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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. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*translated from Russian*]: Some persons with an axe to grind are continuing to act out in the General Assembly the comedy of the so-called Hungarian question. The latest act was the adoption by the General Assembly, on 4 December 1956, of a resolution [1130 (XI)] which amounts, in effect, to an ultimatum to the Governments of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic to allow observers into Hungary.

2. Of course none of the sponsors of the resolution was under any illusion that this ultimatum, addressed to two sovereign Member States of the United Nations, would achieve the desired result. And when all this went up in smoke, the leaders of the campaign of hostility and hatred went still further and tried to induce the General Assembly to lend its fair name to an aggravation of the threats and accusations levelled against the Soviet Union.

3. Let us look at the draft resolution now before the Assembly [*A/3436/Rev.1 and Add. 1*]. Its authors accuse the Soviet Union of violating the political independence of Hungary. But the Soviet Union has not violated the political independence of Hungary. Soviet troops, as you have often been told, were—as they still are—in the territory of Hungary in accordance with the terms of treaties and agreements concluded between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Hungary and ratified by the highest legislative organs of the two States.

4. With regard to the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary has stated:

"The entry of Soviet troops to assist in the crushing of the counter-revolutionary rising took place at the request of the Hungarian Government. It must be said that the decision concerning the dispatch of Soviet forces to assist the Hungarian people was not taken lightly either by the Hungarian or by the USSR Government. Why? you may ask. Because we

knew very well that hostile propagandists would exploit the event to accuse the Soviet Union of interference in the internal affairs of our country. For the USSR Government it was a question not only of human and material sacrifices but also of moral responsibility. The fact that the Hungarian Government, after careful consideration, decided to request assistance, and that, after careful consideration, the USSR Government decided to give such assistance, shows that it was a matter of sheer necessity."

5. Now that the secret designs of the reactionaries have been fully exposed, there can be no doubt whatever that the assistance given by the Soviet forces was indeed called forth by grievous necessity.

6. There is incontrovertible evidence that international imperialism played a decisive part in the events in Hungary. If the forces of reaction outside and inside Hungary had accomplished their aims and a wave of fascism had swept over Hungary, a new and dangerous seat of war would have been formed in the middle Danube basin. The following statement by Bishop Janos Peter merits our attention: he said that the main endeavour of the reactionary forces was to change the basis of the social and political life of Hungary, and that the realization of that aim would have been dangerous not only for Hungary but also for the security and the very existence of neighbouring countries.

7. But the healthy forces of the Hungarian people, with the help of Soviet troops, averted that threat and thwarted the reactionaries' conspiracy against peace.

8. Those people in the West who had placed great hopes in their agents in Hungary spared neither efforts nor dollars in order to tear Hungary from the community of the socialist countries with the slogan of "liberation", so-called—the officially proclaimed doctrine of the United States with regard to the peoples' democracies. This policy of "liberation" was fully confirmed not long ago in the pre-election programme of the Republican Party, which is now in power. The programme clearly states: we shall continue to strive for the liberation of the satellite States—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania and so on, once free countries now behind the "iron curtain".

9. The events in Hungary leave no doubt concerning the real meaning of the words "continue to strive for the liberation". The counter-revolutionary rebels in Hungary received moral and material support from militarist West Germany, a member of the North Atlantic bloc. It was in fact in West Germany that the remnants of the Horthy army and police force, who had fled there with Hitler's Nazis, received their training. Units of these Horthy cut-throats were sent into Hungary beforehand, and there, at the first signal from their patrons, they tried to seize power, resorting to an unbridled white terror. Only those devoid of every vestige of shame and conscience could call these murderers defenders of freedom and "good angels".

10. The inflammatory propaganda against the Hungarian People's Republic played an evil part in the events in Hungary. As the Assembly has already been informed, in our immediate neighbourhood, two steps from the United Nations building, at the corner of Forty-Sixth Street and East River Drive, is to be found the headquarters of a subversive organization run by large American monopolies which calls itself "Crusade for Freedom". Officials of that organization recently stated that it had dropped 250 million leaflets into Eastern European countries from special balloons. This is a real deluge of paper, impregnated with the poison of hatred and hostility, a poison brewed according to the recipe of a United States Government agency, the committee for psychological warfare.

11. My delegation has official information revealing that between 1 January 1955 and October 1956, some 1,770 balloons were brought down over the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, and that they were carrying literature and leaflets of a far from harmless character.

12. The Ukrainian people indignantly condemn the subversive activity carried on by the United States against the peoples of the socialist countries, in all its forms and manifestations. We can no longer tolerate this inflammatory propaganda which is destroying confidence between peoples and creating a threat to peace.

13. As early as 1947, the General Assembly in its resolution 110 (II) condemned "all forms of propaganda, in whatsoever country conducted, which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression". Radio Free Europe, however, together with other subversive organizations, not only conducts a propaganda of hatred and enmity against peace-loving peoples, which is prohibited by the United Nations, but also acts as the headquarters for the preparation of armed diversionary action and for the recruitment, training and dispatch to socialist countries of spies and murderers.

14. This American broadcasting station, Radio Free Europe, which in fact is a subsidiary of the Crusade for Freedom organization, played a sinister part in the preparation of the counter-revolutionary plot in Hungary.

15. A number of representatives, with remarkable hypocrisy and cynicism, have draped themselves in the cloak of champions of freedom and democracy and defenders of human rights, while stooping to the most shameless and monstrous distortion of the true nature of the events in Hungary. In making political capital of the Hungarian question, these gentlemen are not merely grossly interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary, but are also trying to discredit socialism as a system. That, however, is obviously too difficult a task even for Mr. Lodge, that veteran stage-manager of anti-Soviet performances in the General Assembly.

16. It would be pointless to embark on a philosophical argument with Mr. Lodge about his statement that Marxism was a failure. Suffice it to say that the teachings of Marx and Lenin have become an inspiration to millions of people in Europe and Asia, who are reorganizing the world along socialist lines. This great process of reorganization has been recognized by many of the leading political figures of our time. Mr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, enthusiastically observed that the struggle of the workers and peasants to improve their lot and to change the feudal system which had prevailed in Russia, in a number of other Eastern European countries and in China, a

struggle which had culminated in the creation of socialist States, was an historic event of world-wide significance. The self-assurance with which the United States representative sets out to fight Marxism can but bring a smile to the lips even of those who have only a passing acquaintance with Marxist teaching.

17. Venomous attacks on socialism and on socialist countries have been taking place ever since the Soviet State was founded. Imperialist forces have for many years been conducting a campaign of enmity and hatred against the peoples of the socialist countries. This method, you will remember, was used by the German Führer, the Italian Duce and their spiritual kinsman, the Spanish Caudillo, as we were reminded recently by the malevolent statement of the Spanish representative.

18. Mr. Lodge, too, resorts to this method. This coincidence is by no means fortuitous, for, ever since the destruction of fascism, influential circles in the United States have been steadily fostering hostility towards the Soviet Union.

19. Mr. Ernest Weir, a well-known Pittsburgh manufacturer, referring to relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, said—not without reason—that for the greater part of the past decade the theme of continued hostility towards the USSR had dominated United States foreign policy, and that influential persons both inside and outside the Government were continually developing that theme. Unfortunately, the representatives of the United States and a few other countries have carried this hostility over into the United Nations, although its Charter calls upon all States to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security. The campaign of hostility has become particularly bitter now that the General Assembly has been compelled to consider the so-called Hungarian question.

20. American ruling circles have resorted to gross slanders of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies in an attempt to conceal their unceremonious interference in the internal affairs of other States. There is no lack of examples of such interference. It is enough to look at today's issue of *The New York Times*, which reports that the Government of Haiti has been compelled to protest against the intervention of United States Government agencies in Haiti's domestic affairs.

21. Yesterday and the day before a number of speakers hypocritically expressed grave anxiety about the serious crisis which, they said, the United Nations was now facing. But if the representatives of France, Peru, Belgium and other countries are genuinely concerned about the crisis in the United Nations, they can easily resolve it by putting a stop to the hullabaloo being raised about the so-called Hungarian question, and by showing good will in the search for solutions to the important international problems now confronting the United Nations.

22. What are these problems? They are the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East, the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons and the satisfaction of the national aspirations of the peoples of Algeria, Cyprus and West Irian.

23. The General Assembly ought also, with the utmost care, to investigate the whole network of the subversive activities conducted by the United States against the socialist countries—and not against them only. Instead, its attention is at present deliberately being focused on the recent events in Hungary. Is this not simply an at-

tempt to divert the General Assembly from its principal tasks, namely, the removal of the threat of war and the relaxation of international tension?

24. In conclusion, I should like to say once again that the Government of the Ukrainian SSR considers the events in Hungary to be the domestic concern of Hungary and exclusively within the competence of the Hungarian Government.

25. Neither the new draft resolution submitted upon the initiative of the United States delegation, nor any part of our discussion of the Hungarian question, has any bearing on the interests of the Hungarian people, the cause of international co-operation or the urgent need to improve the international situation so that a lasting peace may be established among peoples. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR strongly opposes this draft resolution.

26. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic has decided to withdraw from this session of the General Assembly. It was forced to take this step because the General Assembly had permitted interference in its country's domestic affairs and because it had been hounded by malevolent speakers. We cannot allow the rostrum of the General Assembly to be used to further the interests of the advocates of the "cold war". The General Assembly must therefore take steps to ensure normal working conditions for all delegations, and it should pass on to a constructive consideration of the important problems which confront the United Nations.

27. U PE KIN (Burma): When I come to this rostrum, I am always conscious that I speak for a small Power. My Government modestly accepts this ascription. It neither has, nor can it ever have, any external ambition other than peace and good will to all men. It hopes that its aspirations for humanity's peace and prosperity are shared by all others. It regards the United Nations as a congress where, by registering its voice along with others, its vote counts in the majority consensus. It regards majority consensus as the only true alternative to force. It believes that this alternative to force may—I repeat, may—sway other nations, large and small.

28. What do you think the 20 million Burmese citizens really want in the present instance? There is, as you well know, no time on some momentous occasions to consult that voice. But on this occasion, I believe I speak for all Burmese; I know I speak for my Government. What is it, I repeat, that Burma wants in the present instance? Simply, it wants for Hungary and all Hungarians what it wants for itself. It wants Hungary to be free of domination, alien domination; it wants Hungary to enjoy the virtues of its successes as well as the blemishes of its failures, as long as these are Hungarian successes and Hungarian blemishes. It wants Hungary and the Hungarians to enjoy the latitude of reason without external constraint. It wants Hungary to have the chance of being itself whether it is a small, medium or large Power. It wants Hungary to remain a Member of the United Nations, buttressed by its own consent, whatever that consent may be.

29. No nation, large Power or small Power, has the right—though frequently large nations have the power—to coerce other nations. This principle is imbedded in the Charter of the United Nations. Yet we have seen in the case of Hungary that the Soviet Union insists on coercion. Its apologists say that the Soviet Union coerces Hungary to preserve communism for Hungary. But it has no right to do this, though obviously it has, up to the present, the power so to do.

30. My Government would in fact be deeply distressed if fascism anywhere in the world were to triumph once again. But my Government does not believe that the Soviet Union has the right to anticipate fascism or any other "ism" for the Hungarians. Hungary, a small nation, should exercise the right—without any interference—of determining its own future, without sanction or hindrance. And, today, no one can gainsay the fact of unwarranted Soviet interference.

31. What is it that Burma can and should do in the present circumstances? It has already made known its disapproval and condemnation of any big Power—"colonial" we call it—interference. This we have done with respect to the Middle East; this we have done with respect to central Europe; this we will do any time.

32. We had hoped that the truly modest steps proposed by this General Assembly, which would have permitted the Secretary-General and his deputies to visit Hungary, would have been unanimously adopted. We waited during the week of 2 December, in the expectation that surely the Secretary-General of the United Nations would be agreeably received in any Member country, at any time. We waited, while the Secretary-General told us [608th meeting] that there was a chance that he would be received in Hungary at a stipulated date within the next few days.

33. Imagine, if you will, how 20 million Burmese citizens must respond when they learn that the Secretary-General was not welcome in Hungary at this crucial time. What, they would feel, and perhaps say, is there to hide? How can any Power in good conscience refuse to invite or accept the arrival of the Secretary-General? My Government feels that it must voice this sentiment, must express its condemnation of the recalcitrance of those concerned. We do this not because we gain anything, not because it serves our self-interest, not because we want to embarrass any Power. We do this to keep our self-respect. After all responsible waiting for action has passed, we can do no less. There, speaking of Hungary, but for the grace of God go we.

34. It is said that to understand something it is necessary to install oneself in the flux of it, in the flux of its living. Burma has painfully installed itself in the flux of Hungary. The Burmese people believe that the Hungarians truly want their freedom, their liberty, their independence, without coercion from Soviet power or any Power. Because we believe this, we have no hesitation in supporting the twenty-Power draft resolution [A/3436/Rev.1 and Add. 1].

35. Burma has tried to be constructive in its approach to this problem. My delegation hopes that, as a first step, the renewed demand of the Assembly that the Secretary-General be allowed to go to Budapest will meet with an affirmative response. We have also asked the Assembly to consider extending the visit of the Secretary-General to Moscow. This proposal is contained in a draft resolution [A/3437] of which Burma is a co-sponsor, and also in the amendments offered by Ceylon, India and Indonesia [A/L.216] to the twenty-Power draft resolution.

36. We know that the Secretary-General has on previous occasions officially used his good offices with good results, even with those who are not represented here. Surely when a member of the Security Council is involved we can expect no less. We hope that the Soviet Union will acknowledge its obligations in the present instance. We hope Hungary will be spared

further bloodshed and tragedy which each succeeding day has unhappily increased.

37. We seem to be drifting towards catastrophe. Let us hope this drift will be checked in time. I shudder even to imagine what the consequences will be otherwise.

38. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): Our delegation is really shocked to learn from the report submitted by the Secretary-General [A/3435] that the Hungarian delegation's suggestion of 16 December for the Secretary-General's visit to Budapest has not met with the approval of its Government. It is incredible to us that a Member of this Organization should refuse to receive the Secretary-General, who in our opinion constitutes one of the main organs of this Organization. In our opinion, the action of the Hungarian authorities in this respect is a direct affront to this body.

39. When the Hungarian representative's suggestion of a probable date for the Secretary-General's visit was announced, some Members were optimistic about the solution of the Hungarian crisis, but the Assembly will recall that I expressed my grave doubts in this regard. I can do no better than quote from what I said on 4 December:

"We welcome the announcement just made by the Secretary-General that the Hungarian representative has suggested 16 December to his Government as the probable date for the Secretary-General's visit to Budapest. But we do not know whether they will accept the suggestion of one representative."  
[608th meeting, para. 86.]

I also stated:

"Let us hope that this gesture on the part of the Hungarian delegation does not in the end turn out to be a face-saving device for merely thwarting the trend of the present debate." [Ibid., para. 87.]

I am sorry to say that my apprehensions have come true.

40. I find that the Hungarian delegation has disappeared suddenly from our midst since yesterday morning [615th meeting]. The ground for its withdrawal, as I learn, has been the undignified attitude of the great majority of Members towards it. If the attitude of the majority towards the present Hungarian delegation has stiffened, I think it is on account of its false assurances before this Assembly. Its withdrawal from the Assembly shows its disrespect to this world Organization and might do harm to itself in the long run.

41. Our delegation has been consistent in its stand on the situation in Hungary ever since the matter came before this Assembly. We have already condemned the armed intervention of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Hungary. We are opposed to the stationing of foreign troops in any country against the will of its people. The very fact that Soviet forces are being used to restore order and maintain the puppet government in power, that martial law has been proclaimed there, that the people of Hungary are being denied the right to choose their government, that the Hungarian people have been leaving their own hearths and homes to take refuge in foreign countries, conclusively proves that the situation in Hungary has deteriorated.

42. My delegation has listened with objective detachment to the argument put forward by the Soviet Government and its allies in defence of the Soviet action in Hungary. The main burden of its arguments seems to be that the troubles in Hungary were con-

ceived by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe and were perpetrated through fascist and reactionary elements in the country which were in league with other Powers in the world. If that is so, what was it that prevented the Hungarian authorities from allowing United Nations observers to enter Hungary, whose investigations might very well have clarified their position to the world?

43. The other plea for not accepting the United Nations observers has been that of domestic jurisdiction. But in this case everybody knows that the government of Mr. Nagy had appealed to the United Nations to put pressure on the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of its troops from Hungary, before Soviet intervention had actually thrown that government out and replaced it by the present Kadar régime at the point of the bayonet. Hence the plea of domestic jurisdiction with regard to Soviet action in Hungary has already been rejected by this Assembly. How can the present Hungarian authorities say that the acceptance of United Nations observers by them will amount to a breach of national sovereignty, when they have accepted the intervention of Soviet armed forces?

44. The contention that under the Warsaw Treaty the Soviet Union has the right to station troops in Hungary holds no water in view of the fact that the admission of Hungary as a Member of the United Nations last year presupposed its full political sovereignty and precludes the right of the Soviet Union or, for that matter, of any other country to curtail its political and national sovereignty by stationing troops there against its will. Even the Warsaw Treaty ensures freedom to the Hungarian people to choose the form of government under which they want to live.

45. The Soviet Union representative has repeatedly sought to justify Soviet intervention in Hungary by saying that that intervention was intended to strengthen the democratic system against the evil designs of reactionary and fascist elements. I, for one, do not understand how the democratic system can be strengthened by the brutal suppression of all political opponents as fascists and reactionaries. The methods employed by the USSR in suppressing the popular upsurge of freedom in Hungary are themselves definitely of a fascist character.

46. I should like to ask these questions: Is it not fascism when a foreign army takes over the administration of law in another country, in order to maintain its own puppet government in power? Is it not fascism when, on penalty of death or deportation, a government tries to uphold the doctrine that the individual exists for the sake of the State, rather than the State for the sake of the individual? Is it not fascism when, instead of questioning the opponents, giving them an opportunity to explain their positions, and instead of sparing the people, a government adheres to the practice of decimating the opponents and deporting the people? Whatever the grievances, however strong the case against one's opponents, no country should close the door completely in the face of United Nations observers. If the government's action are justified, then there is all the more reason to admit United Nations observers to its territory. It is my submission that without justice there is no liberty, and a total disregard of public opinion is a mark not only of brutality but of utter depravity.

47. Instead of preventing the atrocities and brutalities in Hungary, the resolutions of the Assembly have, I am afraid, on the contrary led to reprisals, and vindic-



tive actions by the Soviet Government and its agents in Hungary. Soviet action in Hungary stands condemned in the eyes of the world, and has already provoked the moral wrath and indignation of all mankind. It is high time that this world body should also cast its moral judgement against that action and should formally record its condemnation of Soviet intervention in Hungary as a breach of the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter.

48. It is very unfortunate that those very Powers which insisted so much on securing—if necessary even by the use of force—the compliance of the United Kingdom and France with the resolutions of the Assembly regarding the situation in Egypt, should themselves treat with such contempt and disregard the resolutions and recommendations of the Assembly in the present case. Their continuous and persistent disregard of the Assembly's resolutions is a direct affront to the United Nations and constitutes a real challenge to the very foundation and future of this Organization. If Member nations, especially those which are militarily powerful, begin to flout the wishes and decisions of this Organization, the world will certainly enter into an era of uncertainty and chaos in the domain of international relations, and the United Nations will very soon have outlived its usefulness.

49. I cannot better depict the present situation and portray our feelings than by quoting the poignant words of Emperor Haile Selassie in the fateful days of the League of Nations—words which have come down to us, ringing clearly, through the corridors of history:

"Millions of men and women throughout the world, are today anxiously following the deliberations of the League of Nations. They know that this is the tragic hour in which the destiny of the League is to be determined. Being responsible for ensuring respect for the principle of international justice, is the League of Nations about to end its own existence by tearing up, with its own hands, the Covenant which constitutes its sole reason for existing? The magnificent edifice that has just been reared for the triumph of peace through law: is this henceforth to become an altar reared to the cult of force, a market-place in which the independence of peoples becomes the subject of trafficking, a tomb in which international morality is to be buried?"

"I ask the fifty-two nations which have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor: what are they willing to do for Ethiopia?"

I think that the Hungarian people might ask a similar question today as regards their situation, Emperor Haile Selassie continued:

"And the great Powers which have promised the guarantee of collective security to small States on which weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Ethiopia, I ask: what measures do you intend to take?"

50. In my opinion, the context of those words has not changed except in point of time. They are full of meaning for us, even in the present circumstances.

51. We feel that the twenty-Power draft resolution [A/3436/Rev.1 and Add.1] that has been placed before the General Assembly is quite in conformity with the stand my delegation has consistently taken on the situation in Hungary, and we shall be able to vote for it.

52. With regard to the draft resolution [A/3437] sponsored by four out of the five Colombo Powers from our part of the world, my delegation also will support it because, in our humble submission, it does not differ in any essential respect from the twenty-Power draft resolution, save in the emphasis on certain points of detail. We feel there would be no harm if something could be achieved by the Secretary-General's visit to Moscow in resolving the present deadlock, for which the General Assembly has already placed the blame and the responsibility on the Soviet Union.

53. Though some of the Governments of the countries adjacent to Hungary have refused to comply with the earlier decisions of the General Assembly that they should receive United Nations observers or the Secretary-General, the present proposal that the Secretary-General should go to Moscow might meet with the approval of the Soviet authorities and might in turn also result in changing the attitude of the other countries, including Hungary.

54. Then there is the Austrian draft resolution [A/3441] which would call upon the Secretary-General to use his personal influence and all his resources in securing justice for the Hungarian people.

55. As all three draft resolutions aim at resolving the Hungarian crisis by different methods—by plain statement and recognition of facts, by conciliation and co-operation, and by assigning a special diplomatic role to the Secretary-General—we shall vote for all of them, because, frankly speaking, we are not very sure which method might eventually succeed in such a case as this, and we strongly believe that all methods should be employed to resolve the present crisis peacefully.

*The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.*