ways open to others. Nor can we consent to the raising of any question of priority, for our draft resolution was the first one presented and it has been thoroughly discussed; still less can we accept any suggestion that would prevent a vote on our draft resolution.

8. I therefore ask the Assembly to reject, in a roll-call vote, any formal motion of priority that may be presented, and I also request that a roll-call vote should be taken on the Cuban draft resolution.

9. At this stage of the debate, I do not wish to tax the patience of the General Assembly. I have, however, been the target of such savage attacks by the delegations of the Soviet Union and its satellite States that I feel compelled to say a few words in my defence, since it would appear from the statements made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and its satellites that it was Cuba that had invaded Hungary and the Soviet Union which had rushed to Hungary's defence. As this is not the case, I should like to make the matter perfectly clear.

10. The representative of the Byelorussian SSR, for example, went so far as to put me in the same category as Goebbels, the minister responsible for propaganda in Germany under Hitler. It is odd that he should so describe me, because when the representative of the Ukrainian SSR was drinking champagne toasts at the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty, I was already protesting, in Cuba and elsewhere, against Hitler, against Goebbels and against all his friends. In other words, I was at all times against Hitler and against nazism. I never divided my activities, as did the representative of the Byelorussian SSR, who half the time regarded Goebbels as his associate and the rest of the time regarded him as his enemy. My country and its representative were always against Goebbels and never in agreement with him.

11. I should like also to refer very briefly to the assertion of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [586th meeting] to the effect that I had offered no proof whatever of my affirmations. He went even further: he said that he had never received any news to indicate that such deportations were taking place. That is quite understandable, because he was similarly unaware of Stalin's crimes until the Marshal's demise. In other words, during all the time that Stalin was governing the Soviet Union, the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union had no knowledge of his

crimes, and became aware of them only when Mr. Khrushchev made his speech of accusation. During all the time that Stalin was in power, however, I was denouncing those crimes in the United Nations, in the Press, in books and in articles in periodicals. I trust it will be conceded, therefore, that I am qualified to state here that the deportations of Hungarian citizens are an established fact.

12. There is obviously no need to comment on the childish piece of evidence offered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union to show that there had been no deportations, to wit, a telegram from a railway station-master saying that he had seen no deportees. This really does seem a poor piece of evidence, and I suspect that if the station-master had replied that he had indeed seen deportees, he himself would have been deported from Hungary to the Soviet Union on the same train.

13. The Soviet Union has always denied the accusations levelled against it regarding deportation, but later events have borne out our statements and our accusations. When there were deportations from the Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia—the Soviet Union invariably denied that they had occurred, and yet facts came to light later to prove that they constituted the greatest mass deportations ever recorded in history. Again, the Soviet Union representatives denied that there had been any deportations or massacres in the Ukraine, but later Mr. Khrushchev himself admitted them, though he said that they had been the work of Marshal Stalin. The deportations from Poland, from Rumania, the first deportations from Hungary, the deportations from all the satellite States, carried out with absolute ruthlessness, were all denied by the Soviet Union.

14. It is therefore hardly surprising that the titular representatives of Hungary should today deny that deportations had taken place, and I do not think it would be right for this Assembly, which has heard statements from so many responsible States, radio reports from Budapest itself, and information from various other sources and from over 20,000 refugees who have reached Vienna, to put that information in the same category, or appraise it in the same way, as the assertions of the representative of Hungary, a country which is co-operating with the Soviet Union in carrying out these deportations and therefore has to deny them.

15. I am convinced that the General Assembly will not accept this, and I ask it to bear in mind that our draft resolution is important not because of the country which is presenting it—for Cuba is a small and unassuming country, with negligible military power—but because it is backed by all free men in the world, and I am convinced that this General Assembly cannot assume the responsibility of rejecting it on any procedural ground, for the simple reason that the world would then lose all faith in the principles of our Charter and in what the United Nations is now defending and has always defended: the principle of free self-determination, the principle of individual liberty, the principle of religious freedom and the principle of international morality—principles which are now being denied by the Hungarian Government in Budapest and elsewhere in Hungary.

16. Turning now to the substance of the matter before us, I wish to say that we are very happy to accept the amendment presented by the Salvadorian delegation [*A/L.211*] because we feel that it improves our draft resolution; we regret that we cannot accept the sugges-

tion made by the South African delegation [*585th meeting*], for at this juncture and at this stage of the debate such an amendment would give rise to new problems and further debate.

17. The draft resolution presented by Ceylon, India and Indonesia [*A/3368/Rev.3*] is in some ways very flattering to the Cuban delegation. We consider it flattering because it is based on a General Assembly resolution [*1004 (ES-II)*] of 4 November 1956, of which Cuba was a co-sponsor and which was not supported by Ceylon, India or Indonesia at that time. In other words, it seems to us that those Member States have realized, though somewhat belatedly, the need for action on the Hungarian question.

18. We would also point out, however, with all due respect and for the sake of the truth, that the delegations of Ceylon, India and Indonesia have merely incorporated part of our draft resolution into their own. That means that they are setting a precedent in the United Nations which I am not sure will be desirable or useful in the future. They have taken the part of our draft resolution in which we spoke of sending observers to Hungary and the part in which we asked the Secretary-General to submit a report, but they make no mention whatever of the fact that this is taken from the Cuban text; they present it as a new draft resolution.

19. May I draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the passage concerning the observers and the submission of the report by the Secretary-General is in fact contained in our draft resolution. Hence it would have been logical, according to proper parliamentary procedure, for Ceylon, India and Indonesia not to present their text as a new draft resolution—since it contains absolutely nothing new—but to state that they accepted the parts of the Cuban draft resolution which referred to observers and to the submission of a report by the Secretary-General.

20. We shall, of course, vote in favour of our own draft resolution, which we feel should be put to the vote first, for there is no reason whatever for consigning it to the second place. The dictum that the last shall be first is only for the Kingdom of Heaven; as far as the Assembly is concerned, the first is first and the last shall be last, and if our draft resolution was presented and debated first, then in our opinion we must also vote on it first.

21. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia, we shall vote in favour of the Belgian amendments [*A/L.213*]. The original draft resolution of Ceylon, India and Indonesia [*A/3368*] was absolutely unacceptable to us because in the opinion of the Cuban delegation—and I say this with all respect—it would constitute definite recognition of the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs and would place his veracity on a level with that of the considerable number of representatives of Member States, including Cuba, whose statements have been contrary to his.

22. In this connexion, I would draw the Ceylonese representative's attention to the inaccuracy of the statement he made this morning when he said that the General Assembly had recognized the credentials of the Hungarian Government and its alleged representative. We have not yet received the report of the Credentials Committee. In accordance with the rules of procedure we have provisionally, and only provisionally, accepted the presence of these gentlemen as the representatives of the Hungarian Government.

23. After voting in favour of the Cuban draft resolution and the Belgian amendments to the joint draft resolution, the delegation of Cuba will abstain in the vote on the latter draft resolution, for we feel that it is merely a repetition of the Cuban draft resolution and consequently that its adoption would serve no useful purpose. As, however, we have great respect for the contributions of any Member State, we neither urge, suggest nor intimate that this proposal should be tossed into the waste-paper basket. On the contrary, we ask that it should be put to the vote, and if it wins the support of the majority we shall treat it with full respect.

24. At this juncture I think that we are completing a task of great importance to the United Nations. We have faced a difficult situation. The great majority of the Member States have already given their verdict: that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Government are carrying out mass deportations of men, women and children. The majority of the Member States have spoken against those actions, and for that reason the Cuban draft will be adopted. There is, however, more than that: the conscience of the world has been aroused, and that world conscience is the force which the United Nations must have behind it at all times.

25. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): At this regular session of the General Assembly, during its discussion of the question considered by the second emergency special session of the General Assembly, my delegation would like to reiterate briefly the stand that Pakistan has taken in relation to the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, their augmentation and the repression carried out by them against the Hungarian people in their effort to establish a government of their own choosing.

26. We fully supported the resolutions adopted by the emergency special session condemning this action by the Soviet troops, insisting on the immediate cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of the troops, the dispatch of observers on behalf of the United Nations to Hungary to report on the situation, and the appeal for humanitarian supplies and services for the sufferers in Hungary.

27. At that emergency special session, my delegation, along with the delegations of Cuba, Ireland, Italy and Peru, sponsored a draft resolution which was adopted by the Assembly [*resolution 1005 (ES-II)*] insisting on the requests aforementioned, and stating the Assembly's view that, once order is restored in Hungary, the people of Hungary should be allowed by free elections, under United Nations auspices, to establish a government of their own choice.

28. Our condemnation of the aggression in Hungary was in the same spirit and tenor as our condemnation of the aggression in Egypt by foreign forces. We sponsored the demand for the immediate cessation of hostilities in Egypt, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces and the establishment of a United Nations Emergency Force for securing the withdrawal of those forces. My delegation, in its intervention on the Egyptian question, also considered it the responsibility of the invading countries to take steps not only for repair and restoration, but for the further development of Egypt and the prosperity of its people.

29. I shall now explain my delegation's attitude with regard to the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly.

30. We shall vote for the Cuban draft resolution [*A/3357/Rev.2*], as well as for the amendment to it submitted by El Salvador [*A/L.211*].

31. We shall also vote for the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [*A/3374*] relating to the needs of the refugees from Hungary.

32. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia [*A/3368/Rev.3*], as revised by the amendments submitted by Belgium [*A/L.213*], my delegation will support it. We should, however, like to place on record this observation: in the General Assembly resolution [*1004 (ES-II)*] of 4 November, it was decided to request the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by the foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him and to report to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, suggesting methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary. The three-Power draft resolution covers only one aspect of the situation in Hungary, namely, deportations. We feel that this draft resolution is therefore restrictive, if not unnecessary.

33. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): The Philippine delegation desires to explain its vote on the Cuban draft resolution and the amendment thereto submitted by El Salvador; and on the draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia, and the amendments thereto submitted by Belgium.

34. My delegation will vote in favour of the Cuban draft resolution and for the amendment submitted to it by El Salvador, because we believe that the rule of domestic jurisdiction which was invoked does not apply to the Hungarian situation. We are of the opinion that even if the incidents dealt with in this draft resolution are local in character as far as Hungary is concerned they are, nevertheless, of universal concern. To invoke the rule of domestic jurisdiction on matters which call for the application of the principle of self-determination and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms would be to paralyse this body in its dealings with problems of concern to all humanity.

35. A statement was made here by the representative of India [*586th meeting*] that the true purpose of the three-Power draft resolution was to avoid any condemnation without evidence. We are in perfect agreement with this statement. We do not believe any particular country should be condemned for something without sufficient evidence. But this rule of law, which, in my opinion, can perhaps be strictly followed in a judicial process, cannot be followed in a case where a body like the General Assembly is to make an urgent decision on political matters. If two conflicting versions are presented before this body and immediate action is needed in the matter, the Assembly will have to choose tentatively between the sources of information—whether one source of information is believed to be prejudiced, and the other is believed to be unimpeachable.

36. We take the view that the information cited in the Cuban draft resolution on the forcible deportation of thousands of Hungarians has been obtained from unimpeachable sources, as against the categorical denial of the supposed Acting Foreign Minister of the Hungarian Government, which certainly is a prejudiced source. We therefore consider that the paragraph of this draft resolution which cites this information from unimpeachable sources, and which adds urgency to the necessity of sending United Nations observers to Hungary, as a sound juridical basis upon which the action contemplated in the draft resolution may be taken by this body.

37. We now come to the three-Power draft resolution [A/3368/Rev.3]. In our view, the original draft resolution was acceptable but for the reference to the categorical denial of the Acting Foreign Minister of Hungary, and to the phrase "without prejudice to its sovereignty". I believe that if the paragraph of the preamble in the original draft resolution [A/3368] which makes specific reference to the categorical denial by the Acting Foreign Minister of Hungary, and the reference to the sovereignty of Hungary in the operative part, were accepted by this body, it would imply a *de facto* or *de jure* recognition of the existing government in Hungary.

38. That my Government cannot accept. We view the present government in Hungary, interim as it may be, as one erected by an external Power against the legitimate wishes of the Hungarian people. To the extent, therefore, that there is a paragraph in the preamble of the original draft resolution of the three Powers and a reference in the operative part to the sovereignty of the Government of Hungary, the implication will be given of either *de facto* or *de jure* recognition of the Government. We cannot accept that implication.

39. We are happy to note, therefore, that the Indian representative has accepted the Belgian amendment with respect to the substitution of the first and second paragraphs of the preamble [586th meeting, para. 51]. The only remaining phrase to which we object is in the first operative paragraph of the revised draft resolution, namely, "without prejudice to its sovereignty".

40. If the revised draft resolution of the three Powers is voted upon in its present form, I shall ask for a separate vote on that phrase "without prejudice to its sovereignty", in which vote we shall abstain. We shall vote in favour of the entire draft resolution, subject to the reservation that our vote must not be interpreted as implying a recognition by my Government of the present government in Hungary. If, however, the operative paragraphs are amended as suggested by Belgium—in other words, if the Belgian amendments are accepted in their entirety—I shall vote for the three-Power draft resolution without reservation.

41. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): I want to make a very brief reply to the remarks of the Soviet representative, who utilized a large portion of his speech this morning in attacking the facts about deportations from Hungary which were presented to this Assembly by the United States representative the other day [583rd meeting]. Let me repeat that the facts which were presented here were drawn from information available to the United States Government. None of those facts was based on rumour or on Press or other news media reports.

42. Now, since Mr. Lodge spoke here the other day, new evidence has become available. For example, we now have information concerning large numbers of deportees arriving at Zahony on 14 and 16 November. There is evidence that on 15 November many deportees broke out of railway cars just north of the Kisvarda railroad station. There is also evidence to the effect that Soviet and not Hungarian railway personnel are in charge of railway operations between Debrecen and Zahony. I could cite many additional facts.

43. As to the alleged denials put forward and quoted by the Soviet representative this morning, I shall be glad to leave it to this Assembly to decide what credence it wishes to give to the sources that he has quoted. In my delegation's view, these sources are questionable, to say the least.

44. In our opinion, one needs to ask only two simple questions: if these reports are not true, why have the Soviet and Hungarian authorities refused to permit United Nations observers to enter their country? Why have they refused to receive the Secretary-General? We are content to leave the answers to those questions to undistorted history based on the impartial observation which this Assembly seeks.

45. We continue to believe that everything possible must be done to permit that impartial observation to take place. That is why the United States will vote for both the draft resolutions which are before us, as amended by those amendments which have been accepted by the sponsors.

46. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): The problem of Hungary which has been debated in the General Assembly for the last three days is indeed of concern, as has been expressed by so many representatives of this body. My country is no less anxious that steps be taken for the people of that unfortunate country. The least that we can do is to express in no uncertain terms the feelings of this world organization. I shall not dwell long on this subject which has been dealt with so thoroughly. I believe the matter is clear and should guide our conscience towards the realization of peace and freedom for the people of Hungary.

47. The draft resolutions before us—that of Cuba [A/3357/Rev.2], and that of Ceylon, India and Indonesia [A/3368/Rev.3] will have my delegation's support.

48. Mr. HORVATH (Hungary): In connexion with the draft resolution sponsored by Ceylon, India and Indonesia, the Hungarian delegation states the following. The Hungarian delegation will, according to instructions from its Government, vote against that draft resolution. The Hungarian delegation has informed its Government about other points raised in the discussion, as well as about this draft resolution. The Hungarian Government and its delegation are ready to talk about any problems concerning relief with the Secretary-General and about the meeting between him and the representative of the Government.

49. The Hungarian delegation proposes amendments [A/L.214] to the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [A/3374]. The amendments are made necessary on the one hand by the fact that certain formulations in that draft resolution are exaggerated—for instance, the reference to a grave situation and to tens of thousands of refugees—and on the other by the circumstances that the overwhelming majority of the refugees were only prompted by the given situation to flee, and did not leave the country with the intent of settling down in a foreign country for good. The Hungarian Government calls upon them to return to their homeland.

50. Therefore the prime task in connexion with refugees is to enable those who wish to return to do so as soon as possible.

51. The PRESIDENT: The vote will now be taken. The first vote will be on the motion of priority submitted by the delegation of India. The delegation of India requests that the joint draft resolution [A/3368/Rev.3] be voted upon first.

52. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I am sorry, I should have informed the President before. All I said from the rostrum was that my delegation intended to move for priority. We have not introduced a motion for priority.

53. The PRESIDENT: So that is one vote less. We shall now vote on the Cuban draft resolution [A/3357/Rev.2].

54. Before we do that, we have to deal with the fourth paragraph of the preamble. The Cuban delegation has accepted the wording proposed for that paragraph by El Salvador [A/L.211]. Separate votes, however, have been requested on different parts of the text.

55. The Bolivian delegation has asked for a separate vote on the part of the paragraph which begins "the principles of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide". The Mexican delegation, however, has asked for a separate vote on the words "in particular article II (c) and (e)". So I shall put to the vote the part proposed by Bolivia without the words "in particular article II (c) and (e)". The latter phrase will be voted on afterwards. Then, of course, we shall take a vote on the whole paragraph, so that the request of the Union of South Africa will be satisfied.

56. Accordingly, the Assembly will now vote on the words:

"... the principles of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to which Hungary and the Soviet Union are parties; and the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, in particular the provisions of article 2..."

in the fourth paragraph of the preamble, as amended by El Salvador [A/L.211]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Portugal, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines.

Against: Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Union of South Africa, Yemen, Afghanistan, Austria, Bolivia, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Norway.

The words were adopted by 38 votes to 10, with 31 abstentions.

57. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the words: "in particular article II (c) and (e)".

The words were adopted by 30 votes to 9, with 30 abstentions.

58. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the fourth paragraph of the preamble as a whole, as contained in the amendment of El Salvador [A/L.211].

The paragraph was adopted by 46 votes to 10, with 15 abstentions.

59. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the Cuban draft resolution as a whole

[A/3357/Rev.2], as amended by El Salvador [A/L.211]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Nepal, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 55 votes to 10, with 14 abstentions.

60. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia [A/3368/Rev.3]. The representative of the Philippines has asked for a separate vote on the words "without prejudice to its sovereignty" contained in operative paragraph 1.

61. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I wish to speak on a point of order. My delegation wishes to say that in the course of the debate, when we accepted certain amendments [586th meeting, para. 51] and submitted the revision, it was with the understanding that there would be no further amendments. This particular vote really comes in the way of an amendment, and I therefore wish to state that if this part is deleted, my delegation will withdraw the draft resolution.

62. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines) (*from the floor*): I ask for a roll-call vote.

63. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Philippines has asked for a roll-call vote on the words "without prejudice to its sovereignty". He is entitled so to request, and I shall therefore have to grant his request.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Bulgaria, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil.

Against: Chile, Colombia, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Pakistan.

Abstaining: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Luxembourg,

New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Venezuela, Argentina.

The words were adopted by 43 votes to 6, with 30 abstentions.

64. The PRESIDENT: A roll-call vote will now be taken on the joint draft resolution [A/3368/Rev.3] as a whole.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Afghanistan, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Chile, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 57 votes to 8, with 14 abstentions.

65. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

66. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia abstained from voting on the reference to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Cuban draft resolution and in the amendment proposed by El Salvador. We did so because the Convention, although signed by Bolivia, has not yet been ratified in accordance with the provisions of our national Constitution, so that technically we are unable to consider the Convention as being applicable, so far as we are concerned, in the case now before us.

67. We voted for the Cuban draft resolution as a whole and for the draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia, because we believed that their adoption by this Assembly would hasten the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Hungarian territory and thus bring to an end Soviet intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

68. We also consider that the decision of the majority of the Assembly is a moral rather than a political admonition, inspired by high humanitarian principles and designed to secure the cessation of the deportation of Hungarian citizens who are being carried off against their will to foreign countries, without any guarantees for the safety of their lives or for their physical well-being, as the Chairman of our delegation said yesterday [585th meeting] from this rostrum.

69. Finally, my delegation considers that any other measure that might be taken by the General Assembly can only be carried out effectively when the mission entrusted to the Secretary-General has produced results which will indicate the best possible further action we can take to help the suffering people of Hungary.

70. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation deems it essential to make the following statement in connexion with the vote on the Cuban draft resolution.

71. The question of the deportation of Hungarian citizens from Hungary is based on deliberately mendacious information from certain circles interested in the dissemination of insinuations and slander about the situation in Hungary. This slander concerning deportations from Hungary has been refuted by official statements of the Hungarian Government in Budapest and by the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs here in the General Assembly.

72. The General Assembly neither had nor has any grounds for considering this trumped-up question, let alone for adopting any decision whatsoever on this matter. We know that order has been restored in Hungary and that the country is reverting to normal. Enterprises, transport services and government institutions are resuming normal operations. Shops are reopening and the supply of food to the population and other services are getting under way. Consideration by the General Assembly of the fictitious question of deportation, and more especially the adoption of a resolution on this subject, are obviously intended to maintain a state of unrest in Hungary and to prevent a return to normal life.

73. For these reasons, not to speak of the fact that, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the draft resolution contains a proposal designed to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary under the flag of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation voted against the Cuban draft resolution.

74. With regard to the joint draft resolution presented by Ceylon, India and Indonesia, we must take note of the fact that it contains a proposal to send United Nations observers to Hungary. This proposal has already been rejected by the Hungarian Government, which quite properly regards it as an attempt to interfere in Hungary's domestic affairs. The delegation of the Soviet Union could not support this point, which was unacceptable to the Government of Hungary, and consequently voted against the draft resolution.

75. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the interim report by the Secretary-General on refugees from Hungary [A/3371 and Corr.1 and Add.1], the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [A/3374] and the amendments submitted by Hungary [A/L.214] to this four-Power draft resolution.

76. Mr. KNOWLAND (United States of America): The United States delegation has studied with great interest the interim report by the Secretary-General on refugees from Hungary. This report indicates that the Secretary-General and the Deputy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have acted with commendable speed, understanding and skill in marshalling the resources for the assistance of the Hungarian refugees. It also indicates that many Governments throughout the world have responded properly and generously with offers of asylum, food, clothing, medicine and financing for these refugees. These offers from Governments and non-governmental agencies have come from a wide variety of sources and have been distributed through various public and private channels.

77. The United States delegation would not want to reduce the number of effective channels for collecting and distributing aid to the Hungarian refugees. At the same time, we would urge that in order to avoid waste and

overlapping, the relief operation should be co-ordinated and planned through a single organization. It would appear that the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees is the appropriate organization for this purpose.

78. As the Deputy High Commissioner's report to the Secretary-General [*A/3371 and Corr.1*] clearly shows, aid now available for the refugees represents only a small part of their most urgent needs. Moreover, the number of Hungarian refugees is steadily increasing. About 2,000 per day continue to flee their homeland. According to the latest reports, over 51,000 have fled from Hungary—8,000 last night alone. This morning sixty-two Hungarian refugees, the vanguard of more than 5,000, arrived on American soil by air. The arrival of additional refugees is being expedited by the United States Government.

79. Now, unless a large gap between the needs and the resources is filled, the Hungarian refugees will face most severe privations. In view of this urgent need, and appealing to the conscience of peoples throughout the world, the United States proposes a draft resolution on this subject for the consideration of this Assembly. It is presented on behalf of Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [*A/3374*].

80. We note the amendments offered by Hungary [*A/L.214*], and we are opposed to them. It is obvious that the refugees who are leaving Hungary have no desire to return, and the free nations of the world will certainly not agree to any forcible repatriation. I hope the amendments of Hungary will be defeated.

81. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): The tragedy of the Hungarian people is doubly painful. On the one hand, there is the grim significance of the brutal repression of its political liberties, and on the other the mass flight of thousands of men, women and children who have been driven from their homes and are now in foreign lands, penniless and unprotected.

82. We have approved two resolutions relating to the substantive issue, both designed to bring to an end the enslavement of the Hungarian people. My Government's views on these resolutions were made clear yesterday [*585th meeting*], when I summed up the four points on which the Argentine Government bases its position: first, Soviet troops must withdraw from Hungarian territory; secondly, the Hungarian people must be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination and to choose their own government freely; thirdly, the patriots who have been forcibly deported from their country must be returned to Hungary; and fourthly, all possible assistance must be furnished to the Hungarian people in order to alleviate their sufferings.

83. While the political debate continues—and we must not cease to give it our careful attention until we have attained the objectives clearly laid down in the resolutions adopted by this Assembly, and we must be prepared at any time to take such measures as are required, however strong they may be—there is another inescapable duty which the United Nations must perform. It must help to meet the urgent needs of the thousands of refugees who are fleeing in an unending stream from the persecution to which patriots are being subjected in Hungary.

84. From the outset, my Government took decisive action. As soon as it received news of the bloody events in Hungary, it offered medical supplies and food, and, when the flight of refugees began, I received specific instructions to offer asylum, on behalf of the Argentine Government and people, to 3,000 Hungarian children. Argentina has also made a financial contribution to the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration.

85. For these reasons, my delegation unhesitatingly and gladly joined with the delegations of Belgium, Denmark and the United States in submitting a draft resolution [*A/3374*] which will, I am sure, be approved by an overwhelming majority of this Assembly.

86. My delegation has very carefully studied the amendments submitted by Hungary [*A/L.214*], but is unable to accept them because they are inconsistent with the spirit of the joint resolution, and also because—this is a fundamental point—we believe that it is for the Soviet and Hungarian authorities to create the necessary conditions to enable the Hungarian patriots to return to their country, by respecting the resolutions adopted earlier by this Assembly.

87. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): We have before us the report submitted to the Secretary-General by the Deputy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The facts given in that report hardly need any further comment. They call for help—joint help.

88. Since 28 October 1956, refugees from Hungary have been pouring into Austria at an average rate of more than 2,500 a day. During the last few days, they have been arriving at an increased rate, and a total of about 50,000 has already been reached.

89. We deeply deplore the fact that in a neighbouring country, with which we have a long tradition of friendship, a situation exists which makes people leave their mother country by the thousand. To this we would add the hope that the causes which form the basis of the grave situation in Hungary will be removed as soon as possible.

90. Austria, with assistance from many sides, has so far been able to care, however provisionally and temporarily, for these unfortunate people. The Austrian Government has established a special committee on the ministerial level to deal with the many problems arising from the present situation. In these efforts, the Austrian authorities have received valuable assistance from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva, and from his representative in Vienna.

91. The spirit of co-operation which has existed for many years between the High Commissioner and Austria has proved to be very effective indeed, and we shall continue to work together. It is in this spirit of co-operation and high responsibility that we shall fulfil the manifold tasks of administering help.

92. Let me also take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all the countries that have declared their willingness to accept refugees without requiring them to go through unnecessary formalities. We are especially happy to know that families are not being split up, but will be able to stay together, so that their awareness of belonging to the same community will thus be kept alive.

93. In addition to these generous offers of new places in which to live for those who have lost their homes, a number of countries have contributed financially to help carry the burden of giving the initial and most necessary aid to the thousands who have crossed the borders without means. In this connexion, I wish to mention gratefully the prompt and large contribution received from the Government of the United States.

94. If, on behalf of the Austrian Government, I am endorsing the appeal to the Governments and peoples represented here for further financial assistance, it is because a warm place to live in, food and medical care have to be provided for thousands of refugees. The Aus-

trian Government has already begun to re-establish the camps which in previous years served to shelter refugees.

95. In the light of this situation, the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States is particularly welcome. We shall, of course, vote for it, hoping that the request which it contains will find open minds and open hearts.

96. Mr. MACDONALD (New Zealand) : After a debate in which the General Assembly has called for the alleviation of the suffering imposed upon the people who still remain in Hungary, it is fitting that we should consider what we can do to help those who have been able to escape to freedom.

97. It is difficult to establish priorities in pity, and it would be wrong indeed if the urgency of the situation of the Hungarian refugees were to obscure or overshadow the need for Members of the United Nations to continue to contribute to the relief of those many thousands of refugees in both the Middle East and Europe who have been waiting, not for weeks but for years, for new hope and a new life.

98. Nevertheless, as the Secretary-General's interim report reveals, the plight of the Hungarian refugees is pressing and desperate, and bears down with special gravity upon Austria. That country already contains 150,000 refugees, one-fifth of whom, after ten years of uprooted existence, still live not in homes but in camps. The efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff to establish the precise magnitude of the Hungarian refugee problem, and the measures taken by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to cope with the situation, are deserving of the highest praise. Clearly, however, the dimensions of the problem can be reduced only if financial and other forms of assistance continue to flow.

99. My delegation is accordingly in favour of both the purposes and the terms of the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States, and urges that the draft resolution should be adopted.

100. In the annex [*A/3371Corr.1*] setting out offers of assistance by individual Governments, the Secretary-General's interim report states that the New Zealand Government has offered asylum to 500 refugees and is considering a financial contribution. I am now able to state the following—and for purposes of convenience I shall give the dollar equivalents of our contributions.

101. At the very outset of the struggle in Hungary, my Government contributed \$28,000 to start a campaign for a fund to meet the immediate needs of the refugees. The fund now totals \$72,000 and is still growing, as a result of the generous response of the New Zealand public. In addition, my Government intends to grant \$14,000 to the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration, in recognition of the added transport costs which that committee will incur; \$14,000 to the United Nations Fund for assistance to Hungarian refugees, to be administered through the Office of the High Commissioner; and \$56,000 to the United Nations Refugee Fund, in recognition of the High Commissioner's needs and the added burden imposed upon his organization by the Hungarian refugees. Finally, in addition to its regular annual contribution, my Government intends to pledge \$70,000 for the purposes of the United Nations Refugee Fund next year.

102. My delegation has noted the generous response made by many other countries to the Secretary-General's appeal. We regard that response both as a tribute to the courage of the Hungarian people and as a reflection of

the sympathy which has been aroused throughout the world. We trust that the appeal for aid embodied in the four-Power draft resolution now before the Assembly will evoke even more widespread support.

103. Mrs. ELLIOT (United Kingdom) : There is no more stark or convincing indictment of a régime than the fact that the ordinary people should be prepared to give up their homes, to forsake their familiar surroundings, even to leave their relatives and friends and go into destitution, in order to escape from it. In the years since the war, hundreds of thousands of refugees have left their homes in this way. The majority have been fleeing from the oppression of totalitarian Governments. Soviet brutality has contributed handsomely to the numbers of these refugees.

104. This has constituted one of the more urgent and painful problems which free Governments and peoples and the United Nations have had to face. We have done much to alleviate the condition of these wretched people and to provide them with new homes and new lives. Nonetheless, early this year there still remained as many as 200,000 refugees in Europe alone.

105. We were due to debate this unhappy situation in the Third Committee during this session of the General Assembly, in connexion with the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [*A/3123/Rev.1*]. Now, at a single stroke, the Soviet Union has increased the numbers of these refugees by no less than 25 per cent.

106. We see from the Secretary-General's interim report that 51,000 refugees have now arrived in Austria, 1,000 entering, as I am told, in the last day alone—and many of them were wounded. The Soviet troops have begun to open fire as these people leave.

107. Soviet leaders are prepared cynically to suggest that all these thousands of refugees are no more than fascist rebels. But, if I may, I should like to quote from a letter which I have just seen from an eye-witness in Austria. It bears the poignant stamp of authenticity. It says :

“Here we have women coming over the frontier destitute, and then trains full of children—140 children in one train. And, of those, the names of twenty children are still unknown. They had no identification on them. How will they ever be found again if their parents are still alive?”

108. I, for one, would not want to live with the responsibility of the Soviet leaders for all this misery and cruelty.

109. If, however, there is a heartening feature in this terrible situation, it is the way in which the free Governments and private individuals in free countries have been prepared to come to the aid of the refugees with speed and generosity.

110. My Government especially expresses its admiration for the efforts of the Austrian people and the Austrian Government. In Austria, there already was a sufficiently pressing problem with the existing refugee population, and now they have had an influx of 50,000 more, of whom only 8,000 have so far left for other countries. But Austria has not failed in this emergency.

111. Above all have the efforts of private individuals and private organizations in free countries shown how deep and widespread is the sympathy felt for the suffering of the Hungarian people.

112. Other representatives will be able to quote examples from their own experience and knowledge. From my

own knowledge, I can say that, as a result of the shock felt at the suffering of the civilian population of Hungary, voluntary funds have been collected in the United Kingdom by the Lord Mayor of London, in an appeal to all the towns and villages in the country; by the British Red Cross Society; by the United Nations Association; and by the Save-the-Children Fund. These funds have reached a total of nearly £500,000—almost \$1,500,000: a practical witness to the desire of everyone in my country to help in any way he can.

113. The United Nations has an important part to play in this respect. I am glad to see that, in the joint draft resolution now before the Assembly [A/3374], emphasis is placed on the function of co-ordination which the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is to undertake. It is clear that this function will be vital if the funds and the aid which are being given so generously are to be made available to all to the very best effect.

114. I take it that the main desire of the sponsors of the draft resolution at this stage is to elicit the maximum degree of aid as speedily as possible. Governments and non-governmental organizations are urged to make contributions available to whatever agency they think appropriate. Doubtless at a later stage, perhaps in the Third Committee, when the report of the High Commissioner is discussed, we shall have some further elucidation from the sponsors and from the Secretary-General and the Deputy High Commissioner as to the precise manner in which contributions made available to the Secretary-General will be employed, and the effect this new situation is likely to have on the High Commissioner's regular problems and other similar problems.

115. There is one point to which my delegation would attach some importance. We feel it would be a mistake if any machinery were to be set up by the Secretary-General which would in any way duplicate the co-ordinating machinery already available in the Office of the High Commissioner. We know the other urgent new problems which have been put on the Secretary-General and his staff in the past few days, and we feel it would not be fair to them to put this other burden on them. We feel, too, that it might make for efficiency if only one single body could be made responsible for the co-ordination of the efforts of all the voluntary agencies and the others concerned with these pressing problems. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees would certainly seem the obvious choice for this process.

116. We realize, however, that at the present preliminary stage there may well be very valid reasons which make it desirable for the Secretary-General to keep control of the matter in his own hands as a temporary measure. Some elasticity in the present arrangement must therefore be accepted. We hope, however, that as soon as we can see our way a little more clearly in all these new problems, some more precisely defined arrangement can be worked out and submitted to those concerned for approval.

117. For the moment, I wish only to express the whole-hearted support of my Government for the joint draft resolution. We shall support it, and we shall act in accordance with it.

118. As many delegations will be aware, the United Kingdom Government has already contributed £50,000 to the International Red Cross for relief in Hungary itself. We have also undertaken to accept 2,500 refugees in the United Kingdom, a figure which, I am informed,

covers the requests so far received from the refugees to go to the United Kingdom. Further sums amounting to £25,000 have been made available to cover the maintenance and transport of these preliminary 2,500 refugees. In addition, we have decided to contribute £20,000 to the Austrian Government's Refugee Fund, £15,000 to the United Nations Fund for assistance to Hungarian refugees, and a similar sum of a further £15,000 to the United Nations Hungarian Relief Fund. I need hardly say that, if the situation seems to warrant it, my Government will gladly at that stage consider what more can be done.

119. I think I may fairly say that there has been a heart-warming response from the people of my country to the plight of the refugees. These contributions, both from my Government and from the people of Britain, amounting to almost £600,000, show how earnestly we are seeking to play our part in alleviating the plight of this unhappy and gallant people. We can do no less, and the courage which they have so magnificently demonstrated gives us good reason to hope that they will remain unshaken in their confidence that their sacrifices in the cause of freedom will not have been in vain.

120. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly has before it the report of the Secretary-General and the report of the Deputy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on the question of refugees from Hungary [A/3371 and Corr.1 and Add.1]. We also have before us the draft resolution presented by the delegations of Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [A/3374], and amendments thereto proposed by the Hungarian delegation [A/L.214].

121. The Soviet delegation would like to make some observations on this question. Who are these so-called Hungarian refugees who have appeared outside Hungary? Most of those who have fled from Hungary are the remnants of the fascist Horthyist bands who were defeated in Hungary after committing a most heinous crime against their people.

122. These counter-revolutionary plotters from the ranks of the supporters of the former fascist Horthy régime had lain low in Hungary after the abolition of that anti-popular régime and had continued their underground activities there. A good many had been infiltrated into Hungary from various countries during the past year or two. It should also be noted that counter-revolutionary detachments of Hungarian fascist *émigrés* were flown or otherwise transported to Hungary by the hundreds during the early days of the *putsch*. These were the elements which organized the dark forces of reaction and rebellion whose purpose it was to destroy the people's democratic order and to restore the power of landlords and capitalists in Hungary.

123. When it became obvious that the anti-people's counter-revolutionary adventure had collapsed, many of the organizers of the pro-fascist *putsch* and their henchmen fled the country. They now form the bulk of the so-called refugees in whose fate such marked interest is displayed by the delegation of the United States in particular, and also by certain other delegations which have presented this draft resolution to the General Assembly.

124. To have the United Nations protect this criminal group, which had committed heinous crimes against the Hungarian people, would obviously be contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, which precludes intervention by the United Nations in the domestic affairs of States.

125. It should be noted that, in addition to the persons I have mentioned, a group of patriotic Hungarian citizens also left Hungary, having been compelled to seek refuge abroad during the counter-revolutionary *putsch* and the excesses of the fascist terrorists.

126. Furthermore, the organizers of the pro-fascist *putsch* and their henchmen, upon leaving Hungary, took with them a number of innocent persons who had been misled. In a number of cases the fascist gangs used threats and force to take peaceful inhabitants with them across the frontier. The United Nations should take it upon itself to look after and give material aid to these misguided Hungarian citizens, so that they may be repatriated as soon as possible.

127. As may be seen from the reports of the Secretary-General and the Deputy High Commissioner, many Hungarian citizens who crossed the border now understand what harm the enemies of the people's democratic system have done to them, and are requesting repatriation to Hungary. Austrian newspapers of 14 November 1956 indicate that, since 8 November, Hungarian citizens in the Odenburg area have started returning to Hungary, after crossing the frontier into Austria to seek refuge from the horrors of the white terror. The Austrian Press agency also reported that, on 13 November, a group of about 250 Hungarian citizens had left Austria for Hungary on a Hungarian steamer.

128. Now that order has been restored and life in Hungary is returning to normal, Hungarians are becoming more and more anxious to return to their country. The available evidence shows that Hungarian citizens do not wish to be re-settled in other countries and are opposed to being sent far from their homeland. This is convincing proof that the problem of these refugees can and must be solved by a plan for repatriation, for promoting their speedy return to Hungary, but certainly not by settling them in foreign lands and severing their ties with the home country.

129. The Hungarian Government, as you are aware, has taken and is continuing to take all necessary action to facilitate the return of Hungarians to their homes. As the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs has told us, the Hungarian Government has appealed to them to return to their country, to resume their work and to help in the restoration of peaceful life. In his telegram to the Secretary-General of 12 November 1956 [A/3341], Mr. Istvan Sebes, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, said:

"In connexion with the resolution on Hungarian refugees, the Hungarian Government states that it will make possible for Hungarian citizens who have fled abroad as a result of the battles to return freely and without harm."

130. In this connexion, it should be emphasized that the Governments in whose territories Hungarian citizens are now staying can give the Hungarian Government appropriate assistance in the solution of this urgent task. This applies first and foremost to the Austrian Government. A good plan would be for the Austrian and Hungarian Governments to arrange immediately for co-operation in the speedy solution of this problem.

131. The draft resolution proposed by the delegations of Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States is unfortunately not designed to serve this end. It seeks to provide support for a small group of reactionary conspirators, the inveterate enemies of the people's democracy in Hungary, who fled the country after the collapse of the counter-revolutionary *coup*.

132. The draft resolution also aims at tearing away from their homeland, forever, a group of Hungarian citizens who were deceived and misled and who are now outside Hungary as a result of recent events. This is clear from the fact that the draft resolution proposes to solve the problem of the Hungarian refugees not by repatriation—of which no mention is made—but by settlement in other countries, outside Hungary. Plainly, such an approach to the problem and such a solution hold no promise for these Hungarian citizens. They are faced with the terrible prospect of finding themselves in a foreign land, without rights, without shelter or means of subsistence, exposed to the most cruel exploitation and humiliation.

133. It must also be emphasized that these Hungarian citizens are regarded by the special agencies of the intelligence services of the United States and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a source of recruits for subversive activity against the Hungarian People's Republic, like the citizens of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies who came to be living abroad as a result of the Second World War.

134. The representative of the United States has spoken eloquently of the "humanitarian" aspects of the Hungarian refugee problem. To listen to him, one might imagine that the United States, which has participated in this agitation and is one of its prime organizers, really wishes to ease the situation of these homeless people. The facts, however, tell a different story. They show that in the refugee camps the inmates are now openly being screened according to certain criteria. Thus, the Press reports that the United States is placing conditions on the entry of refugees which have nothing whatsoever to do with humanitarian considerations.

135. Today a number of American newspapers have published a report to the effect that the refugees are being subjected to a full-scale interrogation designed to elicit their political convictions; pressure is being exerted to make them renounce support for the system of people's democracy in Hungary, so that their names may be used in the future for the most sensational accounts in the American Press of events in Hungary.

136. The Vienna correspondent of *The New York Times* writes:

"The few who admit voluntary membership in the Communist Party will not be admitted to the United States. Those who say they belonged to the party involuntarily are being permitted to enter on a 'parole' basis under the terms of the McCarran-Walter Act. Their final status will have to be determined by special Congressional action."

The correspondent also reports that even at this initial stage of the screening, some refugees have refused to barter away their political convictions.

137. Needless to say, these persons have accordingly been refused admission to the United States, since they cannot possibly be used for slanderous propaganda or for subversive activity against the countries of the socialist camp.

138. The representative of the United Kingdom has also spoken of the Hungarian refugees and indulged, as was to be expected, in the usual slander of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. This, too, is an old story and can be readily understood, especially in view of the fact that the Government of the United Kingdom is anxious at all costs to divert the attention of the public and of the Assembly from the true acts of aggression and barbarism it is committing against the Egyptian people.

We know that the unburied bodies of peaceful citizens, including women and children, are still lying in the streets of Port Said. Thousands of people in that town have no shelter, food or water, and are compelled to flee the reign of bloodshed and terror set up by the British military authorities in Port Said. In the light of what the United Kingdom is doing there and elsewhere, the statement of its representative from this rostrum appears to be sheer hypocrisy.

139. The draft resolution proposed by the United States and the three other Powers constitutes yet another attempt to use the so-called "Hungarian refugee problem" as a means of interfering in the domestic affairs of Hungary and making insinuations against the Soviet Union.

140. In view of the foregoing considerations, the Soviet delegation supports the Hungarian delegation's amendments to the draft resolution proposed by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States, and will vote in favour of them.

141. Mr. MARTIN ARTAJO (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): I asked to speak solely in order to explain the assistance my country is offering to the Hungarian refugees, but, after hearing the harsh words of the representative of the Soviet Union, I am afraid that I shall have to make a somewhat longer statement than I had intended.

142. However, to begin with positive matters, my delegation proposes to vote for, and whole-heartedly supports, the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [A/3374], which is inspired by a spirit of humanity, philanthropy and Christian charity which no one, I believe, can honestly dispute.

143. For the same reasons, my delegation will vote against the amendments proposed by the representative of Hungary [A/L.214], which would completely alter the character of this philanthropic assistance.

144. I wish to explain that the Spanish offer, which is listed in the annex to the Secretary-General's report [A/3371/Corr.1] as referring to an "unspecified" number, in fact extends to an unlimited number. It is left to the Secretariat to decide on the number of children who are to be admitted to Spain.

145. In connexion with what was said by the representative of Austria, I should like to add that the Spanish offer of the assistance is at present limited to child refugees only because Spain is a country of emigration and it would be difficult to settle entire families, particularly when their language differs from ours. In any event, I should mention that apart from the hospitality we are offering to children, public subscriptions have been started throughout Spain, and very large sums are being collected to provide food, clothing, medical supplies and money for the Hungarian refugees in Austria. All contributions will be channelled through Austrian agencies subject, if necessary, to consultation with the office of the Secretary-General.

146. It is at this point that I had intended to conclude my statement, but I believe that I shall be expressing the views of a number of delegations, as well as of my own, when I protest against the words we have just heard from the mouth of the USSR representative. Many of us had thought that after several days of debate on political matters, with the disagreements that inevitably arise, we would be dealing today with a matter on which we could all agree without the intrusion of political passions into a debate which should be concerned solely with humanitarian objectives. I had thought that we

might find a common ground on which we could all join in doing something constructive. I was mistaken, however. Politics has been introduced by the USSR representative, who has profaned a lofty topic by using words against which I must protest most strongly.

147. Under the criminal law of a great many civilized countries, a crime is considered to be aggravated when the victim is subjected to repeated attack, derided and insulted. I am sorry to say that that was the case in the last statement of the representative of the USSR.

148. Mr. BEAUFORT (Netherlands): It is a well-known fact that the Netherlands people and their Government have always shown—not only by words but by deeds—their warm interest in the fate of those who for political or religious reasons have had to flee their countries. For centuries, the Netherlands has been an asylum *par excellence* for refugees. This our, if I may say so, historical attitude has been clearly demonstrated in the post-war years, but in particular in the present sad circumstances and with regard to the oppressed peoples of Hungary. Two thousand Hungarian refugees will be admitted into our small and already overpopulated country, and nearly 1,000 of these are already in their new country. Moreover, our Government has indicated its willingness to increase its contribution to the United Nations Refugee Fund.

149. Turning now to the draft resolution proposed by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States [A/3374], we certainly will vote in favour of it. But we should like to state, as has been done by the representative of the United Kingdom, that it is our understanding that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will be the main organ for allocating the funds contributed for this purpose according to needs, in consultation with the Executive Committee of the United Nations Refugee Fund as and when necessary.

150. Moreover, it is self-evident, in our view, that this matter must be dealt with again and in greater detail than is possible now in the Third Committee of this Assembly.

151. Mr. SARPER (Turkey): I listened very carefully to the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union when he spoke from this rostrum a few minutes ago. After hearing the first part of his statement, I could not but come to this rostrum and offer a few remarks about it.

152. If I understood that part of his statement correctly, he said that he wanted to offer some observations on the report and on the draft resolution which are now under consideration. He went on to ask the question: who actually are these refugees? In answer to his own question, he said something to the effect that these refugees were the remnants of the fascist Horthy groups who had committed various crimes against the people of Hungary, etc.

153. On the other hand, I beg leave to draw your attention to paragraph 3 of the amendment [A/L.214] presented by the gentleman from Hungary, proposing a new paragraph reading as follows:

"Taking note of the declaration of the Hungarian Government calling upon the refugees to return to their country, *recommends* to the Governments of the countries concerned to take urgent measures in order to secure a speedy return to Hungary of Hungarian nationals who as a result of the present situation became refugees".

154. I beg you to study carefully this amendment in the light of the explanation so generously offered to us by

the representative of the Soviet Union that these refugees were common criminals and the remnants of the fascist Horthy groups. Think what would happen to these so-called remnants of fascist Horthy criminals if, according to the recommendation of the gentleman from Hungary, they were to return to their country. They would simply be liquidated. That we all know.

155. For this reason and several other reasons my delegation is of course not in a position to lend its support to the amendments offered by the gentleman from Hungary. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution presented by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States.

156. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the sponsors of the joint draft resolution [A/3374] have agreed to delete the first paragraph of the preamble.

157. We shall proceed to vote on the Hungarian amendments [A/L.214]. The first amendment is to delete the first, second and third paragraphs of the preamble. But, as I have pointed out, the first paragraph has been deleted, so that the amendment is to delete the second and third paragraphs of the preamble. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Honduras, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

Against: Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti.

Abstaining: Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Egypt.

The amendment was rejected by 61 votes to 9, with 9 abstentions.

158. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the second Hungarian amendment, namely, to revise the fourth paragraph of the preamble. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Panama, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jordan.

Against: Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethi-

opia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco.

The amendment was rejected by 58 votes to 10, with 11 abstentions.

159. The PRESIDENT: Now we vote on the third amendment of the delegation of Hungary. It is to add a new operative paragraph before paragraph 1. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jordan, Poland, Romania, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria.

Against: Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil.

Abstaining: Egypt, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma.

The amendment was rejected by 56 votes to 12, with 11 abstentions.

160. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the fourth Hungarian amendment, to revise paragraph 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Turkey, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jordan, Poland, Romania, Syria.

Against: Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia.

Abstaining: Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan.

The amendment was rejected by 55 votes to 12, with 12 abstentions.

161. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States of America [A/3374]. The first paragraph of the preamble has been deleted; the draft resolution therefore begins with the words "Noting the grave situation . . ." A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Canada, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Laos,

Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia.

Against: Hungary, Romania.

Abstaining: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sudan, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The draft resolution was adopted by 69 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.