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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. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) [*translated from Spanish*]: The Cuban delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/3436 and Add.1] submitted by seventeen Powers in connexion with this problem.
2. Before turning to the substance of the matter, I wish to explain to the General Assembly why we did not co-sponsor this draft resolution as we did all the previous ones. It is no secret that the Cuban delegation has played a leading part in connexion with the tragic situation in Hungary. It has submitted draft resolutions—once alone, and on four occasions with other delegations—and it may seem strange to world public opinion that we are not co-sponsoring this draft resolution. The fact is that certain aspects of the draft resolution do not altogether satisfy us.
3. First of all, it seems to us a repetition, somewhat watered down, of the draft resolutions already submitted; and hence the Cuban delegation feels that it adds nothing new.
4. Another point is that it makes no attempt to deal with the problem of the deportations, which the Cuban delegation considers to be of paramount importance. It can no longer be denied, or even doubted, that Hungarian citizens have been deported to remote areas of the Soviet Union. A high official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the puppet government of Budapest said as much in a press conference held within the past week: he stated that deportations had indeed taken place and that negotiations were under way to have deportees returned to Hungary. And in an article which appeared in the newspapers two days ago, a Soviet army captain who deserted, and has taken refuge in Austria states that he was an eye-witness and took part in the deportation of thousands of Hungarian citizens to Siberia.
5. In view of these facts, which are unanimously recognized by world public opinion, we naturally felt it appropriate and timely to stress once again the question of the deportations, which constitutes one of the

fundamental points in the accusation against the Soviet Union and the puppet régime of Budapest.

6. Thirdly, the Cuban delegation considers that an extremely serious situation has arisen which is without precedent in the history of the United Nations. During the last ten years, we have seen how time and time again the Soviet Union has ignored the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, but it has always resorted to more or less plausible pretexts for doing so. It has never said what it has said repeatedly on this occasion, that it absolutely refuses to withdraw its troops from Hungary, that it absolutely refuses to return the deportees to Hungary and that it absolutely refuses to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

7. This seems to us one of the most extraordinary acts of defiance of our Organization as well as of world public opinion, which has watched and continues to watch with horror the crimes being committed on Hungarian soil by the armed forces of the Moscow Government. For that reason, we felt that the draft resolution should at least contain a warning to the Soviet Government that if it continued to perpetrate those acts, which are contrary to the Charter and, indeed, to every rule of civilization, it would incur the sanctions provided for in Articles 5 and 6 of the United Nations Charter.

8. In our opinion it does not matter that, from the procedural point of view, the Security Council must recommend action first. Whether the General Assembly can decide to suspend or expel the Soviet Union may be debatable, but what cannot be denied is that it is wholly within our competence to warn the Soviet Union that its action falls within the grounds for suspension or expulsion laid down in the Charter for failure to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly. We felt that this was a very important step, which would make it abundantly clear to the Soviet Union how we feel, and hence how the whole free world feels, since, as I have said, this state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue.

9. Lastly, the Cuban delegation felt that the draft resolution should provide for the suspension, temporarily at least, of those gentlemen who claim to represent Hungary and have thus far represented only the executioners of the Hungarian people; those gentlemen who come here to applaud the crimes committed by the Soviet Union on Hungarian soil, to state smugly that nothing is happening in Hungary.

10. Thus, the fact that 65,000 of their compatriots have been murdered, that 110,000 are in exile, that 200,000 are wounded and in the utmost distress, and that 40,000 to 50,000 have been deported, means nothing and signifies nothing to these gentlemen who claim to represent the Hungarian people. Perhaps, if we compare these events with what took place in Communist China, where more than 20 million Chinese citizens lost their lives, then, relatively speaking, noth-

ing has happened in Hungary; but for the civilized nations what is happening in Hungary is of the utmost gravity and should evoke some protest, or at least silence those gentlemen who profess to represent the Hungarian people.

11. The Cuban delegation felt that the draft resolution should at least reject the credentials of these persons and expel them, as a sign of disapproval of the acts being committed by the Government or the régime they claim to represent. But since a majority of the sponsors of the draft resolution felt that this was not the right time to submit such questions for the Assembly's consideration, the Cuban delegation confined itself to stating that it would vote for the draft resolution but would not join in sponsoring it. And to make it clear it has no desire to stand in the way of the adoption of this draft resolution, it will submit no amendment and will vote for it as submitted.

12. Of course, if the present situation continues, and the Soviet Union does not within a short time withdraw its troops from Hungary, return the deportees, and establish a free system of government in that country, then within the next few days the Cuban delegation intends to introduce—jointly or alone—a draft resolution along the lines we have just indicated.

13. We consider that this matter cannot be allowed to disappear from our agenda until it is settled. The Cuban delegation feels that it is its duty to forestall any manoeuvre designed to impede the Assembly's full consideration of the entire problem. We will accordingly oppose any draft resolution, well-intentioned or not—and we take the good intentions for granted—introduced in the future and likely directly or indirectly to distract the world's attention and divert the Assembly from this matter, which is the very central point of its debates.

14. For the same reason, we would also oppose any amendment presented today which would change this draft resolution. And, I repeat, we will in the future oppose any suggestion of turning over to special committees a matter which must be within the complete and absolute purview of this General Assembly.

15. The point must be driven home *ad nauseam*. Only a short while ago, for example, at this morning's meeting, the Romanian representative asked what purpose had been served by discussing the Hungarian question in the United Nations. My answer is that it has served to make all the peoples of the world rise in horror to protest against what the Soviet Union has done in Hungary; it has served to strip away the pacifist mask; it has served to strip off the mask worn by those who came here saying that a new era was beginning in Soviet policy; it has shown clearly that the same system prevails today as in Stalin's era; that absolutely nothing has changed and that the Soviet Union's smiles are reserved for those who submit to it. But those who attempt to exercise their rights in any way are murdered in cold blood just as they were by Stalin, as Mr. Khrushchev confessed in his famous speech at the last Party Congress in Moscow.

16. The discussions here have also served to highlight the fact that falsehood and deception have reached incredible heights. This means that there is utter contempt for all of us who sit here, men and women of some degree of culture and intelligence who cannot be expected to accept statements fit only for the ignorant, who do indeed swallow the Soviet Union's Communist propaganda.

17. In his statement, the representative of Romania went so far as to say that the owners of the great *latifundia* had taken advantage of a revolution which lasted less than four days and of a government which lasted less than three days, with bloodshed, shooting and slaughter, in their attempt to recover the land which had been distributed among the peasants. Could anything be more ridiculous? Could these great landowners have had time, even if that had been their intention, to recover land which had already been distributed, when the government was, after all, unable to function? This is a sample, chosen wholly at random, of the cogency of the arguments advanced by the Communist representatives here in the United Nations.

18. It must be realized that the prestige of the United Nations is at stake. Once the peoples of the world become convinced that there is a State in the United Nations, however powerful, which is not obliged to comply with any of the resolutions of this General Assembly, the United Nations will for all practical purposes be a dead letter. Once the peoples of the world witness the spectacle of the Soviet Union making a mockery of our resolutions without a protest from the other Members of the United Nations, our Organization will in fact be non-existent.

19. Therefore we must continue to discuss and deal with this situation as long as the facts are there. For while the peoples of the world may come to the conclusion that for the time being we are powerless to impose compliance with our resolutions upon the Soviet Union by military means, they will also see that the immense majority of mankind is pointing an accusing finger at the Government of the Soviet Union and unceasingly warning it that it has violated every principle of the United Nations Charter, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the peace treaties and the principles of civilization which are the basis and foundation of modern society.

20. I am therefore convinced that in this apparently unequal struggle between the all-powerful Soviet Union and the little nations which oppose it, we the little nations will win in the end, because reason and justice are on our side, because we are doing no more than proclaiming the truth and demanding that the unfortunate people of Hungary be given justice, be respected, and be allowed to conduct their affairs normally and to choose whatever form of government they wish.

21. I hope the Assembly is alive to the significance of what I am saying. This is not propaganda against the Soviet Union; these are facts which no one can dispute. Are the 100,000 refugees who fled to Vienna fascists? Were the 65,000 Hungarians who were killed fascists? Are the 40,000 who were deported to Siberia fascists? How could they be, when the census just taken in Vienna shows that at least a third of the exiles are less than twenty-two years old? How can they be fascists if fascism had practically disappeared by the time they were born? Who taught them to be fascists in Hungary? What a failure the Communist régime must have been if all the young people have turned fascist, as the pseudo-representatives of Hungary and the other satellite States maintain. All this provides much food for thought. To my mind it is quite incredible. The very idea is ridiculous and not worth a moment's thought.

22. This movement was the rebellion of youth, a rebellion of the working class and of the peasants, against

an intolerable way of life. They preferred to confront twenty Soviet divisions and 5,000 tanks rather than continue to live in misery and ignominy. These are the real facts, which we cannot ignore and must not forget.

23. And we must act, for if things go on as at present, a time will come when the Hungarian people will have been totally destroyed. The peoples of the Baltic States, on whom the most frightful act of genocide in history was perpetrated, have already been largely destroyed. Now a new attempt is being made to do the same thing with the Hungarian people. But when the events took place in the Baltic States, there was no world forum like the United Nations in which to make our protest heard; and now we must not allow what was done to the Lithuanians, the Latvians and the Estonians to be done to the Hungarian people. We must do everything we can to prevent it, because that is what public opinion in our countries requires of us. We must do everything we can to prevent it because that is the only way we can do our duty.

24. I am, of course, well aware that, after I have finished, the representatives of the satellite countries will make their usual speeches saying that we are not telling the truth. But there are the dead, the exiled and the deported to bear witness for us. We shall be called reactionaries, a very fashionable word among Communists to describe people who are not Communists. The term Nazis will be flung about by those who drank champagne daily with Hitler and Goebbels and Goering when they signed the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. All this will be said, but there is only one truth, and it cannot be destroyed by insults or lies. The one truth is that they are committing unparalleled crimes in Hungarian territory and that all mankind protests against those crimes.

25. I hope we will all do our duty and vote in favour of the draft resolution under discussion.

26. Mr. ALDUNATE (Chile) [*translated from Spanish*]: If, after debating the tragic problem of Hungary for some two months, we are to continue hearing the voices of the representatives of the Soviet Union and some of its satellites, it is to be feared that the atmosphere in this Assembly will come to resemble that described in the biblical legend of the tower of Babel; for there are people here with whom we have no understanding, and with whom it is impossible for us to have any understanding. They speak a very strange language, and they have so strange a conception of certain international duties that unless we first define our terms and make the position crystal clear, we shall ultimately condemn to sterility everything we do as an Organization for the preservation of peace and harmony among peoples.

27. Some days ago [*607th meeting*], the representative of the Hungarian authorities offered this Assembly some comments on events in his country and extended an invitation. His comments on the painful happenings in Hungary are daily being discredited by reports which lead inevitably to the conclusion that persecution, deportation, oppression, martyrdom and murder are still being inflicted upon the people in that country. Despite this violent repression, the workers are continuing to struggle heroically against the invading foreign forces, and are making a concerted effort to organize a great movement for the withdrawal of those forces from Hungarian soil.

28. Hence the assertion made here that it was the people who had called the repressive Soviet army units

to their aid was a lie. In vain do the machine guns and tanks of the USSR, unmoved by Hungarian suffering as they have been unmoved by their own rebel compatriots, disperse the groups of workers which form at lightning speed to voice their protest in suicidal acts and to proclaim their longing for freedom. The Hungarian people are not resigned to the loss of their sovereignty; they are not submitting to outrage at the hands of foreign forces; and, despite all the tragedy that overwhelms every popular outbreak, the Hungarians continue their struggle. The most horrific of all imperialisms is doing its treacherous and pitiless work on Hungarian soil.

29. But there is more than this to consider. The representative of the dependent authorities of Hungary, on the same day on which he made so many subsequently discredited assertions, issued an invitation. He said that his Government—as he called it—was prepared to receive the Secretary-General at Budapest; and, in the belief that this statement was sincere, that high official of the United Nations informed the representative [*608th meeting*] that he could be in Budapest on 16 December.

30. By 7 December, however, according to the information he gives us in his note of that date [*A/3435*], no reply had been received on the subject, and, if we are to believe the well-authenticated reports we see in the Press, the Hungarian authorities are not prepared to receive our Secretary-General at present. In that case, when will they be ready? When they have drowned all resistance in blood, or effaced all traces of the slaughter by crimes of every kind?

31. Nor has the Secretary-General received a reply to the call issued to the Hungarian authorities by this Assembly under its resolution [*1130 (XI)*] of 4 December to admit observers to that country.

32. This is a plain case of insubordination, both on the part of the authorities which are manipulating the situation in Hungary on behalf of third parties, and on the part of the Soviet Union, which has ignored the resolutions adopted concerning the withdrawal of its forces from Hungarian territory. Our resolutions are not complied with, and even promises are not being kept. What purpose, then, was served by what the Hungarian representative told us in such moving tone, on 4 December [*610th meeting*]? Was this merely a hypocritical delaying tactic?

33. At the 608th meeting, at which we adopted the aforementioned resolution, conciliatory words deserving of close attention were heard here. They came from quarters where every endeavour is made to maintain a calm attitude in all circumstances. We acknowledge their good intentions. It is our duty to work constructively, to preserve peace before all things, and not to compound the difficulties; but there are situations which set a limit to good intentions and conciliatory moves, for they cause us all to doubt whether such impassiveness is really preserving peace or, instead, leading civilization to catastrophe.

34. When, moreover, the Assembly comes to realize, as it is doing now, that it is being held up to ridicule, that it is dealing with people who are acting in bad faith, that there is dirty business going on, and that its resolutions are held in contempt, it cannot but feel that its pride is at stake, it cannot but take a firm decision, putting aside complacency and timidity. To some people neither words nor principles bear their natural and evident meaning. In the eyes of such people nobility is tantamount to treason, frankness to in-

intrigue, goodness to weakness, understanding to fear and decency to ignominy.

35. Can we continue dealing with such people? Can we continue listening to them, if we know that everything they tell us and promise us is false? No; our world is very different from theirs. We respect ideas and standards which have enabled men to understand each other, and principles which have led them to achievement. Over there, on the other hand, they will have nothing to do with freedom, with human suffering, with brotherhood, with noble feelings, or with real peace. Why, then, should we continue listening to the words—sometimes plaintive, sometimes threatening, but always ill-intentioned—with which they seek to poison the atmosphere, to sow confusion among us, and to sap the efforts made here to preserve peace and give mankind better living conditions in freedom, justice and dignity?

36. We believe the time has come when we should begin to study this problem seriously, if we do not want to condemn our work to sterility. A draft resolution [A/3436 and Add.1] reiterating for the third time what we requested in earlier resolutions has been laid before the Assembly. We shall make a last effort to understand each other.

37. Some consider the draft resolution an insufficiently strong censure of the lack of compliance, the unprecedented insubordination, of which the Hungarian and Soviet authorities have been guilty; but we believe that, should it fail to produce a positive result, the way would be open for a condemnation which would irrevocably convict the Governments of the Soviet Union and its Hungarian satellite of a crime against humanity.

38. For this reason Chile has co-sponsored the text submitted to the Assembly today, and we are sure the Assembly will receive it as a final effort—the outcome, not of weakness but of understanding—to save world peace.

39. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): When towards the end of October, the delegations of France, the United Kingdom and the United States brought the intervention by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Hungary to the attention of the Security Council [S/3690], a great many others, the Netherlands delegation among them, supported this move for upholding the right of the Hungarian nation to political independence, one of the fundamental rights expressed in paragraph 4 of Article 2 of our Charter.

40. Since then, the General Assembly had adopted no less than seven resolutions, in which we have repeatedly called upon the Government of the Soviet Union to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular, armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary; in which we have affirmed and reaffirmed the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being; and in which we have called upon the Government of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities 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; and in which finally, 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 had been deported from Hungarian territory.

41. All our appeals, our affirmations and our urgings have been to no avail, and the world might well say with the prophet Isaiah: "We look for judgement, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry." The Soviet representatives have told us in that typical misuse of speech to which they have accustomed us in this Assembly hall, that all is well in Hungary and that what they were doing there was none of our business. Their statements have been repeated *ad nauseam* by the representatives of the countries in their bloc, and even by the man who pretends to speak here for the people of Hungary.

42. The time now has come for this Assembly to state in plain terms what it thinks of what the Soviet Union is doing in Hungary. It is for this reason that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution we are discussing, in which the violation of the Charter of the United Nations by the Government of the Soviet Union is condemned. There may be those who will say that this draft resolution is just another empty gesture. I do not share that opinion. A solemn condemnation by this world Organization is a serious matter; and though its effects may not be immediately apparent, they will make themselves felt; after all, even in the Soviet Union and in the captive countries it now dominates, there is a public opinion, no matter how cruelly their present rulers may be trying to suppress it.

43. When, four centuries ago, the people of the Netherlands started their revolt against foreign tyranny, there were only a handful of citizens pitched against one of the mightiest armies of their day. Their case seemed hopeless, but their leader, the great Prince of Orange, William the Silent, took for his motto those wise and valiant words: "Hope is not needed for endeavour; nor victory for perseverance." The tyrant crumbled and the people of the Netherlands became free.

44. May this resolution be a small contribution towards the hastening of that same process in Hungary.

45. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): Once again we are debating the Hungarian question, this time on the basis of a draft resolution that has been placed before us by seventeen countries, on the initiative of the United States of America. I am directed by my Government—apart from voting for or against draft resolutions, or abstaining—to state our position very clearly.

46. We believe that the time has come, if it is not long past, when this is not merely a matter of sending observers or adopting resolutions, but of using the whole machinery of the United Nations for conciliation—by which is meant for obtaining a settlement.

47. We believe that the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people desire the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from their intervention in Hungary. An enormous amount of tragedy has occurred, in which Soviet and Hungarian lives have been lost.

48. We have before us the statement of the Soviet Union Government of 30 October, part of which was quoted by the representative of the Soviet Union in the Security Council at its 752nd meeting, on 2 November, which gave us hope that, as the situation became more settled a phased withdrawal of the troops would take place. My Government does not want, in the context of the existing circumstances in the world—although it does not conform to its own policies—to go into the question of the withdrawal of the foreign forces in the sense of forces which are tied to defence

alliances. We believe that the existence of foreign troops in any country is inimical to its freedom, is a danger to world peace and co-operation. But, in the particular circumstances that obtain, there are different alliances ranged one against the other and a policy of balance of power which is rapidly pushing this world into a state of war. We are, therefore, judging the situation in the limited context of the use of Soviet forces in regard to internal affairs in Hungary.

49. The only justification, if there was one, would have been for the Soviet forces to have been called to the aid of the civil power in conditions where there was an attempt at a *coup d'état*. My Government is convinced that the original revolt against the Hungarian régime in power was a movement of national liberation, by which is meant not national liberation as a colonial country, but a movement to bring about the kind of changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe. But gradually, there is no doubt at all that adventurous elements might have got in with one side or the other; and there has been violence committed on all sides. The intervention of the Soviet army in this matter—and indeed even of the domestic army in civil strife—accentuated calamities and dangers.

50. Our Ambassador has gone to Hungary from Moscow. Our special representatives have been functioning there, and our information leads us to believe that the one factor that is preventing the unity of various Hungarian elements—I do not mean the elements of counter-revolution or the elements that would establish a military dictatorship, but the elements that are in the workers' councils, in the various other organizations, patriotic elements, and the present Government—is not that they brand the present Government in the way some people brand it, but that such unity can be established only in the context of an agreement for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the country.

51. We, as people who have been under foreign rule, can appreciate the psychological, the emotional and other reactions of the people when there are foreign forces present in the country.

52. The amount of damage that has been done to Budapest, we are informed, is on a scale that would take place in war time. Therefore, it is necessary for us to state here and now, as we stated before, that the responsibility rests on the Soviet Union. Irrespective of whatever explanations, whatever justifications there are for intervention; irrespective of the fact that under the Warsaw Treaty or under the Treaty of Peace it has the right to station troops, as is contended—irrespective of all that, there is a responsibility resting on one of the great Powers in the world, for taking the initiative to bring about a position which will not lead either to anarchy, as it would if this went on for a very long time, to economic ruin, where the majority of the producers of goods and services were withholding their co-operation from their production, or to anarchic elements creating local governments of their own and the disintegration of the State—to prevent all that there is responsibility resting on the Soviet Union. To that responsibility, we drew attention a few days ago.

53. We are equally not prepared to subscribe to the stories either of deportation or of atrocities unless they have been corroborated in the context in which they are challenged, but the issue before us today is not the question of eliciting a large number of facts and sitting in judgement on them.

54. Here is a situation involving a large national movement behind which the overwhelming majority of

the people of Hungary are subject to what may be called military rule; and, while the withdrawal of those troops should take place in orderly manner, the events of the last thirty days or more have shown that the presence of troops, instead of bringing about order, is preventing the emergence of organs inside the country which would create order. We believe that the Hungarian Government as it exists today can draw to itself other elements the combination of which would be able to command the respect of all the Hungarian people. We believe that efforts are being made in that direction, but the one gap dividing the present Hungarian Government from the other groups is the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

55. Therefore, my Government desires to make it quite clear that, whatever may be the arguments that could be raised pro and con in this matter, if we are going to have a settlement, it is necessary that the Soviet Union should be drawn into effective co-operation and should render that co-operation in the interests of Hungary, in the interests of the United Nations, and in the interests of world peace.

56. We believe that resolutions which involve condemnation, which, in their logical consequences, would be followed by a declaration of who is the aggressor and who is not, and would thereby stultify the United Nations, are not the elements that would assist in a solution. We deeply regret that, in spite of everything that has been done, both here, in Moscow, in Budapest and everywhere else, the Hungarian Government has not found it possible to arrange for an early date for the Secretary-General to visit Hungary. No one believes that the visit of the Secretary-General by itself would transform the situation overnight, but we believe that it would relieve tension, that it would show the way to a solution if it could have been proclaimed to the world that what is desired is not a settlement by dictation, but a settlement by negotiation and co-operation.

57. For all these reasons, while my delegation has expressed great restraint in the expression of its views, and will continue to do so and will not be a party either to the expulsion of the Hungarian delegation from the General Assembly—we would have voted against a draft resolution of that kind if it had come up—or to wholesale condemnations, we want to place on record that, first, the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people desire to see the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungary and their total abstention from interference in the internal affairs of that country. This, we submit is not only in consonance with declared Soviet policy, but is also the basis of our own relationship with the Soviet Union, namely, non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. Therefore, it would be a departure from the wholesome principles which we uphold not to reiterate them in this way.

58. Secondly, the strength of the Soviet Union in Europe depends upon the willing co-operation of its neighbours. We would be romantic and deluding ourselves if we thought—and we cannot in the light of the facts—that these States of Europe had their particular alignments, sometimes even against their own immediate national interests, because of political, military, historical and other considerations. Therefore, while the close relationship between Hungary and the Soviet Union, if both desire it and if it can be established peacefully, is not a thing to which anyone can object, we do not think that it can be brought about by violence and force.

59. Next, my Government wants to go on record that it is not possible to bring about a solution of these prob-

lems, particularly problems of nationalist aspirations, by the use of force. The extent of non-co-operation that exists in Hungary today when workers, intellectuals and others are refusing to co-operate even when they do not fight is a form of resistance which will bring down any power, however mighty. And at the end of it there would not be any friendliness left. Therefore, it is in the interests of the Soviet Union itself that now there should be an attempt on its part to bridge this gulf which can only be brought about by the withdrawal of its forces.

60. My delegation therefore finds itself faced with a draft resolution [A/3436 and Add.1] moved by the United States and its supporters with considerable parts of which we are in agreement, but we cannot subscribe either to its phraseology or the implications of some of its paragraphs. Those implications may not strike others in the same way, but we have to think of the future, when these same precedents may be applied to other people. For when the United Nations takes a step, it is essential for us not merely to think of what may be suitable at the present time or what our emotions and passions at the time demand, but what precedents and law we create in this respect.

61. For these reasons we shall abstain on this draft resolution. We have, however, submitted amendments [A/L.216] which represent the points of view of my Government and also of some other Governments. We have also circulated another draft resolution [A/3437] which, in a more complete form, represents our views. In taking this position, we have not in the least shifted from our position of independence and objectivity, we have not aligned ourselves with one power bloc or another and we bear no animosity either toward Hungary or its Government or towards the Soviet Union.

62. We think a constructive step has to be taken. I referred to the responsibility resting on the Soviet Union. My Government would say with great respect that an equal or even greater responsibility rests on the United States. These are the two great Powers which alone can guarantee peace in this world and there rests on the United States, in our opinion, the responsibility for diplomatic initiative and not merely condemnation and things of that nature. We are moved by the concern of the people of this country; we have no doubt at all about the motives behind this draft resolution, but our methods are different.

63. We have suggested at the end of the draft resolution that the time has come when the United Nations, through the agency of the Secretary-General, who is its principal official, should now enter into direct negotiations with the Soviet Government. For it is not a question of whether the Soviet Government rules over Hungary, it is not a question whether the Soviet Government is a party to the dispute. The effective position is that without its effective co-operation and initiative no settlement can be brought about. We believe that there rests on the Secretary-General, as the expression of the United Nations, a duty enjoined by the Charter of making this a centre for the harmonizing of conflicting interests.

64. Therefore this last paragraph of the draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to enter into immediate negotiations in New York with the representatives of the two countries and to consider the question of his visiting Moscow and, while he is pursuing his efforts, to go to Budapest. It is between these two parties that the decision as to the withdrawal has to be reached. It would be illusory, it would be unpolitical to think that the withdrawal of Soviet forces could be brought about

merely as a result of what is called an organization of votes. It would be possible in that context to bring about some settlement, the first withdrawal, the orderly withdrawal of these troops in a short time and the establishment of a government which, if our reports are correct, may be possible—and negotiations are on the way—and may be effected.

65. The continuance of the present situation cannot but result in further deterioration. One cannot say whether all one reads in the papers is correct or not but this morning we were told about the declaration of martial law in Hungary. When martial law is declared with a foreign army in the country, whose law is it?

66. My delegation therefore pleads that we take a constructive initiative in this matter, place the responsibility squarely where it lies, analyse the facts as they are, and call upon the Secretary-General to enter into direct discussion with the Governments of the Soviet Union and of Hungary in order to bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops, the cessation of intervention, the recognition that the masses of the Hungarian people do not want that arrangement, while at the same time, we are informed, they do not want a dictatorship or a form of government of the other kind either. They seem to be wedded to the idea of the kind of society that they have been tending to establish.

67. I do not think it is necessary in those circumstances to say that the other quarters should refrain from intervention in any form—I do not mean necessarily military intervention. There is no doubt that there have been other influences in Hungary at an earlier stage.

68. It is for these reasons that my delegation has submitted the amendments to the draft resolution sponsored by the United States, hoping that the latter will find it possible to accept it. If it accepts these amendments, then we shall vote for the amended draft resolution. If it does not, we shall press them to a vote, and we will ask permission to move the other draft resolution in due time.

69. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [*translated from Russian*]): During the last few weeks, we have more than once witnessed attempts by the delegation of the United States and of several other countries to use the United Nations for the most flagrant interference in Hungary's domestic affairs.

70. In defiance of common sense and in contravention of the United Nations Charter, the organizers of the anti-Hungarian campaign are continuing their sinister work, poisoning the international atmosphere by making political capital out of the events in Hungary. The new draft resolution concocted by the United States delegation is designed to serve precisely these ends.

71. What are the motives of those who are obstinately and persistently attempting to force on the United Nations a course glaringly at variance with the basic principles of its Charter? There can only be one answer: by continually sponsoring one provocative resolution after another and thus elbowing the United Nations into interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary, they are attempting to throw a life line to the remnants of the defeated fascist rebels in Hungary, to instigate new disorders in that country and to render a return to normal life there more difficult.

72. The discreditable and feverish commotion over events in Hungary reveals the intentions of those who would like to overthrow the legitimate Hungarian Government, which is not to the taste of some coun-

tries, and to replace it by a Government acceptable to the enemies of the system of people's democracy.

73. The representatives of certain countries, particularly of the United States, are displaying an unmistakable impatience and nervousness in their behaviour. They are clearly uneasy, and that is not surprising. The situation in Hungary is becoming increasingly stable and settled despite the opposition of the forces of reaction, both within and without. The counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary have been routed. But isolated hostile elements, which have remained inside the country, are still being encouraged and inspired from abroad. They are still attempting to deceive the working people by false slogans, to represent black as white, the counter-revolution as a revolution, and imperialist oppression as national independence.

74. All these manoeuvres, however, are doomed to failure. The Hungarian working people realized where the leaders of the *putsch* and their foreign instigators were leading them and they will not follow that course.

75. It is quite plain that the events in Hungary are merely one aspect of a sinister plan, carefully prepared and consistently pursued by the imperialists, to resume the cold war in its worst forms, and to continue the "negotiation from positions of strength" policy, which is so dangerous to the cause of peace.

76. As you are aware, the last few years have seen a substantial lessening of international tension thanks to the efforts of the peace-loving countries and of all those attached to peace. In the Far East, fires from which war might have spread were extinguished, a number of controversial questions in Europe and other parts of the world were settled, and there appeared to be favourable prospects for consolidating world peace and the security of all nations. The peoples of the world began to live in greater tranquillity, with increased confidence in their future. The principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems found support among broad sections of the population in all countries of the world. Cultural and economic ties between countries and peoples were formed on an ever larger scale. The principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes found increasing acceptance. By admitting nineteen new Members, the United Nations took a step towards universality.

77. Those developments, however, clearly did not suit the reactionary groups in the United States and several other countries. Those groups were not pleased with these successes for the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. They still cherished their irresponsible plans for striking a blow at those countries in which power had passed into the hands of the toiling masses with a view to restoring the old capitalist system in those countries.

78. The repeated statements on this subject by public figures in the United States are well known. I would remind you of quite recent speeches by Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State and of the Vice-President, Mr. Nixon. Speaking on television at the end of October 1956, Mr. Dulles said that the United States would support the spirit of liberation in Eastern European countries. The United States, he said, would use the Voice of America and the weapon of propaganda balloons for direct interference in the domestic affairs of these countries in order to help to break up the monolithic structure of the people's democracies. On 6 December 1956, Mr. Nixon also appealed for such a policy of giving active encouragement to subversion in the socialist countries.

79. Today [613th meeting] we listened to the representative of the United States. His statement can only be regarded as a further appeal for direct interference in Hungary's domestic affairs in disregard of its sovereignty and independence. The Soviet delegation scornfully repudiates Mr. Lodge's insinuations and attacks against the Soviet Union and asks that speakers making such statements should be called to order. Mr. Lodge seemed to forget where he was. Such language may be acceptable in the State Department of the United States, but is surely out of place in the United Nations.

80. Aggressive groups are continuing to dream about putting into effect their irresponsible plans for achieving world domination, suppressing peoples and crushing national liberation movements. The latest manifestation of this far-reaching policy was the initiation of hostilities in the Middle East, when Israel forces, and later those of the United Kingdom and France carried out their predatory attack against Egypt according to a pre-arranged plan. This was yet another desperate attempt by the colonial Powers, with the help of guns and bombs, to halt the collapse of the colonial system, to intimidate the peoples of Africa and Asia and force them to submit to the dictates of colonial masters. At the same time, they endeavoured to create new sources of tension by expanding their subversive activities against socialist countries.

81. The United States has pursued and is still pursuing large-scale diversionist activities against the people's democracies at the expense of United States taxpayers. A propaganda machine with branches in all continents and designed to serve a specific purpose is daily poisoning the air with lies and slander and appealing for counter-revolutionary armed uprisings. Spies and diversionists are being sent into the socialist countries; large numbers of balloons carrying slanderous pamphlets and leaflets enjoining subversive activities are being launched. The organizers of diversions and *putsches* are forming counter-revolutionary underground groups from the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes in the people's democracies.

82. The attempt at a counter-revolutionary *coup* in Hungary was an integral part of the far-flung imperialist conspiracy against the progressive forces and the socialist countries. Its organizers also thought that the events in Hungary would help them to divert the attention of world opinion from the aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt and that they could take advantage of these events to discredit and undermine the growing peaceful co-operation between the socialist States and the Asian and African countries which emerged victorious in the struggle for national liberation, a co-operation whose great strength was revealed at the time the aggressors committed their attack on Egypt.

83. International imperialist forces led by certain groups in the United States played a basic and decisive part in the fascist *putsch* in Hungary. Taking advantage of the shortcomings and mistakes of the former Hungarian Government and of the country's internal difficulties, the international adventurers decided to resort to open action. There is indisputable evidence that what happened in Hungary was an attempt to restore the régime of landowners and capitalists so hateful to the Hungarian people and to create, in the centre of Europe, a new hotbed of war and of subversive activities against the countries of the socialist camp.

84. It is known that, immediately before the armed uprising in Budapest, during the loyal student demon-

stration of 23 October 1956, slogans and demands of unmistakably fascist character were already in evidence. After a few days, the counter-revolutionary forces finally lost all restraint and began to take barbarous action against social and political leaders, against the supporters of the system of people's democracy. The counter-revolutionary forces came out into the streets, brutally murdering progressive-minded workers, peasants and intellectuals.

85. Speaking on the radio and at meetings, representatives of the reaction such as Cardinal Mindszenty, Szabo, Prince Liechtenstein, Count Tokacs-Tolvay, Prince Esterhazy and others openly advocated the restoration of the Horthyist-fascist régime.

86. It will be plain to everybody that military action undertaken with the help of diversionist groups with a view to the seizure of the radio station and other important military and civilian targets could not have been organized by students participating in a peaceful demonstration, but only by highly trained and fully experienced armed diversionists.

87. All the resources of international reaction were mobilized for the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. There is evidence to confirm that a large number of well-armed fascist diversionists were sent into Hungary for subversive activities from West Germany and other bases. Simultaneously, the campaign of slander organized by the United States and a number of other countries against the socialist States and all peace-loving forces was considerably intensified.

88. Despite the collapse of the counter-revolutionary coup, attempts to incite the remnants of the fascist underground to new disorders are still continuing. Slandrous fabrications of the most diverse kind are being used for this purpose. What sensational rumours these liars continue to think up! Base insinuations have been made concerning the Soviet forces, and all sorts of tales have been circulated about the deportation of Hungarians, about uprisings, clashes and so on.

89. At the present time, international reaction is making every effort to aggravate the country's difficult economic position, to prevent a democratic solution of political problems, to provoke new clashes, if only at isolated points, and to increase the sufferings of the people.

90. This policy is reflected in recent acts of provocation such as the attempt to employ a group of misguided women for anti-democratic purposes, and also in the circulation of illegal leaflets and tendentious rumours intimidating the peaceful population by the threat of new armed clashes. It is common knowledge that some leaflets still being circulated bear the signature of Cardinal Mindszenty, that dubious prelate, who found shelter in the United States diplomatic mission in Budapest.

91. Recognizing that their strength and their influence on the masses in Hungary are waning day by day, the counter-revolutionaries are making desperate attempts to save their lost cause.

92. It should be noted that United States propaganda has begun to concentrate on fomenting hostility and hatred against the people's democracies, the whole socialist world and, of course, the Soviet Union.

93. The foul war of slander and of incitement to subversive activity is daily polluting the minds of simple people in the United States, providing as it does unsavoury and poisonous intellectual fare, inspiring them with fear and engendering hostility towards other

peoples. However, the subversive activities and the intrigues of certain groups in the United States and the organizations supported by that country against the socialist countries are being increasingly condemned even by those circles in the West which cannot possibly be regarded as supporters of the system of people's democracy in Hungary.

94. Allow me to cite a comment by the West German newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the activities of Radio Free Europe. The newspaper says that this radio station has been converted into an "inflammatory transmitter serving to inspire the counter-revolutionary elements in Hungary. The paper recalls that Radio Free Europe was established by a United States committee for which General Clay was directly responsible. A sum of 50 million marks was spent on equipping the station. In addition, the United States Congress appropriated 13 million marks for the purchase of 200,000 radio sets for illegal distribution in the peoples' democracies.

95. No attempt is now made to conceal the fact that, apart from malicious propaganda, the Radio Free Europe organization is used for diversionist and intelligence work against the people's democracies. One of its "sidelines" is the launching of balloons.

96. Reflecting the opinion of many sections of the public, the newspaper calls for a cessation of Radio Free Europe broadcasts. "Political circles everywhere are indignant at its propaganda activities", the newspaper says. "Surely Bonn cannot shut its eyes to all this, merely because our American friends wish us to do so?"

97. Significantly, even official representatives of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany have been compelled to state that the activities of the radio station will be most thoroughly investigated.

98. In disregard of the United Nations Charter and the generally accepted standards governing United Nations activities, the initiators of the slanderous campaign connected with the so-called "Hungarian question", despite the fact that they have succeeded in disrupting the work of the eleventh session of the General Assembly, are not relaxing their efforts. They are in a hurry, because time is working against them.

99. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation feels called upon to draw the General Assembly's attention to the openly provocative nature of the draft resolution presented today, which proposes the condemnation of a violation of the United Nations Charter allegedly committed by the Soviet Union.

100. We are thus witnessing in the General Assembly the enactment of a gross farce, which is impairing the honour and dignity of the United Nations, undermining its foundations and converting it into the weapon of a small group of Powers headed by the United States.

101. Given control of the voting machinery, it is possible to force through any resolution. But whatever kind of resolution may be rubber-stamped, the attempt to overthrow the people's régime in Hungary and to restore the capitalists and landowners to power there is doomed to total failure, for the workers and peasants have clearly shown that they will not permit the return of the old order.

102. The so-called "Hungarian question" has turned the General Assembly into the arena of a bitter struggle between the forces of progress and those of international reaction headed by United States monopolies.



103. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries are being subjected to a continuous stream of insult and slander from those who are infuriated at the collapse of the counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary. Yet these gentlemen take an extremely indulgent attitude to the quite blatant act of aggression committed against Egypt by the United Kingdom, France and Israel. They have not a vestige of wrath or indignation for those who committed a real act of gross aggression; on the contrary, they are most polite and friendly towards the aggressors—the United Kingdom, France and Israel.

104. The United Nations is called upon to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination, and to take appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace. It must raise its voice in defence of these principles, and rebuff the attempts to use it as a servile agent of United States policy.

105. The Soviet delegation considers that the Assembly should condemn the United States for interference in the domestic affairs of the people's democracies and for subversive activities in those countries. The United States is interfering in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and undermining the country's political independence in an attempt to deprive the Hungarian people of their fundamental rights and freedoms. Nor does this apply to the Hungarian people alone.

106. The sponsors of all these unconstitutional resolutions are endeavouring to perpetrate this interference through the dispatch of United Nations observers to Hungary, and to arrange for elections to be held there under the supervision of such observers. Does not this constitute intervention in Hungary's domestic affairs?

107. Again, consider the demands which are being made on Hungary and all countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty to tear up that agreement, while at the same time such aggressive treaties as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization and the Baghdad Pact are passed over in shamefaced silence.

108. Furthermore, it is desired to prevent the Hungarian Government from seeking the assistance of friendly countries, including the Soviet Union. It is desired that the chaos should continue in Hungary, and that life should not return to normal. This open interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian State is directed against the system of people's democracy.

109. The General Assembly should condemn these attempts by certain countries to impose their will on other countries.

110. The Soviet delegation has already given its detailed views on the questions which it has illegally been forced to consider. Many have spoken here about the presence of Soviet forces in Hungary. Everybody knows that the Soviet forces are in Hungary under an international treaty concluded at Warsaw by eight European States for the purpose of safeguarding their security.

111. Moreover, the Hungarian Government asked the Soviet Government for assistance in the fight against the counter-revolution, in protecting the people's democratic régime and in restoring order in the country. Naturally, the Soviet Government could not refuse this request. It is quite obvious that this question lies within the sole jurisdiction of the States which concluded this treaty.

112. The socialist States could not remain indifferent to the dangerous situation which had arisen in Hungary, and which threatened not only the people's democratic régime in that country, but the security of the socialist States adjoining it. Hungary had to be prevented from becoming the springboard for a new war, as would inevitably have happened had the counter-revolutionary forces been successful.

113. It is likewise known that in its statement of 30 October 1956, the Soviet Government declared its readiness to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the other parties to the Warsaw Treaty concerning the presence of Soviet forces in Hungarian territory.

114. We had an opportunity last week [605th meeting] to draw the General Assembly's attention to the Soviet Government's well-known proposal concerning the presence of foreign forces in the territory of other States and the withdrawal of those forces.

115. We have so far had no response from those who make so much clamour here about the Soviet forces in Hungary, but who prefer to keep silent about the forces they themselves maintain beyond their own borders. Clearly the next move must come, not from the Soviet Union, but from those Powers which base their policy on "positions of strength", relying on military bases on foreign soil near the socialist countries, and which refuse to follow the course of disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

116. For its part, the Soviet Union consistently and unremittently pursues a foreign policy of peace and seeks the peaceful solution of outstanding international problems. It is prepared to enter into immediate negotiations for the consideration of any constructive proposals designed to preserve peace and strengthen confidence between States.

117. A manoeuvre involving the dispatch of observers has also been undertaken here, thus artificially kindling passions over the Hungarian question and spurring the battered remnants of the diversionists and fascists to further sallies in Hungary. Those responsible for this manoeuvre are very well aware that it is insulting to use the language of an ultimatum, that this whole business of sending observers is unacceptable to sovereign States, and that Governments which place great value on their country's sovereignty reject such attempts to interfere in that country's domestic affairs.

118. Since the question of sending United Nations observers has been raised, why do not the representatives of the United States, France, Cuba and others propose, for example, the dispatch of observers to Algeria, where the French Government is suppressing the national liberation movement of the Algerian people with fire and the sword? Or why not, let us say, to Cuba, where the dictator Batista is crushing the opposition and the people's aspirations to freedom with machine guns and artillery?

119. The representative of Cuba is prominent among those who are showing a suspiciously high degree of activity in the discussion of the Hungarian question. What a cruel jest at democracy's expense, that the representative of one of the most tyrannical of régimes—a régime which keeps itself in being only by force of arms and by cruel and unrestrained repression of the people—should pose as its protector!

120. The representatives of several countries, who hypocritically set themselves up as champions of democracy and freedom, sedulously ignore these and many other facts. Acting in the interests of reactionary circles,

they are doing everything in their power to fan the campaign of slander relating to the so-called Hungarian question.

121. As to the Hungarian people, what they need today is not insulting and provocative resolutions and statements, but freedom from interference in their domestic affairs, a chance to engage in peaceful, constructive activity, and aid in quickly repairing the destruction inflicted on Hungary by the fascist rebels.

122. In this connexion, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the General Assembly to a report published in the Press by Mrs. Eva Priester, who recently returned from Budapest to Austria. Mrs. Priester gives several examples of the sinister role played by different provocative rumours circulated by the radio and Press of the Western countries, and especially by the Austrian radio. The purpose of these lying reports and of this endeavour to confuse the population is, as the author remarks, to hinder the resumption of work and obstruct the return to normal in the country, and to reduce the economic and political situation in Hungary to chaos. Mrs. Priester concludes:

“Tell the Austrian people, men and women told us in Hungary, ‘what this radio propaganda is costing our country. It is responsible for our hunger, for the destruction, and for the blood-letting. Tell them that our country wants to be left in peace; that it wants to solve its problems and overcome its difficulties by itself’”

It is impossible to disagree with this appraisal by an objective observer who has been in Hungary.

123. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation feels bound to draw the General Assembly's attention once again to the dangerous consequences which will follow for the United Nations and for the cause of peace if further use is made of the United Nations as a means of exerting pressure and interfering in the domestic affairs of other States. These attempts by a group of States led by the United States to use the United Nations as a tool of their foreign policy in the pursuit of their own selfish ends strike at the very foundation of the United Nations as an international organization. The responsibility for these activities and their possible outcome rests wholly with the United States and its partners in this matter. It is they whom the United Nations should condemn. The peace-loving peoples cannot and will not tolerate the use of the United Nations, which is intended to preserve peace and international security, as an instrument for the implementation of a policy that has nothing whatever in common with these exalted purposes.

124. The Soviet delegation considers that the consideration of this draft resolution, which is a disgrace to the United Nations, should cease, and that all attempts to push the United Nations into disastrous adventures should be thwarted once and for all.

125. Mr. JACOBSEN (Denmark): I want to make known the views of the Danish Government on the draft resolution we have co-sponsored and on the present situation. This autumn has been one of the most sinister of times since the period of Hitler. Hopes were beginning to take shape of a new and milder course in the Soviet Union. We never believed that communism had ceased to be communism, and we did not doubt that the ultimate aim of communism was to conquer the world for communism; however, we hoped for a new and a milder way in this fighting for communism. We believed that the Soviet Union had realized that,

on account of the new dreadful atomic weapons, a new time had come in which the struggle for power had taken the form not of weapons, but of a struggle of human minds. I think we all realize that if a struggle has to go on, that is the only worthy way to fight.

126. These hopes were destroyed when the Soviet forces marched into Budapest. The disappointment felt in Denmark about the future of world politics was great, and what has happened in Hungary has been the most brutal challenge to mankind since Hitler.

127. We felt humiliated at having to stand by, unable to help the suffering Hungarian people, but, at the same time, something has happened which has given hope for the future. One and a half months of continued resistance by a people, so to speak, without weapons against Soviet armed forces has shown us, if we ever had any doubt, that the love of freedom is not dead behind the “iron curtain”. It has shown us, too, that those who speak about reactionary forces and fascist gangs, such as in the intervention we have just heard, have as their strongest opponents the working classes. Is that not an interesting development, that the most bitter opponents of communism behind the iron curtain are the workers?

128. The representative of the Soviet Union has just told us that, because of some fascist gangs, it was necessary to call in the Soviet army. One is tempted to ask where the Hungarian army was. There existed a non-unimportant Hungarian army; why was it not sufficient to use that army if the question was only that of some fascist remnants? In our countries we have met with a wave of indignation against the oppressors and a strongly expressed solidarity with the oppressed. That is a sign which is full of hope. If, after all, we are entering a period where the unavoidable fight between freedom and tyranny will not be a fight with arms so much as a fight between minds, then it is good to know that this mind is unconquerable behind the iron curtain and in the free world.

129. We know that in these days the peoples behind the “iron curtain” and the peoples of the free world have set their hopes on the United Nations. Have we been able to satisfy those hopes? That is a searching question for everyone of us, and we must feel ashamed and humiliated that we have not. What has the United Nations been able to do? We have adopted a long series of resolutions—on 4, 9 and 21 November and 5 December—and the Soviet Union and the puppet régime of Mr. Kadar have not complied with them in any way.

130. Were these resolutions, then, of no use? I think we should have the courage to face the fact that great disappointment in the United Nations has been caused in the Member States and that today the prestige of the United Nations is at stake. The Soviet Union has been flouting our decisions; the United Kingdom, France and Israel, though perhaps a little too slowly, have complied with them. Many will ask whether that is not immoral. Does this not mean that there are two kinds of Members in this Assembly: there are countries with a live democratic conscience, and it is taken for granted that those countries will conform to United Nations decisions—if in no other way, they would have to do so by the pressure of their own public opinion—and then there are the dictatorships, on the other hand, with no free public opinion? They seem to be free to flout the decisions of the Organization in which they claim membership.

131. Does this situation give too great an advantage to the dictatorships? I do not think so, not in the long run. The United Nations is still more than anything else a moral force. It is only in consequence of that that it can appeal more to countries with a living democratic conscience than to dictatorships. That may seem to give a great advantage to the dictatorships, but I am not sure that it does. If we agree that the battle of our days is more a battle between human minds, then it does not. What is at stake is the opinion of the uncommitted peoples. I believe that many nations have realized in the course of these weeks the fundamental difference in the attitude of the United Kingdom, France and Israel, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other, so far as the decisions of the United Nations are concerned.

132. We may find that the Soviet Union has had its way. The question is whether it has not been too expensive. It is not possible in the long run to have two kinds of Members: those who comply with United Nations decisions and those who flout them. But I am not sure that in the long run this difference will be a disadvantage to those who abide by the law.

133. The United Nations has adopted a series of resolutions against what has happened in Hungary. They have altered nothing. Many may ask: Is there any reason to pass one more resolution? Does this new draft resolution add anything to what has already been said? My delegation believes that it does. My delegation considers it essential to have this resolution adopted, for two reasons: First, we here formally condemn the Soviet Union, for the first time, for violation of the Charter of the United Nations. These are strong words, but they have to be said—and they have not been said until now. Secondly, we hope that the time has now come when the United Nations can speak almost with one voice. Some have been hesitating; they have wanted to give the Soviet Union the benefit of the doubt. Today, things must be obvious.

134. It was a strange thing for me to hear the representative of India say that we should not discuss who is the aggressor—even if it was still stranger to hear the representative of the Soviet Union speak of cruel United States interference in Hungary. All the same, I think that things are obvious to almost everybody: the objections to observers, a sign of the state of their conscience; the violation of the Secretary-General's right under the Charter to visit any Member State; and, most important of all, the suppression in blood—which is still going on—of the Hungarian workers' right to freedom.

135. For the two reasons mentioned, my Government finds this draft resolution essential and asks every independent and freedom-loving country to vote for the resolution.

136. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) [*translated from Russian*]: For several weeks now a hate campaign has been waged in connexion with the so-called Hungarian question. That campaign, carried on in the United Nations and elsewhere, is directed against both the Hungarian People's Republic and the other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

137. The Czechoslovak delegation, together with the delegations of other countries, has repeatedly exposed the aims of that campaign. Again and again we have pointed out that the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question is only part of well-co-ordinated and extensive activities carried out by various means, and involving flagrant intervention from abroad, the pur-

pose of which is to hinder the post-war development programmes of Hungary and other Eastern European countries and force them to abandon them. At the same time that campaign is intended to divert the attention of world public opinion from the crude aggression unleashed by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt. Now that some time has passed we can appreciate the true significance of the events which have occurred in recent weeks.

138. If we make a realistic appraisal of that situation, we must state frankly that at the end of October and the beginning of November a bloody attempt was made to carry out a counter-revolutionary *putsch*, set up a fascist government and install an imperialist dictatorship in Hungary. The instigators and ringleaders of that campaign are trying to make it appear that what took place was a nation-wide movement of the Hungarian people, a national uprising in defence of freedom and civil rights. They are trying to delude world opinion into thinking that it was a movement to defend democracy.

139. But world opinion is recognizing more and more clearly that from its very inception this was actually a counter-revolutionary *putsch*, led by groups established in advance with a central organization and direction, which took advantage of the legitimate demands of the Hungarian people for rectification of shortcomings and mistakes in Hungary to further their own cunning ends. The true nature of the counter-revolutionary *putsch* and its ultimate aims are attested to by the striking resemblance of the methods used, as well as of individual episodes to those of the bloody counter-revolution of 1919 which established the Horthyist fascist régime in Hungary. That régime, the first fascist régime in Europe, was a source of continual conflict and a hotbed of war in Central Europe, for a quarter of a century, right down to the time of its defeat in the Second World War.

140. Today everyone knows that Hungarian reaction was closely linked with imperialist reaction in the West. There is by now ample and irrefutable evidence that the counter-revolution in Hungary was prepared and carried out under direct guidance from abroad, with active and unceasing foreign help. It is no accident that the trail of foreign intervention should lead straight to the headquarters of American intelligence and its branches in Western Germany, lavishly equipped out of the funds appropriated by the Congress of the United States for subversion, diversionary activity and espionage in the peoples' democracies. While the counter-revolution was in progress, those agencies organized large-scale measures for the transfer to Hungarian territory not only of the latest types of arms but of fascist bands, specially trained for that purpose.

141. The broadcasting station, Radio Free Europe, supported by American funds, was virtually the general staff of the counter-revolution. It used its facilities to give instructions to the armed counter-revolutionaries, promised them military aid from the Western Powers, incited them to commit atrocities and to murder Hungarian patriots, and intensified its efforts to provoke unrest and dissension in the other peoples' democracies.

142. The activities of that American organization were carried so far that they aroused a wave of anger not only in Hungary but in Western Germany and throughout the world. Under the pressure of public opinion in Western Germany itself, its activities are being condemned with ever-increasing vigour, and

more and more voices are joining in the demand that it cease its operations in West German territory. For example, the organ of the West Germany Free Democratic Party, *Das Freie Wort*, issued a statement to the effect that the aggressive propaganda of Radio Free Europe is mainly responsible for the bloodshed in Hungary. It declared that the radio station's activity constituted a crime against humanity, and demanded categorically that its subversive operations, as well as those of other similar organizations, be brought to an immediate end.

143. The West German newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* openly condemned the provocative activities of Radio Free Europe and called on the Bonn Government to withdraw its licence to broadcast. It further demanded that a committee be set up without delay to investigate those activities, particularly the part played by the organization in heightening international tension and the support it gave to fascist elements in Hungary.

144. That American organization has been working for many years now to increase international tension in Europe and organize diversionary activity and espionage against the people's democracies. During the Hungarian disturbances its subversive acts became so flagrant that the Bonn Government, according to news dispatches, was obliged to undertake a new investigation of its most recent operations, that is, during the period when it was openly instigating the slaughter in Hungary.

145. The forces of imperialism did not succeed in carrying out their designs in Hungary. The healthy core of the Hungarian people, with the aid of Soviet armed forces, overcame the attempts of internal and foreign reactionaries to install a fascist régime in Hungary and make that country a bridge-head for aggression against the countries of the socialist camp.

146. Certain circles in the West which are primarily responsible for the events in Hungary cannot reconcile themselves to their defeat and are irked by the fact that that country is going ahead on the path of socialism. For that reason they are making every effort to hinder the return to normal life in Hungary and to create conditions in which internal reaction, directed, instigated and actively supported from abroad, can prepare a new attack on the national-democratic system and set up its own régime, of which we had a taste during the recent days of bloodshed and terror.

147. After the counter-revolution in Hungary was put down, international reactionary groups unleashed a furious campaign of slander and insult against the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic. This is not the first time that they have used the rostrum of the United Nations for such ends, although the question at issue is strictly the domestic concern of Hungary.

148. The Czechoslovak delegation has repeatedly protested that the General Assembly should not permit these outrageous activities directed against the Hungarian People's Republic, and has demanded that the so-called Hungarian question be stricken from the agenda. Yet despite those protests, the General Assembly has adopted a number of illegal and provocative resolutions the purpose of which was to intimidate the Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic by threats and blackmail, to prevent a return to normal living, and to inspire and spread fantastic rumours about the situation in that country in order to destroy the people's rule in Hungary. The General

Assembly allowed itself to be pushed into adopting resolutions which not only run counter to the principles of the United Nations Charter but directly discredit the good name of the Organization. How else can we interpret the provocative Cuban draft resolution based on a clumsy invention about the deportation of Hungarian citizens, or the other draft resolutions based in turn on the one proposed by Cuba?

149. Whether or not some delegations are aware of it, the purpose of those resolutions was to stir up trouble in Hungary and support the reactionary forces which prepared the ground for the bloody attempt to carry out a counter-revolutionary *coup*, thus posing a threat to the peace and security of Europe.

150. This is evidenced by the fact that the sponsors of the resolutions, headed by the United States delegation, are concentrating all their attention on provocative demands and ignoring the imperative need for economic assistance to Hungary. At first they hypocritically declared that they were ready to offer assistance to the Hungarian people, and even proposed resolutions, once again based on the fabrication that they were being prevented from giving such aid. Yet now, when their assertions that obstacles were being put in the way of foreign aid have been proved false, as was seen from the speech of the Indian representative, they are abandoning their own resolutions and instead of taking action that would really bring help to the Hungarian people, they are again simply calling for new attempts to create disorder in Hungary.

151. A friend in need is a friend indeed. The truth of that adage is being demonstrated in Hungary today. Thanks to the generous assistance offered by the Government of the USSR and other countries in the socialist camp, the sufferings inflicted upon the Hungarian people by the counter-revolutionaries are now being rapidly brought to an end. The Czechoslovak Government has from the very beginning given large-scale aid to the people of the sister Republic of Hungary. Upon the initiative of the Czechoslovak people, trainloads of essential commodities are regularly entering Hungary. Our Government has already given Hungary material aid in the amount of 90 million Czechoslovak crowns.

152. Some delegations, headed by the United States, have raised a hypocritical outcry over the fact that the Hungarian Government refuses to permit interference in its internal affairs under the guise of a visit by so-called United Nations observers. No sovereign State in the world would agree to such an obvious attempt to meddle in its domestic affairs, yet certain delegations are now criticizing Hungary because of its refusal to permit such interference.

153. The provocative character of the plan to send so-called observers is likewise evident in the fact that it is directed against the sovereignty not only of the Hungarian People's Republic but also of the neighbouring countries. In this connexion we need only recall that the resolution adopted over the protests of many delegations on 4 December [*resolution 1130 (XI)*] called for the dispatch of observers to other unspecified countries, although the Governments concerned had not even been consulted regarding the admission of such observers.

154. The events in Hungary directly affect, first of all, the neighbouring countries, among them Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak delegation has already pointed out that a fascist Hungary with revisionist and chauvinistic tendencies would serve as a weapon for the de-

struction of peace and security in central Europe. It must be stressed again that a victory of fascist elements would create an extremely serious situation in Europe, increasing the danger of open conflict, that is, of a third world war.

155. It is primarily in the light of these facts that we must examine the participation of Soviet troops in the events in Hungary. That participation was carried out in response to a request by the Hungarian Government and was fully in conformity with existing treaties and the principles of international law. The Czechoslovak Government has declared that it considers that the help given by units of the Soviet army was not only lawful but absolutely imperative and unavoidable. It was unavoidable if the dangerous pressure of the forces of international reaction against peace and democracy was to be withstood; it was unavoidable if the establishment of a fascist dictatorship and Horthyist régime was to be prevented, if the achievement of the democratic order were to be protected, if the national independence of Hungary was to be upheld and safeguarded. Finally, the Czechoslovak Government considers that the participation of Soviet troops was unavoidable in the interests of the security of Hungary's neighbours, including the Czechoslovak Republic, and in the interests of peace and security throughout Europe. The assistance given by Soviet troops was in full accord with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

156. The ultimatum-like character of the draft resolutions, for which the United States delegation was primarily responsible, makes it clear that their sponsors, far from being moved by an urge to help the Hungarian people, were seeking only to intimidate them, to embarrass the Hungarian People's Republic and to stir up hostility against the countries of Eastern Europe.

157. The latest draft resolution submitted by the United States and other countries represents a continuation of that same policy. The Czechoslovak delegation regards that draft resolution as an outrageous provocation against both the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the Security Council, and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

158. The Czechoslovak delegation emphatically rejects that provocation.

159. Just what is the substance of this outrageous attack? Its purpose is twofold. As far as Hungary is concerned, it is designed to encourage counter-revolutionary elements in that country. Its purpose is to reassure them, on the one hand, that the West has not forgotten them, and to let them know, on the other hand, that further effective action is expected from them against the democratic order. The attack is intended to hold up once more the resumption of normal living in Hungary.

160. Internationally, the purpose of these measures is to calumniate the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic and weaken the international position of both countries. They likewise aim not only at keeping alive but at increasing international tension in the interests of those who want to intensify the cold war.

161. At the same time those measures are intended to divert the attention of world public opinion from the brutal aggression against Egypt and the new intrigues and machinations being devised by the forces of imperialism against the sovereignty and national independence of Egypt and other countries of the Near and Middle East.

162. The Czechoslovak delegation again wishes to warn the General Assembly of the dangers of following the path along which the irresponsible instigators of the campaign of slander against the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union are trying to lead it. The adoption of further provocative resolutions submitted to the General Assembly may have a serious negative effect on both the activities of the United Nations and international relations in general.

163. Mr. CEA (Philippines): This Assembly has to date approved several resolutions calling upon the Governments of the Soviet Union and Hungary to withdraw Soviet troops from Hungarian soil, to stop immediately the forcible deportation of Hungarian patriots from their homes and to allow United Nations observers to enter Hungary. To this day these resolutions have remained unheeded and ignored.

164. We have again before us another draft resolution addressing a new appeal to both Governments to comply with the collective will of the Members of this Assembly. The Philippine delegation wishes to add its humble voice to this appeal. In co-sponsoring this draft resolution, my delegation reaffirms once more its complete adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and to the basic principles of human rights and freedom.

165. The position of my delegation on this question will be better understood if viewed against the background of the struggle of our people for freedom during a period of 400 years. What my people fought for during four centuries were the same fundamental rights for which these embattled Hungarians are now fighting.

166. The United Nations has shown great vitality and resolve when faced with momentous decisions. It has shown it in Korea, and again in meeting the Suez crisis. There appears to be no reason for not showing the same determination vis-à-vis the Hungarian situation.

167. One of the fundamental conditions for admission to membership of the United Nations is a pledge to uphold peace and a disposition to comply with the decisions of the United Nations. The Charter does not allow a varying standard of compliance. It was never intended that one standard should apply to one set of Members and another standard to others. It does not matter at all that the mandate concerns the duties of a great nation or the obligations of a small one.

168. What is important is that there should be only one standard, and that that standard should govern all cases. This is the only sensible rule that should guide us in our conduct as Members of this Organization. The rule that we applied in Suez should be the same rule that we should apply in Hungary. We cannot call the intrusion of the United Kingdom, France and Israel into Egypt aggression without being prepared to call Soviet intervention in Hungary aggression also. If the United Nations is to survive, it is imperative that its mandates should be imposed equally on all Members, whether big or small.

169. The Philippine delegation notes that both the Soviet Union and Hungary voted for the resolution of the Assembly urging the United Kingdom, France and Israel to stop all military action in Egypt and to pull out their troops immediately. The resolution on Egypt was predicated on conditions and circumstances less grave than those obtaining in Hungary. Consistency, therefore, demands that at least we take the same action on both questions.

170. I argument is advanced that it is improper for the United Nations to interfere in affairs that fall within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary. But why are there Soviet troops in Hungary not only intervening in Hungarian affairs but in addition dictating at gun point what should and should not be done in that country? It is also charged that all talks about inhuman atrocities in Hungary are pure propaganda. If this is so, why the truculent reluctance to allow United Nations observers to enter Hungary?

171. The question before us at this moment is of an urgency which cannot be ignored. Every hour, every day after day, the atrocities being committed in Hungary are mounting and it seems to my delegation that no diminution can be expected in the black deeds the like of which we do not see often in contemporary times. This matter before us transcends all boundaries and there is not a soul in this chamber who can fail to see the meaning of this crime for the whole of the human race. What is being done to Hungary now could be done again to any other defenceless country on earth.

172. We are the embodiment here of the will of civilized society. We are here to represent the collective mind of peoples striving to remove the last shackles that impede the progress of man towards full freedom. We are all subscribers to a Charter which, among other things, is pledged to uphold the rights of man against tyranny and oppression.

173. But what do we see? We see a so-called great Powers—one of the signatories to our Charter—machine-gunning women and children in Hungary, levelling homes, deporting young people to Siberia, and executing patriots without trial. And today happens to be Human Rights Day, a day for the reaffirmation and rededication of our "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".

174. Our duty is clear before the mounting savagery now going on in Hungary. The time to waver is past. We have waited long enough to put a stop to the orgy of blood and fire in Hungary. We have hoped that the Power concerned would realize that it could not go on committing its atrocities on a defenceless people with impunity. We have prayed that it would relent at last. But apparently we have hoped and prayed in vain.

175. The draft resolution before us speaks for itself. We are calling once again upon the Soviet Union to stop its assaults on Hungary and its defenceless people. We are appealing to the ruling forces of that nation to examine their consciences and ask themselves whether the black deeds they are committing can go on indefinitely without ultimate retribution. We appeal to that Power once more to stop and think, to try to listen to the cry of world public opinion, to consider whether it is possible to exact so much blood without in the end paying its price.

176. My delegation has joined with many other delegations in preparing the draft resolution now before us. We ask the Assembly to approve the draft resolution.

177. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain): [translated from Spanish]: The Spanish delegation is prepared to vote for the seventeen-Power draft resolution in its entirety, with full understanding of its purport, and with real sincerity.

178. This Hungarian affair, apart from its tragic aspect which becomes more striking every day, is to some extent obscure and confused, for it must be ad-

mitted that it is constantly taking new turns. For the past eleven years Hungary, like other nations, has been living in a shadowy-region somewhere between freedom, slavery and foreign authority exercised under treaties whereby Hungary was delivered up to another mightier Power as an area of military influence, treaties which even now have not been fully complied with. There have been persecutions and violations of the most basic human rights in Hungary for at least eleven years. It is not just in the last few months that Cardinal Mindszenty has been made a prisoner, nor are the events we all read about in the papers occurring now for the first time.

179. It is true that, in a succession of governments which without injustice might perhaps be termed Quisling governments, there was one person who, for a brief moment, won some popular support and appeared to represent the will of Hungary; and when this Government appeared to be giving effect to those views and met with popular approval, we were faced with the specific, single event around which this discussion revolves, and which has prompted us to speak: the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet army. What happened was not that Hungarian Communists fought for communism or Hungarians dubbed Fascists fought for fascism, or democrats for democracy. The truth is that all Hungarians are fighting against the Soviet invasion; and the only reason why we are taking this decisive and vigorous action here is that the Soviet Union is also interfering with the Government of the officially free nation of Hungary. Furthermore, whether or not these forms of intervention are authorized by the Warsaw Treaty, their true scope has been made very plain here.

180. To tell the truth, albeit in somewhat undiplomatic language, the Warsaw Treaty is nothing but a *diktat* addressed to a group of more or less shadowy States and binding them to respect the authority of the most powerful, which had taken military precautions beforehand. But in addition, from one of the most cogent legal arguments I have ever heard advanced by the Peruvian delegation this morning, we learn that even the Warsaw Treaty does not authorize the intervention of Soviet troops in Hungary, for it was established solely to cover cases of foreign invasion, to provide for defence against any invasion from abroad; and this did not happen in Hungary.

181. The Peruvian representative made that clear, furthermore I have just been examining the peace treaties, and find that they directed that all troops, including Soviet troops, should be withdrawn on the termination of the occupation of Austria. Hence there was no justification for this terrible violation of these treaties.

182. We are all agreed that this aggravation of the offence was providential, for, as in the case of so many latent scandals, it brought the scandal of Hungary out into the open. At the same time it threw light on the situation of Europe, with Germany divided and another group of countries subject to foreign influence—a situation which has left our continent a shadow of its former self, partitioned and mutilated, and unable to speak for the old united civilization it used to represent.

183. In the circumstances I consider it essential that we should adopt the measures provided for in this draft resolution. I do not find them mild. They seem to me quite strong and well-conceived. Moreover, they leave the door open for further punitive measures if, unhappily, they are not obeyed. The word "condemns" is used here; it is explicit, and it is justified. If you will

allow me a comparison with the vocabulary of my religion, I should say that this is the equivalent of excommunication; an excommunication pronounced by world public opinion against a country which has trampled underfoot the rules of the Charter and the rules of morality observed throughout the world. And that is a great deal.

184. The representative of the Soviet Union expressed surprise a few minutes ago that we did not adopt similar resolutions with regard to France and the United Kingdom. But did those countries take months and months to announce their withdrawal as the Soviet Union has done in Hungary, when every day the newspapers tell us that it is increasing the strength of its troops and increasing the number of martyrs to freedom in Hungary? Did not France and the United Kingdom announce from the start their intention of withdrawing; and, even then, did we not hold them to it by dint of adverbs and adjectives until we finally secured compliance with what had been decided? Why, then, should we have adopted a resolution of condemnation?

185. It is now that we are adopting the condemnation: a condemnation of the Soviet Union, to which we might address the words used by Cromwell to Parliament: "In the name of God, go!" Leave this country which you are drenching in blood, and where you have no legal right to be. Our action is therefore a serious one and, I admit, not one to be taken frivolously; but it has its roots deep in our conscience, it marks a step forward in the development of the world conscience, which is one of the best manifestations of this time.

186. In earlier times isolated voices were raised when outrages were committed. Each one of us can speak of our independence and periods of domination by foreign countries. History has witnessed all this, and all—or if not all, many—of us have been by turns the victim and the guilty party. But today there is the universal recognition of such serious offences which was absent before. In earlier days an isolated voice would be raised in the name of world freedom—perhaps the voice of Gladstone in the British Parliament, inveighing against what he considered terrible crimes, or the voice of that French gentleman, later head of the Government, who stood up before the Emperor of Russia at an official ceremony and shouted to him: "*Vive la Pologne, monsieur*". Now it is the whole of united mankind which comes forward to denounce the Soviet Union; and we, at any rate, do so without hostility or rancour, but in an effort to find a remedy for the grave damage inflicted by imperialist ambition, which appears in the guise of a *nouveau riche* thirst for collecting countries and keeping them under domination, not allowing them to make the slightest movement.

187. Mend your ways! Forgive my candour in offering you advice; but mend your ways. In the "hour of truth", to which the Argentine representative referred [613th meeting], recalling a typical expression of the arena, such forced allies are usually of little value, and all the battles of Leipzig show how far their valour goes when the overthrow of their foreign masters is at stake. Do not, therefore, persist in this violence against mankind. Consider the example I have given. Seek universal agreement in this matter.

188. I have just received a copy of the Indian motion, which it would be discourteous to discuss before its sponsor has presented it. I have not analysed it in detail. While not so strong as ours it contains serious words of condemnation, though the word is not actually

used, and reflects humane sentiments which we must all share in our search for broad agreement.

189. If you will bear with me I should like to recall a French folk-tale, as told in the amusing song of good King Dagobert. This fairy tale may be instructive to us all, and particularly, in this case, to the Soviet Union. The good King Dagobert, who reigned in the Middle Ages, appeared at a ceremony one day with his breeches on back to front. His Prime Minister was the saintly Bishop Eloy, who was also a goldsmith; he admonished the king, saying: "Sire, your breeches are back to front." Then the king, in all humility, said: "Then I shall put them on properly"; he withdrew, and reappeared at the ceremony properly dressed.

190. Reflect that at this moment you are causing bloodshed in Hungary with crimes almost unprecedented in this century. Reflect that the policy of the good King Dagobert has its merits. The policy can serve in your case, too, and it would produce that human understanding which we are all seeking.

191. Mr. FINARD (Canada): As both Mr. Pearson and myself have already stated our positions very clearly with regard to the Hungarian problem, it was not my intention to intervene in the present debate on this draft resolution, but in view of the strong revulsion of feeling in my country against recent events in Hungary, I do not find it possible to pass over, in silence, the fact that eight years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by this Assembly, the USSR is flagrantly ignoring its provisions by its action in Hungary.

192. We cannot but be impressed by the almost unanimous striving of the Hungarian youth, after a decade of communist indoctrination, for national freedom and independence—a feeling, incidentally, which does not seem to be confined to Hungary, but which appears to be present in other countries of the Soviet bloc, as well as in the USSR itself. It is an extraordinary manifestation of the indestructibility of the human spirit that a totalitarian educational system has not been able to kill this striving. It is easy enough for us in this Assembly to commend the youth of these countries, to pay them lip service, while young Hungarians are shedding their blood for their country. I would hope rather that, on Human Rights Day, we might take some spiritual encouragement from their example.

193. In this connexion, I should like to point out that the entire teaching staff and the student body of a Hungarian school of forestry have asked for asylum in Canada and are being adopted by the University of British Columbia in my own country. In addition, 250 students from the University of Saporon and many other students are to move *en masse* to Canada; some of them have already arrived and are describing tragically how the students and professors of Saporon University tried to defend their town against Soviet invaders. What clearer proof could there be that the free atmosphere and a realistic scale of values, essential to the survival of universities, has disappeared in Hungary under the Soviet rule. It is distressing that these students feel more at home abroad than they do in their own country because, unfortunately, their country no longer can be called their own, since it is being politically dominated and militarily occupied by the USSR.

194. This is no domestic affair. The political and military power of the Soviet Union, so manifest in the puppet government of the Kadar régime, the Soviet tanks in every Hungarian town, the flight of refugees to the West and the deportation of prisoners to the

East, can by no stretch of imagination be considered domestic questions. Does this not in fact affect every one of us throughout the world? Is this not a question which knows no international boundaries?

195. I should like to remind the representative of the USSR of the statement by that staunch advocate of freedom, William Ewart Gladstone, in referring to the demands of the Bulgarians for independence in the nineteenth century: "You cannot stop the forward march of a nation."

196. The forward march of Hungary towards freedom can be interrupted and delayed; it cannot be stopped and, as my Prime Minister said a short time ago in a message to the Hungarian-Canadian Federation: "There can be no doubt in the mind of the free world that sooner or later Hungary will again be a free nation."

197. I need hardly say that Canada supports the draft resolution before us, as indeed we will support any move within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations to improve the Hungarian people's chances of securing a real measure of national independence. At the same time, this Assembly must insist on compliance with its resolutions and must require that respect and courtesy be paid by Member States to its Secretary-General. In this respect, I should like to ask what reasonable explanation the representative of

Hungary has produced to justify the fact that he seems to have deliberately duped the General Assembly. Indeed, it seems to me that the Hungarian Government is treating the Assembly with studied contempt by answering our reasonable requests by a radio announcement. I would go further and ask whether it is not treating its representative, who is the Acting Foreign Minister of his country, with the same contempt.

198. The representative of Romania has said that life is being normalized in Hungary. So far as I know, martial law now rules there, and Soviet martial law at that. Is this what the representative of Romania means by normalization of life? It seems to me a pretty complete refutation of the statements by him and by other representatives of the Soviet bloc in this Assembly to the effect that order has been restored. Order there may be, but it is the order of the grave.

199. To conclude, I must say that this draft resolution is the absolute minimum which the world has the right to expect from this body. It will be, if adopted, the ninth resolution on this subject passed by the General Assembly. It will no doubt receive overwhelming support from all Member States which believe, as we do, in the duty of this Assembly to protect freedom against tyranny. We can only hope that it will not have been adopted in vain.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*