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President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
 (Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 67

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

1. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): I shall be very brief, especially as I fear there are not enough representatives present to hear me this morning. I shall not indulge in polemics with the representative of the Soviet Union on the truth or falsehood of the outrageous situation obtaining in Hungary which has prompted this Assembly to adopt its resolutions of 4, 9 and 21 November, 1956. [1004 (ES-II), 1005 (ES-II) and A/RES/408].

2. The members of this Assembly are responsible representatives of responsible Governments. Notwithstanding the extraordinary character and the great urgency of situations upon which we have acted in the past, we have always proceeded on the basis of full available information and only after an exhaustive exchange of views and discussion of the issues involved. Decisions reached in this manner, under such process and in virtue of rules agreed on by all, cannot be trifled with, nor ignored, nor contemptuously defied.

3. To brand as a slander what has been adjudged by an overwhelming number of the Members of this Assembly as true, to persist in the plea of domestic jurisdiction in what have been conceded to be matters of universal concern by this Assembly, is to mock it and to deride the solemn judgement of this body and to treat the obligations of States under the Charter as pure verbiage and nonsense.

4. I must warn that no State can persist in this attitude with impunity, and this body cannot bow to such an attitude without forfeiting its honour and self-respect.

5. In our previous resolutions, we asked the Soviet Union to desist from acts of armed intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to cease its forcible deportation of Hungarian citizens, to withdraw its troops from the territory of Hungary and to permit the Hungarian people to pursue their legitimate aspirations and to exercise their rights and fundamental freedoms. I must say in all candour that this is simply asking the Soviet Union to be a good neighbour to Hungary and a good Member of this organization.

6. In those resolutions, we have also asked the authorities now in control in Hungary to permit the entry of observers of the United Nations with a view to ascertaining the conditions after the armed intervention in that country of the Soviet Union. This, I say again, is simply asking the Hungarian authorities to prove their assertions that the conditions in Hungary are not as bad or as outrageous as reported to this body. We ask them merely to co-operate with us in ascertaining the truth of the matter. I trust that the Soviet Union and the authorities in Hungary will see clearly that, if they are to remain in good standing in this body, compliance with these resolutions is inescapable.

7. The fourteen-Power draft resolution [A/3413] now before the Assembly gives the Soviet Union and the authorities in Hungary another fair chance to prove their respectability as Members of the United Nations. We hope they will not fail this body or themselves in this very simple task, involving a nation's honour and decency.

8. My delegation is happy to announce its complete support of this draft resolution, but for a few remarks that I wish to make with respect to operative paragraphs 1 and 2. I desire to call the attention of the sponsors of the draft resolution and also of this body to what I consider to be not a very happy phrasing of those paragraphs.

9. You will note that in those two paragraphs we call again upon the Government of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities not only to comply with the resolutions mentioned in the preambular paragraphs, but also to give their consent to the entry of United Nations observers.

10. I do not see any possible objection to our seeking the consent of the authorities now actually in control in Hungary. But I cannot see why we should secure the consent of the Soviet Union to the entry of United Nations observers into Hungary. Of course, we do recognize as a fact that the Soviet Union actually controls the government in Hungary, but this fact should not be given juridical recognition by this body. To secure the consent of the Soviet Union to the entry of United Nations observers in Hungary is, by implication, to give recognition to this unlawful act of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

11. If I may be permitted to establish an analogy, the situation is no different from a situation where burglary has been committed in a house. I do not think this body or any police authority would seriously think of securing the consent of the burglar before entering that house. No self-respecting policeman would do that. Of course, I do not intend to give any offence to the Soviet Union by this analogy. I am referring only to the illegal act of intervention and the physical control of the Government of Hungary by the Soviet Union.

12. I feel, therefore, that paragraph 1 should be changed by merely inserting the words "the latter" be-

tween the words "above resolutions and" and "to permit United Nations observers."

13. In order that operative paragraph 2 should conform to the sense of operative paragraph 1, we can simply omit the words "Government of the USSR and the." By omitting these words, we can already establish the correct juridical basis for the position of this Assembly.

14. I request the sponsors of the draft resolution to take the initiative in making the corresponding corrections to these two paragraphs. Otherwise my delegation will be compelled to seek a separate vote on the words "Government of the USSR and the" in operative paragraph 2, and our vote on the draft resolution must be interpreted to mean that we have by no means recognized the illegal act of armed intervention by the Soviet Union in Hungary and that the securing of the consent should be confined only to the authorities now in control in Hungary.

15. Begum IKRAMULLAH (Pakistan): In co-sponsoring this draft resolution, our delegation has been motivated by one desire alone, namely, to establish the authority of the United Nations. We feel that this Organization, by allowing its decisions to be flouted or ignored with equanimity in the past, has reached a stage when its own effective existence is in jeopardy. Its efficacy in the future depends on the manner in which it can handle the questions that are now engaging our attention.

16. Therefore it is not the question of Hungary or of Egypt that is before the General Assembly, but the entire question of the authority of the United Nations.

17. The argument advanced against the sending of observers to Hungary is that, the Hungarian revolt being an internal affair, it would be against the principles of the Charter to intervene.

18. This line of argument is not new. Whenever faced with an unpalatable decision, nations have tried to avoid complying with it by saying that it was an infringement of their sovereignty. There was a stage in the development of man when he resented submitting to law in settling even his individual disputes, when man considered himself his own judge and executor, but we have passed that stage.

19. Today an individual, even if right is on his side, does not take the law into his own hands, but has recourse to courts for a decision. The peace-loving peoples of the world have been trying to bring this state of affairs to prevail among the sovereign nations as well. It is for this purpose that the United Nations was established.

20. There seems to be no point in bringing disputes before the United Nations if its decisions are not to be submitted to, for this Assembly is not a super debating club in which various members come to the rostrum and score points against each other. It came into being, in the noble words of the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," and it cannot serve this high purpose if its authority is flouted.

21. To say that events that have been happening within a country are no concern of the United Nations is not correct, for the very preamble of the Charter reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

22. Can we honestly say that fundamental human rights are not being violated in Hungary, and that all

that is reported to be taking place there is not against the dignity and worth of the human person? If that is so, if it is mere malicious propaganda, even then the only way to refute it is to accept the sending of international observers. This is necessary to satisfy the conscience of the free world, which is deeply disturbed by the reports of happenings in Hungary. It cannot be expected to remain indifferent and unconcerned. It is unreasonable to expect it to do so.

23. If one hears sounds of shots fired and groans coming from a neighbour's house, one does not remain unconcerned and say that it is an internal affair of theirs with which we have no concern. Nor would a neighbour who behaved in such a manner be absolved from moral responsibility. We want to introduce this sense of moral responsibility in dealing with nations. The presence of foreign troops on the soil of any country is anathema to us, and we refuse to accept the assurances of the countries that put the troops in that they are there in the interests of law and order or on the invitation of the occupied country. Nor can we give credence if the occupied country echoes the sentiment while under the shadow of bayonets.

24. I would request, therefore, as we have always requested in the past, that whenever such a situation arises it should be settled through the machinery of the United Nations. We believe that the peace of the world and the existence of the small nations depend on accepting the principle of intervention by the United Nations. It is because we sincerely and strongly believe in this that my delegation has associated itself with other Members of the United Nations in sponsoring this draft resolution.

25. We request the Government of the USSR and the Hungarian Government to permit the United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely and report their findings to the Secretary-General. In doing so, they would be upholding the authority of an organization of which they themselves are a member. We are asking them not to submit to the authority of any nation or group of nations, but to the United Nations itself.

26. Mr. CASSIMATIS (Greece) (*translated from French*): Once again the Assembly is debating a question on which it has already declared its position. Ten days ago it considered the question of British-French-Israel intervention in Egypt. Today it is to consider the Hungarian question. In each case, the country concerned has refused to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly. In the Suez matter, Greece condemned the attitude of those countries unequivocally and without reservation. Today Greece is taking the same line with respect to the States referred to in the resolutions of 4, 9 and 21 November, 1956.

27. The attitude of Greece is based on its deep respect for the principles of the Charter, and is not influenced either by its friendships or its alliances. Greece sets the ideal of human freedom and of dignity of the human person above blocs and alliances.

28. It is for these reasons that the Greek delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the fourteen Powers.

29. It is proper, however, to make certain remarks on the case of Hungary.

30. What, in law, is the nature of the United Nations resolutions concerning this question? Some say that the United Nations decisions constitute intervention in the domestic affairs of a country. Those who hold this

view affirm that the present Hungarian Government is the lawful government, and it is that Government's contention that the intervention of the Soviet army in the country took place at its invitation. Others argue that the intervention took place just as the lawful government of the country, the government of Mr. Nagy, had appealed to the United Nations in protest against the intervention of the Soviet army.

31. It is impossible to determine where to draw the dividing line between the lawful and the unlawful, to know where revolution begins and where it ends, and which are the cases where revolution is transformed into legality.

32. We therefore believe that the United Nations should have had the opportunity to send in observers to make an investigation on the spot. This, however, has not been the case.

33. The Powers which laid the foundations of the United Nations were unwilling to realize that it was absolutely necessary to reach agreement on a minimum degree of democracy within each country. Yet such agreement was a prerequisite for the normal functioning of the United Nations. Subject to United Nations supervision, such a minimum ought to guarantee the democratic processes of lawful government in each country. Owing to this omission, our Organization now faces difficulties arising out of the controversies to which I have just referred. Should we recognize its shortcomings?

34. Yet even if this has been the situation until now, we have reason to be more optimistic since the events of Suez and Egypt. The United States has exerted its influence in behalf of the principles of the Charter, in opposition to the interests of its own allies. The latter have finally yielded to the will of the entire world. The moral force behind the just resolutions of the United Nations has had its effect. Whether we would have it so or not, the small countries on both sides of the barricade are becoming increasingly independent. These nations breathed more easily as they watched the unfolding of events in Egypt, for they saw that the principles of the Charter were equally applicable to the major Powers.

35. To be sure, this is only the first step. My country, in particular, is awaiting the outcome of the debate on the Cyprus question before forming its final opinion. In behalf of my country, I should like to thank the speakers who emphasized the importance of that question during the general debate. However, it is by its deeds that the United Nations will be judged: all the questions relating to the Middle East, including that of Cyprus, have to be solved—and solved in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the interests of peace—before the end of this historic eleventh session of our Assembly.

36. We think the Soviet Union should follow the example of the United States and subordinate the interests of its friends, and even its own interests, to the principles of the Charter and to the interests of the United Nations, to the interests of peace and human progress. By doing this, the Soviet Union would make it possible for all nations to regard it as another important pillar of our Organization.

37. On the subject of the present Hungarian Government, may I say that its statement of willingness to welcome the Secretary-General at a later date [A/3414] contributes nothing whatever to a solution of the problem. Since good will exists, why not immediately, or tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow? A nation is seek-

ing its way. The manner of its search may be desperate, but it will leave its mark on the history of mankind. A means must be found to provide this people with a suitable setting for development. Every nation must have the opportunity not merely to seek its way, but also to find it. There is something which is even higher than the Charter—the ideal of liberty and human dignity, a dynamic ideal. It is preferable that this idea should develop within the United Nations. If it does not, it will develop outside the Organization and in opposition to it.

38. Mr. JAMALI (Iraq): The Iraqi delegation joins with most of the delegations in this Assembly in expressing its deep sorrow and great disappointment that, despite the passing of one month, the resolutions of the General Assembly on the tragic events in Hungary have not been implemented either by the Soviet Union or by the authorities in Hungary.

39. The representative of the Soviet Union in his speech yesterday [605th meeting] referred to the constructive step taken by the United Nations Assembly in passing a resolution [A/RES/410] last week on the evacuation of Egyptian territory by the United Kingdom and France, and the withdrawal of Israel behind the armistice lines.

40. We agree with the representative of the Soviet Union that that proposal has been constructive, and it certainly has contributed to the lessening of the tensions. The United Kingdom and France have already expressed, although belatedly, their determination to withdraw completely from Egyptian territory. They well may be criticized for the slow process of withdrawal. Israel, on the other hand, is still defying the United Nations resolutions, and does not seem to be ready to withdraw before getting rewarded for its aggression. Its answers are quite evasive and equivocal. It never uses the phrase "armistice line" in any of its communications.

41. The General Assembly should not tolerate defiance of its resolutions. Its Members must learn to obey and implement United Nations resolutions—that is, if we want to reduce tension in the world and achieve settlements of some of the most outstanding problems facing us today.

42. Turning to the situation in Hungary, we find that both the USSR and the authorities in Hungary have lent very deaf ears to the resolutions of the General Assembly. The USSR, as a great founding Member of this Organization, and as a permanent member of the Security Council, should have acted differently if it had really cared for the prestige and effectiveness of this Organization.

43. This Organization has demanded three things. First, it wants to ascertain the degree of Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary. Secondly, it wishes to ascertain what happened to the government of Hungary which came into power as a result of the people's revolution. Thirdly, it wishes to ascertain the degree of misery that was inflicted on the people of Hungary, so as to assess the amount of relief needed.

44. As for the facts about the intervention in Hungary, we need some facts about the presence of the USSR troops in Hungary, and the degree of damage to life and property done by them to the freedom-seeking population of Hungary. Have there been any deportations of Hungarians from Hungary? How many? To what destination? We have heard here confirmations and denials on some of these questions. Why not have a neutral

body of investigation which will seek the truth; and use this truth as a basis for our decisions and actions?

45. The United Nations received an appeal from a revolutionary government in Hungary, seeking the departure of Soviet troops from that country and demanding neutrality. We are entitled to know what happened to that government which appealed to the United Nations. Where are Mr. Nagy and his colleagues? What has happened to them? And do the authorities in Hungary really represent the people, ruling by the people's consent, or are they imposed on the people of Hungary by a foreign Power? We should like to know if the gentleman sitting here from Hungary—with due respect to his person—really represents a government which we can recognize and deal with, a government acceptable to the people of Hungary. Then, the United Nations would like to know the extent of human misery inflicted on the people of Hungary, so as to assess the amount of relief needed.

46. The General Assembly must feel equally responsible, from a moral and humanitarian point of view, for the misery inflicted on the people of Egypt and for the refugees in the Gaza Strip. Here again, we must assess the damage incurred in order to provide humanitarian relief. For this purpose, neutral observers should be sent to study this situation and report to the General Assembly.

47. As is well known, however, the authorities in Hungary and the USSR have blocked the activities of the United Nations on all fronts; we are left in the dark and we are obliged to rely on press reports. We receive conflicting statements. How, then, can we achieve world peace and harmony if we are precluded from knowing the truth?

48. Why should the USSR and the authorities in Hungary shy away from the truth? Why should we not have neutral observers who could clarify the facts?

49. We are told that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly are slanderous—why are they slanderous, and why should they be considered as such? If the General Assembly condemns intervention in the affairs of any country, is that a slander against a State so intervening? If the General Assembly denounces bloodshed and the oppression of a people, is that a slander against those who cause the bloodshed and oppression? When France and the United Kingdom attacked Egypt, their action was denounced by the General Assembly, but they did not complain that the denunciation was a slander directed against them. We certainly do not intend to slander any Member State.

50. We are told that the General Assembly is intervening in the internal affairs of Hungary, but we submit that the United Nations investigation by neutrals, without prejudice to the sovereignty of Hungary, is not in any way like the Soviet intervention in that country. If the USSR is invited to intervene by a government of its own creation, the United Nations is invited to intervene by a government emanating from the wishes of the freedom-loving people of Hungary. We really cannot justify the USSR intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary; we can find only one explanation for it, and that is the Soviet desire to subjugate the people by force, and to have them accept and perpetuate the Soviet régime.

51. We all know that since the Second World War the Soviet Union has annexed Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia to its territories. We also know that several nations in Eastern Europe have been brought, by sub-

version, one after another, under Soviet régimes. The last State to fall under Communist domination was Czechoslovakia—that country whose traditions of freedom and democracy were so well established. Now that these States have been brought under Soviet régimes, are they to be considered as Soviet zones of influence, and are they to lose their freedom and independence forever? The fact that Communist régimes in these countries have not made the peoples of such countries any happier is evidenced by recent events in Poland and Hungary.

52. Assuming that the USSR believes its régime to be ideal—having been achieved by revolutionary force—experience has nevertheless shown that régime to be deadly: it destroys individual freedom, it subjugates the mind, it kills the spirit. Are not the people who reach such conclusions entitled to change their régime, or are they to be destroyed? Supposing that communism was a religion, tried and found to be false, is not one entitled freely to change one's religion?

53. We are faced in Hungary with the denial of the fundamentals of the Charter and also the basic elements of human rights. The importance of the situation in Hungary lies in the fact that the issues involved extend far beyond the frontiers of Hungary, touching the family of nations—all of them. We must decide in this Assembly whether any Power in the world is entitled to impose its régime or its ideology on other States. We must decide whether any Power in the world is entitled to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country, whether by subversive methods or by armed intervention, robbing the people of their right to freedom, independence, justice and self determination.

54. When the intervention in South Korea took place, my delegation wholeheartedly supported the United Nations' prompt intervention in order to check the aggression, not because we had any desire for bloodshed or human misery in Korea, but because of the principle involved—the principle upon which the freedom and independence of many other countries depended. Many other countries could have been turned into Koreas had it not been for the prompt intervention of the United Nations.

55. The situation in Hungary is no less significant for the future peace of the world and the freedom and independence of all nations. We wish the United Nations was so organized, so strong, as to intervene promptly with its forces to save the freedom of Hungary, but, failing that, we must use whatever moral and political force we have at our disposal to save Hungary and to prevent the recurrence elsewhere of what has happened there.

56. We support the fourteen-Power draft resolution, not because we wish to slander any party, nor of a desire for intervention in the internal affairs of any country. Far from it. We certainly do not intend to encroach as an Organization on the sovereignty of Hungary, but simply to affirm that the world peace which we seek is a peace based on truth, justice and freedom. We want truth, justice and freedom for the people of Hungary.

57. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): While, in Hungary, tragedy continues in all its forms, here, in the General Assembly, the representatives of the Iron Curtain countries continue their brazen and fruitless efforts to prove what cannot be proved, the transparently untenable argument that the problem of Hungary is a question essentially within the

domestic jurisdiction of that country, and that the United Nations is not competent to do anything about it, under the familiar principle set forth in Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

58. The vast majority of delegations has amply rebutted the absurd arguments advanced by the Soviet Union and its allies or satellites concerning the General Assembly's lack of competence, and the five recommendations adopted by the Assembly on 4, 9 and 21 November, by increasingly impressive majorities, constitute the Assembly's own most effective rejoinder, signifying that the United Nations is legally competent to adopt resolutions or recommendations relating to those terrible events which have plunged the self-sacrificing and heroic Hungarian people into the deepest desolation, despair and sorrow.

59. The Warsaw Treaty has been cited repeatedly in an attempt to justify the action of Soviet armed forces on Hungarian territory against the freedom movement launched and sustained by the Hungarian patriots, but in truth we can never admit, whether as jurists, statesmen or diplomats, that the provisions of a treaty can authorize the presence of foreign troops in the territory of a sovereign State or their brutal action in stifling in bloodshed and suffering the heroic efforts of an enslaved people to regain their liberty.

60. The delegations of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, and the so-called delegation of Hungary, all rely on the Warsaw Treaty as the sole basis for the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and for the participation of those troops in the internal disturbances in that unfortunate country. Actually, the Warsaw Treaty, which is a defensive treaty or agreement, by its very nature does not, and cannot, contain any provision authorizing the Soviet Union to intervene in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

61. But even if we should for a moment suppose that the treaty did contain some provisions of that nature, they must be absolutely null and void within the international order established by the creation of the United Nations. In fact, Article 103 of our Charter provides:

"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, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail."

And Article 2, paragraph 4, of the same Charter, says:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force" (mark that, "the use of force") "against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

62. Now the military intervention of the Soviet Union in Hungary unquestionably constitutes an attack on the political independence of the Magyar people, and it is equally certain that that intervention is inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, one of which, stated in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, is that of developing "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples."

63. My delegation accordingly maintains that even if the Warsaw Treaty contained provisions ostensibly empowering the Soviet Union to intervene with armed force in Hungary against any movement to secure self-determination for the Hungarian people, and conse-

quently against the political independence of that people, even then they could not be valid in law, because that is the clear implication of the provisions of the Charter which I have quoted.

64. But there is another point. The Soviet Union, as a Member of the United Nations, has not only the duty to respect Hungary's political independence, but under Article 56 of the Charter is also pledged to take action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55, in particular the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary to ensure peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and also universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

65. How then can the Soviet Union allege that there is any justification for its horrifying military adventure in Hungary? And how can those poor men of the so-called Government of Hungary pretend that the fearful international crime committed against their people is a decent action by a friendly allied Government?

66. To any impartial, unemotional, sensible and responsible human being, the Soviet Union stands convicted, by its brutal intervention in the political life of Hungary and its mass deportation of Hungarian men, women and children, not only of a flagrant violation of international law and the high moral principles which bind the civilized human community together, but also of a foolish defiance of public opinion in all the free nations of the world; it has written the blackest and most shameful page of contemporary history.

67. With the exception of the Soviet Union and its allies or satellites, all the Members of this Assembly have condemned the acts perpetrated against Hungary, and in the space of one month we have adopted five resolutions on the subject. We have called upon the USSR Government to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all its forces without delay from Hungarian territory, and upon the Governments of Hungary and the USSR to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General [*resolution 1004 (ES-II)*]. We have called again upon the Government of the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay [*resolution 1005 (ES-II)*]. We have called upon the Soviet Union to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality [*resolution 1006 (ES-II)*]. We have urged the Government of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to take immediate steps to cease the deportation of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those who have been deported from Hungarian territory [*resolution A/RES/407*]. And we have urged Hungary to accede to the request made by the Secretary-General to permit observers designated by that high authority to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary-General [*resolution A/RES/408*].

68. All these resolutions also contain a request to the Secretary-General to report on the results obtained. The results hitherto have been nil, as is clear from the Sec-

retary-General's report [A/3403]. Neither the Soviet Government nor the authorities in power in Hungary have consented to allow United Nations observers to visit that country and report on the situation. And that situation is in no way altered by the fact that the Hungarian authorities, in vague but obviously calculated terms, have informed the Secretary-General, in a telegram [A/3414] received yesterday, that they were ready to welcome him in Hungary at an unspecified later date.

69. Notwithstanding all this, we do not think that the continued effort of this Assembly on behalf of the Hungarian people will be in vain, and, as we have not lost faith in the effectiveness of our Organization or in its high moral authority, we have gladly joined with the delegations of thirteen other countries in sponsoring the present draft resolution [A/3413].

70. Under this new draft resolution, the General Assembly, after recalling its five previous resolutions relating to the situation in Hungary, noting the report of the Secretary-General, and noting that the Government of the Soviet Union has failed to comply with the recommendations of the Assembly, reiterates its call upon the USSR Government and the Hungarian authorities to comply with the aforesaid resolutions and to permit United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General; requests the Government of the USSR and the Hungarian authorities to communicate to the Secretary-General not later than 7 December 1956 their consent to receive United Nations observers; recommends that in the meantime the Secretary-General arrange for the immediate dispatch to Hungary and other countries as appropriate of observers named by him pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1004 (ES-II); and requests the Governments of all Member States to co-operate with the representatives named by the Secretary-General by extending such assistance and providing such facilities as may be necessary for the effective discharge of their responsibilities.

71. We gather from the general tone of the statements which we have heard since yesterday morning, when the debate on the question of Hungary was resumed, that the delegations are inclined to vote for this draft resolution.

72. We were sorry to hear some objections to the last two paragraphs, particularly paragraph 3.

73. Some delegates feel doubtful about the Secretary-General's authority to send observers to countries other than Hungary. My delegation gave careful attention to that point before it consented to become one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, and we do not think that there is any danger that the dispatch of observers to countries other than Hungary might lead to action inconsistent with the General Assembly's intentions in this matter or with the purpose of the United Nations in general.

74. We think that the Secretary-General has sufficient authority, and besides, we have absolute confidence in his discretion, his judgement and his political and diplomatic skill, and hence we are sure that he would act in a manner consistent with the purposes of the United Nations. But if some way could be found of making the meaning clearer, then, in deference to the delegations which feel doubts, my delegation would consider such clarifications or some amendment that might improve the language of paragraph 3, and, consequently, any

such clarifications relating to paragraph 4, and we might be prepared to support an amendment along those lines.

75. My delegation is confident that this new draft resolution will be approved, as were its predecessors, by a large majority of Member States, as a clear proof that the United Nations stands firm, constant in its defense of law, freedom and justice, in the name of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

76. Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic): Every day more and more new facts are coming to light, revealing what is really behind the events in Hungary, and showing who inspired and engineered them. The very first shots fired by the fascist *provocateurs* in Budapest re-echoed ominously throughout the camp of the darkest forces of reaction. That is quite understandable. The forces of international reaction inspired and even furnished the counter-revolutionary conspirators with direct assistance. They pinned on them their long-standing hopes of overthrowing the People's democratic system and restoring the older order in Hungary.

77. We might have been spared a reference to the background of these events, which are a link in the chain of the imperialist plot against the peace and security of peoples; but as the General Assembly has again been impelled to consider the so-called Hungarian question, we are obliged to mention certain matters having a direct bearing on the events in Hungary.

78. We would remind the Assembly that the policy of so-called "liberation" in regard to the peoples of Eastern Europe was proclaimed long ago by responsible United States statesmen. In a radio broadcast from Chicago in November 1954, the Secretary of State of the United States made the following statement on the subject of United States policy with respect to the people's democracies:

"Liberation normally comes from within. But it is more apt to come from within if hope is constantly sustained from without. And that we are doing in many ways."

79. More, however, is involved than exhortations, permeated with the poison of provocation, the poison of hatred against the socialist countries. This chronic passion for provoking trouble has been sustained by a golden stream of dollars poured by the United States into the scales in an endeavour to tip the balance in its favour. Millions of dollars have been spent on maintaining gangs of fascist murderers, whose conduct during the events in Hungary has revealed what the so-called policy of "liberation" really is.

80. One of the ways the Secretary of State of the United States mentioned is the provocative activity of Radio Free Europe. A well-known West German newspaper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, reports that this broadcasting station has been turned into an "inflammatory transmitter" giving encouragement to the counter-revolutionary elements in Hungary.

81. Radio Free Europe was set up by a United States committee under the direct supervision of General Clay, the former United States military governor in Germany. Fifty million marks were spent on its equipment. The staff of Radio Free Europe brings together nationalist cliques of refugees from Central European countries. Radio Free Europe, in addition to malicious propaganda, conducts diversionary and espionage activities against the peoples' democracies. As a "side-line", it releases balloons. The broadcasting station has its offices in the camp for emigrants at Walke, near Nürnberg.

82. Using secret service methods, states the newspaper to which I have just referred, the necessary information is obtained from foreign refugees and various shady individuals and is well paid for. Remnants of fascism in West Germany are to this very day engaging in subversive activities against Hungary, despite the fact that the designs and schemes of the conspirators who had received encouragement from abroad have been frustrated.

83. This is what an emigrant called Miller who recently returned from West Germany has to say:

"On 17 November, I had occasion to attend a meeting in Heidelberg, at which Mr. Saksovsky, police chief and Deputy Minister for Refugee Affairs, appealed for help for the Hungarian rebels. The former minister in the Horthy cabinet made it quite clear what kind of assistance he was referring to. He stated that assembly points had been set up in West Germany for the formation of units composed of emigrants and displaced persons which would be sent to Hungary. Points of this kind had been set up in Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, and Mannheim. The Horthyist minister promised that volunteers would receive the same pay as German soldiers and could become citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany."

Those are some of the facts.

84. The counter-revolutionary gamble in Hungary has failed. The Hungarian people did not allow the restoration of the fascist-Horthyist régime in their country. Life in Hungary is now returning to normal. The Government of Hungary is making every effort to meet the needs of the country and the people as rapidly as possible. As the President of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic has stated:

"Hungary will build socialism on the basis of friendship with neighbouring socialist countries and of friendship with Western countries and with all those who are prepared to accept our friendship on a basis of equality."

However, the restoration of order and tranquillity in Hungary is clearly not to the liking of those who directed and inspired the Hungarian reactionary forces. This is why such a persistent attempt is being made to retain the so-called Hungarian question on the General Assembly's agenda as long as possible.

85. What is the aim of the sponsors of the new draft resolution that has been submitted for the General Assembly's consideration? It is to use the authority of the United Nations as a cloak for their interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary, in order to prevent conditions in the country from returning to normal and to undermine the people's confidence in the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. With that end in view, the dispatch of observers to Hungary is being urged.

86. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has already pointed out that the proposal to send observers to Hungary—and indeed the whole approach to the question of the situation in Hungary—constitutes gross interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and is inconsistent with the United Nations Charter. It is all the more surprising that paragraph 3 of the proposed draft resolution [A/3413] even provides for dispatch of observers to other countries too. It is not clear just which these countries are. Perhaps to Cuba, where events of which we are all aware are taking place?

87. No State which respects its sovereignty and national independence would ever allow any third party to interfere in the execution of measures wholly within its domestic jurisdiction. Under the provisions of the United Nations Charter, observers of the kind proposed may be sent only to territories under United Nations trusteeship. But the Hungarian People's Republic can scarcely be regarded as a Trust Territory. The Hungarian People's Republic is a fully qualified Member of the United Nations, and the United Nations may not interfere in any way whatsoever in its domestic affairs nor, consequently, send observers into its territory.

88. The United States delegation has again raised the question of the presence of Soviet forces in Hungarian territory, although it is a matter of common knowledge that Soviet forces are stationed there in accordance with treaties and agreements concluded between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. If the United States wants to ensure that there are no foreign forces in foreign territories, why is it so discreetly silent about the presence of United States armed forces in West Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Italy, Morocco, Libya, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and other countries, and why is it unwilling to discuss the Soviet Union's proposals for the simultaneous withdrawal from the territory of European States of the foreign forces of the countries parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to the Warsaw Treaty?

89. The answer is quite clear. The United States does not want to withdraw its forces from the territory of other countries, because that would not fit in with its far-reaching plans. Yet at the same time it seeks to use the presence of Soviet forces in Hungarian territory as a pretext for organizing a propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union.

90. The representative of Cuba, Mr. Nuñez Portuondo, has again repeated in the Assembly his fanciful tales of deportations. He even said that he would never tire of speaking on that subject. We do not doubt that for a moment, because indeed for many years in the United Nations he has been untiringly fanning the flames of hatred against the socialist countries. I should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to certain documents in our delegation's possession in connection with these stories about deportations.

91. A few days ago, a group of prominent clergymen from the Transcarpathian region, through which passes the only railway line from Hungary to the Soviet Union, sent a letter to the United Nations General Assembly protesting against slanderous statements concerning deportation. Mr. Mocharko, elder of the Evangelical Baptist Convention in the Transcarpathian region, Mr. F. Kovacs, pastor of the Evangelical Baptist community of Mukachevo, and Mr. I. Trogak, pastor of the Evangelical Baptist community of Beregovo state in their letter:

"We and all other faithful of Hungarian nationality, who live on the Soviet-Hungarian frontier, are indignant at the statements made in the United Nations General Assembly by the representatives of certain countries, alleging that Hungarians have been deported abroad. As true Christians, we raise our voices in defence of truth and oppose all slander. No one at the railway junctions on the Soviet-Hungarian border has seen any cases of the deportation of Hungarians by rail or otherwise."

92. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that it is time to put an end to the shameful uproar raised in connection with the so-called Hungarian question, which in no way serves the interests of the Hungarian people. The General Assembly should proceed to the practical consideration of the important international problems which the peoples of the whole world are expecting the United Nations to solve. The attention of millions of men and women is now concentrated on the Near East, where the aggressive forces which unleashed the war against the peace-loving Egyptian people are organizing new acts of provocation against other Arab peoples, threatening peace and security in that area.

93. Mankind is alarmed at the continuation of the armaments race and the possible use of barbaric means of mass annihilation which is threatening the world. These are the problems which it is the General Assembly's function to consider, and not issues artificially created by certain delegations.

94. In conclusion, I would like to say that the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote against the draft resolution [A/3413] which is before the General Assembly.

95. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): As we see it, the reasons why the General Assembly is dealing again with the situation in Hungary are: first, the situation which prompted the General Assembly to take up the matter still persists; secondly, the Government of the Soviet Union is still taking repressive measures against the Hungarian people; thirdly, the authorities in Budapest are apparently not in a position to pursue an independent national policy in conformity with the will of the Hungarian people; fourthly, one indication amongst many of the conditions under which the people of Hungary are living at present is the fact that more than 100,000 men, women and children have fled across the borders to neighbouring countries during these last few weeks, and this flow of Hungarian citizens is continuing; and, fifthly, reports of deportations have reached the outside world, and nothing which the Soviet or Hungarian authorities have said or done has been able to set our minds at rest on this matter.

96. In addition to all the evidence of the intolerable situation in Hungary which I have just mentioned, we have been witnessing on the part of the Soviet Government and of the persons who at present sign the communications from Budapest a most deplorable flouting of the will of this General Assembly by the outright rejection of its appeals for a cessation of the repression of the Hungarian people.

97. We must consider this behaviour as an outright display of naked power, which we very well know that the Soviet Union possesses, but which it should feel compelled under its obligations as a Member of the United Nations and other international organizations, including organizations of its own creation, to harness only for legitimate purposes.

98. Faced with this situation, the General Assembly must now consider what new steps it can and should take in order not to give way to despair, but to persist in trying to make its will heeded.

99. The draft resolution before us recommends that the Assembly endorse renewed appeals to Moscow and Budapest to comply with its previous resolutions and to admit United Nations observers to the territory of Hungary. So far, it repeats the earlier requests made by the Assembly, but it also goes one step further:

it requests the Secretary-General to arrange for the observers to go immediately to Hungary or to other countries, such as Austria or Yugoslavia, to mention only some of the neighbouring States where the observers could do some useful work even if the Hungarian authorities should maintain their refusal to admit the observers into Hungary.

100. At this time, I wish to make one brief reference to what the representative of Ceylon, among others, said yesterday [605th meeting] when he referred to the provision in the draft resolution where the Secretary-General is requested to arrange for the dispatch of observers "to Hungary and other countries as appropriate."

101. Speaking as a co-sponsor of this draft resolution, it would seem to us that this is a provision which is included in the draft resolution for purely practical reasons, reasons necessitated by the situation prevailing in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries. This provision, in our view, will be useful and necessary so that the observers will be able to go to the neighbouring countries for the purpose of interviewing refugees and checking on other information and events. Furthermore, the observers may also find it useful to go to other countries than the neighbouring countries—to countries, for instance, where refugees are actually located. It goes without saying, of course, that the observers will have to go to those countries with the consent of the Governments concerned, and we hope that all Members of the United Nations will co-operate to facilitate the task of the observers in this matter.

102. We feel that the draft resolution which we have submitted with thirteen other delegations will empower the Assembly to take a new step, and we hope that the Assembly will endorse this step. The point is, as we see it, to keep the watchful eyes of the world as closely as possible upon the Hungarian scene.

103. We believe that the people in whose power it is to repress freedom in Hungary will feel some inhibitions with respect to their actions if they have to act with the eyes of the world staring at them across the borders. However indifferent they may have been so far to the world's moral condemnation, we should not be wholly discouraged from assuming that the day may come when they will see that it is not in the interests of the Soviet Union to suppress national popular movements in Europe and thereby maintain a policy in which the great Powers of the nineteenth century saw fit to indulge in order to safeguard what they felt were their national interests.

104. As long as the Soviet Union maintains this policy of repression, Europe and the rest of the world will have to acknowledge the fact that imperialism is not yet dead on the European continent.

105. The implications of these facts are, of course, well known, as they are reflected in the policies of various European countries, which I am sure will uphold these policies as long as the Soviet Union indulges in the abuse of its power as it is now doing in Hungary.

106. Hungary is a test case, among several, of the Soviet Union's intentions in European affairs. As I have said, one should not exclude the possibility that one day the Soviet Government may take a different view of what Soviet interests really require in its Hungarian policies. That day may be far off; but, if the watchful vigilance of the free world can bring it

closer, the action which the General Assembly today is requested to take may not have been wholly in vain.

107. Mr. IVEKOVIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): On a number of previous occasions my delegation has expressed its views on the substance of the matter which is once again before the General Assembly. I shall therefore confine myself to referring very briefly to certain obviously important events which have occurred recently.

108. From our previous statements on the Hungarian question, it is clear that we have steadfastly advocated pacification and the stabilization of conditions in Hungary, and have abstained from any action which might impede this evolution. The Yugoslav Government's fundamental aim has always been the speediest possible return to normal conditions in Hungary and the removal of all obstacles which might prevent this. That is why we have not given our support in the United Nations to measures which might have the contrary effect, and above all to those which were intended rather for special purposes and propaganda effects than to bring the Hungarian people the real aid which they so sorely need.

109. We were convinced that the people and Government of Hungary would succeed in overcoming the difficulties which were the sequel of the recent tragic events and in finding a way which would lead to the pacification and internal stabilization of their country. We felt, therefore, that the discussions which were taking place in the United Nations on the so-called Hungarian question were superfluous.

110. It seems to me that, since then, the situation in the country has improved to some extent. However, my delegation considers that not all that ought to have been done has been done, nor all that was required of the Hungarian Government in view of the seriousness of the situation and the anxiety it has caused throughout the world.

111. First of all, there are the facts set forth by the Secretary-General in his report of 30 November 1956 [A/3403] and the reply addressed to him by the Hungarian Government in its telegram of 3 December [A/3414]. As some delegations have already pointed out, this reply is in effect negative.

112. For our part, we believe that the Hungarian Government should, without further loss of time, agree to the Secretary-General's initiative. Postponement to an unspecified later date, as proposed in the telegram I have just referred to, might prevent that visit from achieving the desired results.

113. We want to consider the question from the point of view of the interests of Hungary itself and of the Hungarian Government. On the other hand, we cannot but stress the propriety of the Secretary-General's action and the interest of the United Nations itself in that action. Consequently, the Yugoslav delegation considers that the Secretary-General's visit to Hungary should take place as soon as possible.

114. There can be no doubt that the matter known as the "Nagy affair," which has already been referred to by some speakers, is part of the context of events in Hungary. My Government has manifestly a direct interest in this affair, which concerns it very closely. May I, therefore, touch on it briefly.

115. First of all, my delegation wishes to express from this rostrum its continuing hope that the affair

will yet be disposed of satisfactorily by direct settlement between the Governments concerned.

116. The facts are well known. On 4 November, Mr. Nagy, the former Prime Minister, and a group of prominent Hungarian citizens, requested asylum at the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest. They were granted such asylum in conformity with the rules of law and international custom. The Yugoslav Government immediately entered into negotiations with the Hungarian Government in regard to the group of persons at the Yugoslav embassy. An agreement was reached on 21 November, when the Hungarian Government accepted the proposals made to it by the Yugoslav Government and formally undertook not to take any steps against the prominent Hungarians who had taken refuge in the Yugoslav embassy and to allow them to return freely to their homes. When the group in question left the Yugoslav embassy on 22 November, they were, despite the protests of Yugoslav representatives, removed by Soviet military authorities to an unknown destination. It later transpired that they had been taken to Romania.

117. The claim that Mr. Nagy went to Romania of his own free will after requesting political asylum is not consistent with the facts. We know that, during his stay at the Yugoslav embassy and during the negotiations with the Hungarian Government, Mr. Nagy resisted any suggestion that he should go to Romania. That is all that I can say at present in this connexion.

118. The Yugoslav Government lodged a strong protest with the Hungarian Government and drew the attention of the Government of the Soviet Union to this violation of the agreement and of the elementary rules of international law. It also drew the Hungarian Government's attention to the potential repercussions of its attitude on the relations between the two countries.

119. My Government attaches very great importance to the proper settlement of this question in conformity with the solemn assurances which it had received. The Yugoslav Government continues to hope for a favourable reply from the Governments concerned.

120. On the other hand, I am bound to state that the reply recently received from the Hungarian Government by my Government did not satisfy our justified requests, nor did it exonerate the Hungarian Government from grave responsibility in this matter. The argument that the case in point was a matter exclusively within the jurisdiction of Hungary is quite untenable. The fact that the two Governments had concluded an agreement on the question disposes of that argument. It is also a fact that the agreement has not been respected, since it guaranteed Mr. Nagy and his group the opportunity to stay in Hungary without let or hindrance. The matter has thus been dealt with in a manner contrary to international law and custom.

121. These events—it cannot be denied—throw a somewhat disturbing light on the development of the situation in Hungary.

122. In conclusion, may I say a few words in connexion with the matters raised in the draft resolution submitted by fourteen delegations.

123. My delegation maintains its attitude regarding the various proposals repeated in the body of the draft resolution. It will therefore vote in accordance with that attitude.

124. As regards a new question brought up in the draft resolution, the question of sending observers to other countries, which probably means sending observers to neighbouring countries of Hungary in particular, my delegation is authorized to say that such action is not advisable and that the Yugoslav Government is not willing to accept such observers. The Yugoslav delegation considers that this proposal could only complicate matters still more. That proposal might have the effect of spreading uneasiness to other countries, while the practical usefulness of the observers would be virtually negligible. Accordingly, we shall be unable to support the proposal.

125. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): I am sure that none of us who have sponsored this draft resolution would want to do or say anything which would delay the acceptance by the Hungarian Government of the earlier resolutions adopted by this Assembly. Certainly my delegation does not want to do so. Unfortunately, the reply of the Hungarian Government gives us no grounds for confidence that it has any intention of giving effect to these resolutions. On the contrary, that reply, and the intervention of the Soviet Union in this debate yesterday, leave no room for any other conclusion than that the Hungarian authorities and their Soviet masters are still intent on disregarding the voice of this Assembly.

126. It is admitted on all sides that the present condition of Hungary is very grave. The public opinion of the world is profoundly concerned about events in Hungary; not only about the events of the recent past, but about what is happening there now, and the further perils that now threaten the Hungarian people. Any Member State which was free would in such circumstances eagerly welcome a visit by impartial, truth-seeking officials from this Organization. The government of any Member State which really represented its own people, a people now threatened by extreme economic hardships, would not merely admit United Nations observers, but would itself be urgently pressing this Organization to come to its aid.

127. That is not the attitude of the Hungarian authorities. They have declared their readiness to meet the Secretary-General "without delay" in Rome or in New York. They say that they are ready to welcome him in Budapest "at a later date." The one thing they will not agree to is the one thing this Assembly has asked them to do, namely, to receive United Nations observers in Budapest now and to allow them to investigate the situation freely.

128. Why put off such an investigation until a later date? Will that date be a date by which the Soviet masters of Hungary hope to have consummated their crime and disposed of the evidence? Any one who has not already come to that conclusion will certainly do so soon if the Hungarian authorities persist in their present attitude.

129. The remarks of the Soviet representative lead us to the same terrible conclusion. The Soviet representative, with what I must say was really breathtaking effrontery, declared that "the gross interference" in Hungary's internal affairs must be ended [605th meeting, para. 27]. He made it clear that what he meant by gross interference was not the armed aggression of his own country in Hungary, but any attempt whatever to bring relief and assistance to the Hungarian people from outside. Apparently the resolutions of this

Assembly, in his view, constitute gross interference because, as he says, the arrival of observers would bring "confusion" into the minds of the Hungarian people. What the Soviet representative calls "confusion," has in reality another name: hope.

130. The Soviet representative makes it painfully clear how little freedom, even for manoeuvre, the Hungarian authorities have. The body which cynically calls itself the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is certainly in a very difficult position. It is, of course, in reality, a counter-revolutionary government, which could not remain in power for five minutes without the support of the Soviet aggressors, who have crushed the revolution of the workers and peasants and the whole people of Hungary.

131. However, even a government of that kind will be obliged, sooner or later, to take account of the indomitable will of the people of Hungary; it must take urgent account of the terrible economic crisis which is now impending in Hungary itself and which the world is watching with deep anxiety, seeing in it the seeds of a new disaster following hard upon those disasters which have recently struck and are still striking the Hungarian people.

132. The Hungarian Communist Press speaks of what it calls the "catastrophic" conditions in Hungary—it makes it clear that many thousands of workers are still on strike, that there is not enough coal to keep the factories going or to heat the hospitals and schools, and that the Hungarian economy, on all sides, is confronted with the risk of collapse. To avert such collapse, to prevent the whole economy from floundering, the Hungarian Government must make the necessary concessions, in order that the workers now on strike in Hungary can return to work. They must satisfy the demands of these workers; not only the Hungarian authorities but their Soviet overlords must see this.

133. The official Soviet line on Hungary has been in that the Hungarian revolt was an insurrection of landlords, capitalists and Horthyist officers, to use the very words of the Soviet representative in this debate. Are we now to be told that the workers on strike in the factories are landlords, capitalists and Horthyist officers? Such nonsense as that will be rejected, not only by those who reject the Communist myth in its entirety, but also by neutrals, by fellow-travellers and even by Communists themselves, especially by Communist workers in the free countries of the West, who see in the instrument of the strike their last hope and last remaining weapon against Soviet tyranny. The tragedy is, however, that while the strike continues it is the brave Hungarian workers and their families—the Hungarian people as a whole—who suffer.

134. It is a terrible fact that we in this Assembly have been able to do very little to help. Seeing the contempt with which our resolutions have been treated in the past, we may feel it is of little use to pass further resolutions. Nonetheless, we have a duty to continue along this path, however discouraging it may be, for two reasons.

135. The first is so that the Hungarian people may know that the concern for them felt by the free world is much deeper than a mere temporary upsurge of emotion, and that we are prepared to work patiently to find a way to help them. The second reason is to focus an ever stronger light on the position of their rulers, and specifically on this refusal to admit observers now.

136. We believe that that stronger light harms the rulers of Hungary, that it is politically disadvantageous to them, and our hope must be that it may impel them to move in the direction of reasonable concessions to the legitimate claims of the Hungarian workers. If these concessions are important enough, they may enable the strikers to return to work, in accordance with the appeal which is now being made to them by Archbishop Grosz. In that way something may be done to avert the new series of disasters—economic disasters now—which threatens this martyred country.

137. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation has made itself one of the sponsors of the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

138. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): I will be brief; I am not accustomed to making long speeches, nor am I accustomed to the eloquence and flowery language of the United Nations. I am sorry that I have to speak the language of the people in the streets, but, in so doing, more people will be able to understand me.

139. The only crime of the Hungarian patriots, as I see it, is that of wanting to be free, to liberate themselves from Soviet domination. I will not go into the details of the matter under consideration at this time—the Hungarian question has been thoroughly debated, leading to the passing of the earlier resolutions. These resolutions called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Hungary, to stop the deportation of Hungarian citizens from their country and to return them to their homes when they have already been deported. The General Assembly has also called upon the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to permit United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary-General.

140. The delegation of Thailand regrets that these resolutions have not been implemented by the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities. Indeed, we now have a report from the Secretary-General stating that permission has not been granted to him or to United Nations observers to enter Hungarian territory.

141. We are aware that the very existence of the United Nations is being tested. When Members openly ignore its resolutions, peace itself is in jeopardy.

142. The delegation of Thailand has co-sponsored the draft resolution now before the General Assembly, because it feels strongly that the resolution pertaining to Hungary deserves the full and immediate support of world opinion and that moral pressure must not be relaxed. It is imperative that the resolutions of this Assembly be complied with, and we must convince the parties not to ignore them.

143. The people of the world have placed their confidence in us. They look to us and, in desperation, they turn to us for help. If we fail them, we will have failed a sacred trust, and we will be less than useless as men and as members of this great body. We must sweep aside uncertainty and hesitation and must accomplish our job with all speed. We must show the world that the United Nations has meaning and that we representatives are not useless. Do what your conscience and your human feelings say is right. Let us approve this draft resolution by a large majority and thus demonstrate to the people of the whole world that they can look up to the United Nations and that they can rely on the United Nations in time of agony and distress. The Hungarian patriots should not have

died in vain. They can no longer hear us, but we can speak to them.

144. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): At the insistence of the United States and certain other delegations, we have again returned to the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question. It cannot be considered normal for the General Assembly to interrupt its general debate for a second time to discuss the Hungarian question. The order of business in the General Assembly is being disturbed simply to meet the wishes of the United States delegation and the other delegations which are its obedient followers.

141. We have before us yet another draft resolution, again requesting that United Nations observers should be sent to Hungary. We consider that the proposed draft resolution is a flagrant example of the uncere-monious intervention of the United States, Australia, Cuba, Belgium and other countries in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian State, which is contrary to the United Nations Charter. Incidentally, however, this does not surprise us. Certain delegations make it a practice to flout the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter. The United States, Cuban and other delegations seek to use the United Nations to exacerbate the international situation, undermine the spirit of co-operation and co-existence, and intervene in the domestic affairs of sovereign States. In so doing, they are impelling our Organization into an exceedingly dangerous course.

146. These delegations speak at length about their sympathy for the Hungarian people. They try to give the impression that they are the champions of "free Hungary," and "kind uncles" ostensibly displaying concern for the Hungarian people. We know very well that it is not the Hungarians that these gentlemen are interested in, when they hurl slanders at the Soviet Union, Hungary, and the other peoples' democracies in this Assembly. They are enraged that the counter-revolutionary *putsch* failed and the dark forces of reaction were defeated in their attempt to re-establish the authority of the capitalists and landowners in Hungary.

147. The purpose of all their talk about the Hungarian people is to enable them to unleash yet another political campaign in the General Assembly aimed at discrediting the peoples' democracies and the socialist régime of those countries. They are striving to intensify the "cold war" and to distract world public opinion from the preparations for a new aggression against the Arab States, and particularly against Syria, and from the armed aggression committed against Egypt. Behind the smoke-screen of talk about Hungary, they are seeking to carry out their colonialist idea of "international-izing" the Suez Canal.

148. The Hungarian question has been raised for another reason, too, namely, to inspire and encourage the defeated counter-revolutionary rebels to continue the struggle against the people's Government of Hungary and to prevent the workers of that country from living peacefully and returning to a normal life. From this rostrum, some delegations are carrying on the same base and slanderous propaganda which the radio station describing itself as "Radio Free Europe" has been putting out incessantly for years.

149. An illuminating example of the type of provocative activity in which Radio Free Europe engages is reported by the correspondent of the Hungarian Telegraphic Agency. In the course of a conversation with

the correspondent, the director of a large building enterprise in Kecskemet, Janos Neimer, had the following to say:

"The other day I heard on a Radio Free Europe broadcast that in Hegyeshalan the Workers' and Peasants' Government had arrested 600 officers and soldiers of the frontier forces and sent them to an unknown destination, because they had not prevented refugees from crossing the frontier.

"As it happens, my son is a frontier guard at Hegyeshalan and he came home on a visit recently. I learned from him that this was a downright lie and that none of the officers or soldiers on frontier duty at Hegyeshalan had been arrested.

"Later on, the same radio station stated, for example, that students from many vocational schools were fleeing abroad, and mentioned one of the Budapest schools as an example. I keep in touch with students attending the vocational schools and I know that this statement is not true.

"The news of alleged bloody battles in Kecskemet between Soviet and Hungarian soldiers and the local population that was jubilantly announced to the whole world was the cause of general indignation and many ironic jokes in Kecskemet itself. It is hardly necessary for me to say that at the time this news was received peace and order reigned in Kecskemet. I was most indignant when I heard this lie, because such statements lead many credulous people astray, arouse fear and uneasiness and hamper the restoration of a normal atmosphere among the population."

150. The gentlemen who have again dragged the so-called Hungarian question before the General Assembly should not count on being able to provoke fresh disturbances in Hungary. Even those who were previously led astray have now seen who are their true friends and who are their enemies. The workers of Hungary, as we see, are contemptuously opposing the gross intervention in the domestic affairs of their country.

151. In their statements, the representatives of the Netherlands, New Zealand, Cuba and others spoke at length about the Hungarian refugees. With your permission, I propose to dwell on that problem for a moment.

152. Firstly, who has fled abroad? The Horthyists, the members of the former Arrow Cross movement and other persons who organized the disorders and outrages which took place in the country and who now fear the justified retaliation of the people. Some Hungarians have fled to the West because they believed panicky rumours and inflammatory broadcasts by Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and others promising them the moon.

153. Great efforts have recently been made by the Austrian Government, unfortunately, and by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, to prevent Hungarian refugees who want to return home from doing so. To this end, Hungarian refugees are being feverishly evacuated to various distant countries, including South America, Canada and Australia.

154. I should like to call the General Assembly's attention to the following facts. Representatives of Belgium are hunting among the refugees for cheap labour to replace the Italian miners who fled from the Belgian pits after the terrible accident which everyone knows occurred there recently. Other recruiting agents repre-

sent various espionage centres in West Germany. As Austrian newspapers have reported, representatives of the United States military authorities have organized their own camp at Wiener Neustadt, to which they are directing Hungarian youths especially selected in other camps with a view to training them as the blind instruments of their reactionary adventures.

155. It should be noted that, as soon as the Hungarian refugees learn that order and peace has been restored in Hungary, more and more of them escape from the transit points and camps and attempt to return to Hungary. Many refugees have now heard of the decision of the Presidium of the Hungarian National Assembly to grant an amnesty to all citizens who left the country illegally after 23 October 1956, but who are guilty of no crime. Not only are separate groups of refugees now returning to Hungary, but representatives from a number of camps are coming to the Hungarian frontier to negotiate the return of refugees to their homeland. Hungarian government agencies are doing everything possible to provide normal living conditions for returning refugees. No judicial proceedings whatever are being taken against them. The Hungarian refugees are beginning to understand that they were shamefully deceived by those who encouraged them to go abroad.

156. The General Assembly would be performing a useful function if it helped the Hungarian refugees to return home as quickly as possible and take an active part in restoring their country's national economy. Life in Hungary is now returning to normal. Many enterprises have resumed work and are again producing goods. Thousands of food stores and other stores are in operation. The rate of production in the coal mines is increasing. The Hungarian peasants have completed their autumn work in the fields. What the Hungarian people now need is peace and tranquillity; they do not need the provocative approach which has led to the discussion of this question in the General Assembly, nor do they need United Nations observers.

157. That is why the telegram dated 3 December 1956 from the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary to the Secretary-General [A/3414] states:

"The Hungarian Government maintains its earlier position that the events which took place in Hungary after 23 October 1956 constitute exclusively the internal affairs of Hungary and do not belong to the competence of any international organization, including the United Nations Organization. Consequently, the Hungarian Government is as before of the opinion that the permission for United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary would violate the sovereignty of Hungary and would be contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter."

158. The Cuban representative, Mr. Nuñez Portuondo, is a particularly zealous proponent of intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary. He advocates freedom, democracy, human rights and so on. But who is he to take upon himself the role of champion of freedom and democracy? In his country the dictatorship of Batista is firmly established. At the very moment when Mr. Nuñez Portuondo was preparing his latest slanders in connexion with the Hungarian question, a rebellion flared up in Cuba itself against the régime of the dictator Batista. The rebels called for the resignation of the dictator and the holding of democratic general elections. The Government of Cuba is dealing ruthlessly with the rebels; some people have

been killed and others wounded, and hundreds of people have been arrested; you can read about this in the American newspapers. At a time when the Cuban people are deprived of elementary democratic freedoms, the Cuban representative in the General Assembly does not hesitate to poke his nose into the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. I am reminded of the famous saying: "And why beholdest thou the

mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

159. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR emphatically rejects the proposed draft resolution which seeks to promote intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary, and will vote against it.

The meeting rose at 1.5 P.M.