

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ELEVENTH SESSION
Official Records



10 JUL
PLENARY MEETING 636th

Thursday, 10 January 1957,
at 3 p.m.

New York

RECEIVED

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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. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of Members of the Assembly to the fact that a revision of the twenty-four-Power draft resolution has been submitted [A/3487/Rev.1]. In addition to certain drafting changes, the revised text includes the names of the countries whose representatives would be members of the special committee.

2. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): It is now almost a month since the General Assembly adopted, by a very large majority, the most recent [1131 (XI)] in the series of resolutions on the Hungarian question. In that resolution, the General Assembly condemned the violation of the Charter of the United Nations by the Government of the Soviet Union in depriving Hungary of its liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental rights. The Assembly reiterated its call upon the Soviet Union Government to desist forthwith from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary. It called upon the Soviet Union to make immediate arrangements for the withdrawal, under United Nations supervision, of its armed forces from Hungary and to permit the re-establishment of the political independence of Hungary.

3. In the speech which we heard yesterday [633rd meeting] from the Soviet Union representative, there was not even a pretence that the Soviet Union had taken or contemplated taking the slightest notice of the resolution of 12 December [1131 (XI)], any more than of the several resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly. There was, indeed, a disturbing—almost frightening—hardness in Mr. Kuznetsov's most recent defiance of the expressed will of the Assembly. There was a callous indifference to the sufferings of the Hungarian people which chills the blood.

4. Take, for example, Mr. Kuznetsov's casual reference to the fate of the so-called counter-revolutionary groups, the remainder of which, he said, was being liquidated. Those were his words, "was being liquidated". The use of the term "liquidation" in connexion

with human beings is one which the Soviet representative, I suggest, might have avoided, remembering the connotation that that word has acquired in recent history. As I have already suggested, sensitivity was not the keynote of Mr. Kuznetsov's speech. He even had the effrontery to rebuke the Secretary-General for the modest suggestion made in his most recent report [A/3485], a suggestion which would never have been necessary if the Soviet Union and its Hungarian cat's-paws had not frustrated at every turn the previous attempts of the General Assembly to obtain complete and accurate information about the situation in Hungary.

5. My delegation, of course, whole-heartedly supports the suggestion of the Secretary-General for the establishment of a small investigating committee composed of representatives of Governments. As I said in this Assembly on 11 December [616th meeting], it is regrettable that the Secretary-General's advisory committee was unable to perform the necessary task of investigation. We hope that this task will now rapidly be pushed to completion. It is for this reason that we joined in co-sponsoring the twenty-four-Power draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1].

6. The Soviet representative was also ill advised enough to bring up the question of United States policy in the Middle East. One may or may not agree with that policy, but one has only to compare what the United States proposes in regard to the Middle East with what the Soviet Union has done and apparently intends to keep on doing in Hungary to appreciate to the full the grim irony of Mr. Kuznetsov's remarks on this score.

7. On the specific issue of the withdrawal of troops, the flouting of the General Assembly's resolutions on Hungary by the Soviet Union is also in vivid contrast to the full compliance by France and the United Kingdom with the Assembly's resolutions on the Middle East. I feel a good deal of sympathy with the comment made yesterday by the representative of Cuba to the effect that:

"... we still hear in the General Assembly stronger censure voiced against those who have obeyed our decisions than against those who have made a farce of our decisions". [633rd meeting.]

8. I cannot, however, share his pessimism about the usefulness of the draft resolution we are now discussing. The draft resolution serves notice that crimes committed against the people of Hungary in the past or in the future will not remain hidden but will be published for all the world to see and to judge. This may be but modest comfort to the Hungarian people and may not in itself deter the Soviet Union from the evil course on which it has embarked. I do not believe, however, that the representative of the Soviet Union would have spoken as he did yesterday had he regarded the draft resolution as unhelpful to the cause of Hungarian freedom.

9. There is a note of desperation in the efforts of the Soviet bloc to secure the elimination of the Hungarian question from our agenda. The twenty-four-Power draft resolution will ensure that the issue will be reconsidered in the near future on the basis of the fullest possible information. The frenzied efforts of the Soviet Union to divert attention from Hungary are proof enough that it sees here, as we do, the seeds of dissolution of its tyrannous dominion over Eastern Europe.

10. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): At the insistence of the United States delegation and certain other delegations the General Assembly has again resumed consideration of the so-called "Hungarian question". Ordinary people naturally tend to ask why the General Assembly should devote so much time to the Hungarian question and why it has not yet begun to discuss important and pressing matters such as disarmament, the questions of Algeria, Cyprus and West Irian. The reason is that the United States delegation is trying to use the so-called "Hungarian question" to unleash a totally unrestrained anti-Soviet and anti-Hungarian campaign in order to discredit the Soviet Union and popular democratic Hungary.

11. Now that the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary has been suppressed, it is more than ever clear what far-reaching and sinister plans had been laid by the forces of international reaction against the countries of the socialist camp with the Soviet Union at their head.

12. In their attempts to maintain the pace of the armament race as the source of their fabulous profits, those forces resorted to provocation as a way of preventing a relaxation of international tension and openly opposed the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems. It has now been proved by documentary evidence that the anti-popular activities undertaken to restore the Horthyite fascist régime in Hungary by the force of arms were organized by conspirators, spies and diversionists previously sent into Hungary by the intelligence service of the United States.

13. Reactionary groups in the United States and other Western countries wanted to use events in Hungary to divert the attention of world public opinion from the Anglo-Franco-Israel aggression against Egypt and to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union. The reactionary circles of the United Kingdom and France, whose hands are still warm with the blood of the Egyptian and Algerian peoples, are now coming forward together with the United States as the so-called "defenders of freedom" in Hungary.

14. The role of the defender of human rights was assumed here today [635th meeting] by Mr. Noble, the United Kingdom representative, whose Government is unremittently waging war against the unarmed peoples of Malaya and Kenya and using force to break the will of the peoples of Northern Ireland, Cyprus and other countries. Terrible things are going on in Kenya's extensive domains. Even according to conservative official figures 13,000 persons have been killed there by the British authorities during the past few years, and more than 40,000 Africans are being held in prisons and concentration camps. These are the real deeds of those behind the anti-Hungarian campaign, the hypocritical defenders of human rights and of the right of peoples to self-determination. Mr. de Lequerica, the representative of Franco Spain, who openly preaches

fascism within the United Nations, has been particularly vociferous here. It is common knowledge that since the establishment of the Franco régime tens of thousands of real fighters for freedom, real Spanish patriots, have been done to death.

15. The representatives of Ireland, Cuba and other countries spare no effort to revive the "cold war". Basically what they advocate is the restoration of the old Horthyite order in Hungary, so as to impose the yoke of capitalism on Hungarian workers and turn Hungary into a jumping-off ground for aggression against the people's democracies.

16. In his statement Mr. Lodge [633rd meeting], the United States representative, tried to pose as a defender of "freedom" in Hungary, and to represent the gang of fascist cut-throats who organized the armed *putsch* in Hungary as "fighters for freedom". Mr. Lodge's assertions, however, will not stand up to the evidence of documents and facts.

17. While the Horthyite gangs were committing barbarous atrocities against the Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals, and while the white terror raged in Hungary, bargaining was going on in the privacy of the offices of the monopolies and business concerns of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and France, as to how the lead, copper, zinc, aluminium and other natural mineral resources of Hungary were to be split up. There are now many facts available which show the part played by the largest United States monopolies in inciting and provoking the unsuccessful fascist *putsch* in the Hungarian People's Republic. The heads of the large monopolies set up a reactionary organization under the name "Crusade for Freedom", with offices at the corner of First Avenue and Forty-Sixth Street, New York, and this played an active part in organizing the fascist *putsch* in Hungary. The heads of this organization had factories, plants, oil interests and so forth in the old Horthyite Hungary. As recently as in 1933 the Rockefeller-controlled Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) received from Horthy an oil concession covering an area of three million hectares in Hungary. It is no coincidence therefore that the Chairman of the Board of the Crusade for Freedom is Mr. Eugene Holman, Chairman of the Board of the vast Rockefeller oil company, the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). Such are the persons who really inspired and organized the fascist *putsch* in Hungary.

18. It has now been proved that the unsuccessful Hungarian counter-revolution was directed from the United States. Documents and facts prove the existence of a direct link between the United States intelligence service and the Hungarian rebels. At the end of October 1956 prominent United States representatives, including General Donovan of the intelligence service held a series of secret meetings in Munich with Hungarian *émigrés*, members of the so-called "Free Europe Committee" and the "Union of Hungarian Fighters". A detailed plan for a counter-revolutionary *putsch* in Hungary was drawn up and the basic principles of the future Hungarian government which the counter-revolutionaries planned to set up were discussed. Those present at the meetings agreed to restore the pre-1945 system of land tenure, to de-nationalize industry, to return factories and plants to their former owners, to bring Hungary into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to set up NATO military bases on Hungarian territory. It was also planned to denounce existing economic agreements between Hun-

gary and other countries and conclude new agreements, particularly with the United States. Such was the programme that those present intended to carry out after overthrowing the legitimate Hungarian Government and liquidating the popular democratic order in Hungary. The several secret visits which General Donovan of the United States intelligence service paid to Budapest during the rebellion were therefore no mere coincidence. In Budapest he had frequent meetings with Dudás, the counter-revolutionary leader, who at that time called himself Chairman of the Hungarian National Security Committee.

19. The object of General Donovan's visits to Hungary can be found in the *Washington Daily News* of 30 November 1956. Mr. Preston, the correspondent of this newspaper, reports that General Donovan, who had returned to Washington from Hungary, crossed the Hungarian frontier several times during his six-days' stay in Austria, where he had been in charge of the International Rescue Committee's programme, providing assistance to Hungarian refugees. Replying to questions from press correspondents in Washington, General Donovan himself stated, according to Mr. Preston, that the best way of "assisting" the Hungarian forces was "to supply those still fighting with arms". Replying to the question whether the United States "should help to prolong the conflict", General Donovan said "Yes, of course we should". He went on to say that in his opinion the United States had not done enough for the "Hungarians", adding "I was referring to the military sphere and I repeat that we should supply all those who were still fighting with arms." According to what General Donovan said it was "still not too late, even then", for the United States "to help prolong the conflict" in Hungary, but "we could perfect our methods". These statements speak for themselves. General Donovan was obviously carrying out the instructions of Mr. Allen Dulles, the head of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

20. Long before the events in Hungary took place the training of armed groups of counter-revolutionaries to be sent at the "right time" into Hungary was begun in Western countries and particularly in Western Germany. The *Bremer Nachrichten* of 9 December 1956 reported that a few years ago special schools and courses for training agents were organized in Munich, Stuttgart and Kronberg under the direction of the so-called "Bureau for Hungarian Refugee Affairs". Recent events have proved convincingly that a wide network of various organizations and schools has been set up in Western Germany to train fascist murderers, spies and diversionists to engage in subversive activities in the people's democracies. The staff of these organizations and schools are recruited mainly among persons who emigrated to the West fearing retribution for their crimes against the peoples of the socialist countries.

21. The United States Press reports that the United States intelligence service went on forming "punitive units" from among Hungarian *émigrés* in Western Germany even after the failure of the anti-popular conspiracy in Hungary. The remnants of the defeated counter-revolutionary forces are again taking refuge in Western Germany, where they are unleashing a vociferous campaign of provocation. New gangs composed of fascist elements to be sent into Hungary are being formed at special collecting centres attached to branch offices of the Federal Republic of Germany's Ministry of Defence located in Stuttgart, Mannheim, Karlsruhe

and other towns. Subversive activities in the people's democracies are directed by three main bodies, all situated in West German territory: these are United States military intelligence, which is attached to the General Staff of the United States occupation forces and which directs the activities of all the other subversive organizations; a West German espionage organization under the former Hitlerite General von Gehlen and a special body attached to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, directing political diversionary activities against the people's democracies.

22. A great uproar was raised in the United States Press over the Hungarian refugees in connexion with the visit which Mr. Nixon, the Vice-President of the United States, paid to Austria. It is no secret to anyone that the United States intelligence services are trying to use Hungarian refugees to form special units and various kinds of diversionary, espionage and other groups which may again be sent into Hungary. Special steps are being taken to send Hungarian refugees from Austria to Western Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium and other countries.

23. Hungarian refugees who come to the United States must find work within a certain time; if they cannot, they must join the United States armed forces. Service with the United States armed forces is compulsory for certain categories of refugees, however. Thus the Austrian newspaper *Neuer Kurier* recently reported that:

"All refugees from eighteen to twenty-six years of age are liable to military service. They will serve with the United States armed forces for one year."

24. The hubbub over the question of Hungarian refugees rose to a crescendo after Mr. Nixon, the Vice-President of the United States, had visited Austria. I have carefully read Mr. Nixon's report on the Hungarian refugees, published in the *New York Herald Tribune* of 2 January 1957. This report is merely designed to conceal the real purpose of Mr. Nixon's journey to Austria, which was to try and re-activate those forces which caused the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, to hatch a new plot and to increase international tension. Our delegation considers that the visit of Mr. Nixon, the United States Vice-President, to Vienna, constitutes gross interference in the affairs of other countries.

25. It is common knowledge that after the counter-revolutionary rebellion was suppressed, persons who had taken an active part in the armed uprising against the popular authorities, criminals, former Horthyite officers and *gendarmes*, traitors to their country and others fled from Hungary. Many honest but misguided Hungarians including children and young persons not yet eighteen years of age, who may well have been led astray by a desire for adventure, also left Hungary, under the influence of hostile foreign propaganda. Many of these misguided people now want to return to their families in Hungary but are not allowed to do so and various obstacles are placed in their way. Some of those who have spoken here talked a great deal about human rights and equality. Why then are those Hungarian refugees who want to return to their country not allowed to enjoy human rights? Why are they detained in barracks, surrounded by barbed wire? Why are Hungarian refugees sent by force across the ocean to distant countries?

26. A large number of Hungarian refugees, having heard of the decree issued by the Presidium of the

Hungarian People's Assembly granting an amnesty to all Hungarian citizens who had left the country illegally after 23 October 1956 and who had not committed any crime, now express a desire to return to their country. The United Nations must help these unfortunate people to return home.

27. Our delegation notes with great satisfaction that life in Hungary has returned to normal, as is evident from the statement made by the Hungarian revolutionary workers' and peasants' government concerning the most important tasks facing the Hungarian people in 1957. In this statement the Hungarian Government has set forth a positive programme and described its basic attitude to the most important questions of vital interest to the Hungarian people. The action taken by the Government to restore the normal economic life of the country is receiving ever-increasing support from the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Hungary. The statement refers to the great moral and economic support which the Hungarian people has received, in its tremendous material difficulties, from the peoples of the socialist camp and from progressive forces throughout the world.

28. The Byelorussian people is confident that in 1957 the Hungarian people will achieve further economic and cultural successes in its effort to build socialism in its country and will actively defend the popular democratic order against the attacks of domestic and foreign enemies.

29. The draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1] submitted for our consideration by the delegations of the United States and other countries is a further attempt at open interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary, one more step in the campaign of slander which has long been directed against Hungary and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which forbids interference in the domestic affairs of States. In the draft resolution it is proposed to establish a special committee composed of representatives of five States to investigate the situation in Hungary, to establish and maintain direct observation in the country and elsewhere, and to collect evidence and receive information from Hungarian refugees in order to submit suitable reports to the General Assembly.

30. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that this proposal is illegal and is submitted in order to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sovereign State—the Hungarian People's Republic—and to aggravate further the international situation and intensity the "cold war". For the above reasons the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will vote against this draft resolution.

31. Mr. JAMALI (Iraq): The last report of the Secretary-General [A/3485] of 5 January 1957 provides us with still another opportunity—not the last one, I am sure—to discuss the subject of Hungary. The tragedy of Hungary is of special significance to mankind not only because the people of Hungary are human beings who deserve the attention of the whole world—that is sure—but also because Hungary provides a socio-political pattern that concerns all mankind. What happened to Hungary may happen anywhere else in the world. Therefore, every one of us should be concerned with what happened in Hungary.

32. Hungary certainly provides us with an example of an imposed communist régime that has cracked under the weight of external military, political and economic domination. A foreign social and political system has

been imposed on Hungary. The people of Hungary—writers, students, workers—have found that that system does not work; it destroys their freedom; it destroys their independence. They rose up to change that system. They tried to change that system. What happened? They formed a government which sought to pursue a neutralist policy, which decided to provide freedom to the people and to change the régime. However, that did not last, for the Soviet Union unfortunately came with its mighty force to crush that movement for freedom and independence in Hungary.

33. Now we are told that that movement was led by reactionaries. This we cannot believe. We are told that it was led by fascists. We cannot believe that. We are told that that movement was instigated by the United States. We cannot believe that either. We believe that the urge for freedom and for independence is a universal phenomenon which cannot be checked for long anywhere in the world. The world today is moving towards freedom. This Organization is built on the foundation of freedom and justice for the purpose of providing peace for the whole world.

34. We believe that here we are faced with a grave situation. We have a great Member, a founder Member, of this Organization that has shown no respect for the resolutions of the General Assembly. The several resolutions passed by this General Assembly, which represent the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world, appealed to the Soviet Union to see to it that coexistence should prevail, freedom should be respected and the independence of nations should not be interfered with. Unfortunately we have had no response, and the situation continues to bleed.

35. What is involved here are the fundamental human rights and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The people of Hungary, like any other people, are entitled to the free expression of their own thoughts, whether those thoughts be political, economic or social. If we wish to liquidate any opposition anywhere in the world, we are certainly killing freedom and killing the very essence of humanity and whatever makes human life worth living. The coexistence of differing views, of differing régimes, of differing philosophies, is the foundation of freedom and humanity. The Soviet system, unfortunately, is a closed system, because it does not permit any other system to coexist with it within any State. Otherwise we could not have had one party, one dictatorship; we would have had differing parties with differing philosophies, each of them free to preach what it believes, and those winning the majority in elections would rule.

36. It seems to me that these fundamental human rights—the right to think, the right to be free, the right to exercise one's own political thought—are at stake. For this reason we wish to appeal to the delegation of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet Government to reconsider and re-examine the situation to see how coexistence between varying ideologies and varying philosophies may be provided.

37. How could a country change if it is under Soviet domination, if it is ruled militarily, if it is ruled by a dictatorship? Supposing that some of the intellectuals, economists or politicians find that this system does not work and must be changed, should they be liquidated? Is that the answer? Is the alternative: be dictated to or perish? This is a matter for serious thinking by all mankind. All of mankind must look to see where it stands. We are at the crossroads. Are we going to pro-

mote the cause of freedom for all mankind or are we going to see one part of the world subjugated and enslaved and another free—and that freedom itself always threatened?

38. When the Soviet delegation accuses some Western Powers for what they did and for what they do in the Middle East—in Palestine, in Algeria—they are certainly right. We certainly agree with the Soviet delegation that the question of Hungary should never divert our attention from the tragedies in Algeria. We certainly agree with the Soviet Union that the tragedy of the Arab refugees should not be forgotten when we discuss the tragedy of the refugees of Hungary. We certainly believe that the aggression on Egypt should not be forgotten because of the tragedy of Hungary. But one wrong does not right another wrong.

39. The Iraqi delegation has consistently taken a stand against aggression wherever it takes place. We have taken a stand against colonialism all over the world—colonialism in all its forms, whether it be Western colonialism or, still worse, communist colonialism. What is colonialism? Colonialism is domination and exploitation of one people by another, whether that domination be political, economic, intellectual, or social. Any form of domination of one people by another, any form of dictatorship, any form of authoritarianism, must be shunned. We stand for freedom and for independence for all. We stand for the integrity of the individual person. The age of slavery is dead, and we hope it will remain dead. We cannot stand for any form of colonialism or for aggression, from whichever quarter it may come.

40. That is why we appeal to the delegation of the Soviet Union, just as we appeal to some Western Powers, to see to it that colonialism and subjugation in all its forms should be ended. Hungary is a case in point. Hungary and other Soviet colonies, whether they be in Eastern Europe or in Asia, must have their freedom, their right to self-determination, their right to change their political, economic and cultural systems.

41. This freedom is what humanity must cherish. It is what this Organization must promote. We very much regret that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities have not seen fit to co-operate with this Organization in promoting the cause of freedom in Hungary. The Secretary-General, a man of great integrity and objectivity, was denied the right to visit Hungary. The group of investigators appointed by him was denied the right to visit Hungary. If our facts are challenged by the Soviet Union and by the Hungarian authorities, why do they not admit neutral observers to furnish us the truth? It is truth that we seek. My delegation will support the twenty-four-Power draft resolution [A/3487/Rev. 1] because it serves to provide us with the truth. "... ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

42. Mr. MICHELET (France) (*translated from French*): What, I ask, could be more saddening than the repetition—I was about to say the dreary repetition—of these debates in this eleventh session of the General Assembly on what was yesterday very rightly called the "Hungarian drama"? What could be more tragic than this record of inanity, this confession of moral bankruptcy, as it were, which the Secretary-General's report [A/3485] to the Assembly represents? Let us have the courage to declare that there can be few more disheartening sights than the spectacle of impotence so far shown by this Organization in the presence of one of the most blatant, cynical and revolting crimes in all

history. Past ages have admittedly been studded with similar crimes and tyranny is certainly older than the traditional materialism practised by Moscow. But the man in the street will say that in the past there was no institution like the United Nations, and the man in the street will be right.

43. There is one point, however, which is worthy of emphasis: the Leninist-Marxist philosophy did not in fact foresee every eventuality, and, to its orthodox proponents, what is happening in Hungary is the startling collapse of an entire system. In some respects of course, we may regard the sacrifice of the Magyar people as a symbolic warning pregnant with hope for those whose ideas of human liberty are based on the dual Christian and revolutionary tradition of the West. But only the Almighty can say what sufferings, what trials and what heroism are the price which Hungary will now have to pay to recover her liberty.

44. Once again in our debates—and this is perhaps a new factor in history—we have heard the executioners themselves insult the unfortunate victims for whom our Organization has so far been able to do little more—let us admit it frankly—than offer kind words. Let us have no illusions. The present impotence of the United Nations is doing its prestige substantial harm, from which it will have great difficulty in recovering, if indeed it does not emerge mortally wounded. We can readily appreciate the anguish of such a man as our distinguished and eloquent colleague, Victor Belaúnde, who has nobly devoted his life to the achievement of the high ideals enshrined in the Charter, when he contemplates the hypocrisy of those who should be the Charter's most ardent defenders, and the fearful consequences which may well result from their attitude. We must accept the evidence, however: the United Nations suffers in its inmost being from the fact that it includes men who twist the meanings of time-honoured words, hitherto identically interpreted by the whole of civilized humanity, to give them a completely different, if not diametrically opposite, connotation.

45. In this connexion, let me say a brief word in passing to the Byelorussian representative. If I do not reply to the statements which he made just now about France, it is because I consider that, coming from a country whose special links, if I may so term them, with the Soviet Union are well-known, a country whose independence is mythical, they have no value whatsoever in our eyes.

46. Meanwhile, however, the fair names of democracy, liberty, human rights, and even resistance have been prostituted, caricatured and degraded. Some of us here are qualified by experience to speak of resistance. In our time it has meant, above all, the struggle against an inhuman totalitarian system, and it is for that very reason that the Hungarian resisters are today held in such high esteem by those who yesterday were the first to oppose Nazism in Europe—at a time when Nazism was still the ally of that other inhuman totalitarianism known as Communism.

47. To the attentive observer of the events now taking place in the country of St. Stephen, Kossuth and Petöfi, these facts cannot seem irrelevant. They allow me to refer again, on behalf of the French delegation, to some of the points raised by this draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1] of which we are co-sponsors, and which we earnestly hope will not become a dead letter like its predecessors.

48. As you know, it was on 23 October 1956 that the first popular demonstrations broke out, and by the end

of that month it was obvious that the revolution, a genuine popular revolution, had won victory throughout the entire country. The Soviet Union, in its declaration of 30 October, seemed, indeed, to have drawn the moral from those tragic happenings. Mr. Imre Nagy appeared, not only to the Hungarian people, but to the whole of world opinion, as the symbol of triumphant popular resistance—and I stress the word "popular". This was the statesman who on 1 November addressed an anguished appeal to our Organization. In a telegram [A/3251] to the Secretary-General he stated that he had just summoned the Soviet ambassador and handed him a most solemn protest against the entry of further Soviet troops into Hungary. He demanded the immediate withdrawal of those foreign forces, proclaimed his country's neutrality and asked for inclusion in the Assembly's agenda of the question of Hungarian neutrality and its defence by the four great Powers. Simultaneously, the Government of the Republic, which was still calling itself the Hungarian People's Republic, sent to the Government of the Soviet Union a concrete proposal for the withdrawal of its troops stationed on Hungarian soil and named a place for talks to arrange for the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty.

49. It is well-known, and it is a point of capital importance, that the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary rests on that Treaty. Now the signatories to that Treaty were those very same Hungarian communist leaders whom Stalin's successors at Moscow, and only yesterday their representative in this house, have been consistently branding as Horthyist Mafia, fascist clique and counter-revolutionary rabble—to mention only a few of the complimentary expressions drawn from a distressing vocabulary to which we have admittedly become inured but not, I hasten to add, resigned. The denunciation of that diplomatic instrument, together with the abrogation of the illegal economic agreements which had set the seal upon the colonialist exploitation of Hungary by the USSR, constituted one of the fundamental demands of the revolutionary movement.

50. Incidentally, it is strange—I would even venture to say it fills us with alarm and humiliation—that in an age when, thanks to the progress of science, news is transmitted with such rapidity, the United Nations, despite the ultra-modern resources at its disposal, has not yet been able to regain contact with its correspondent of ten weeks ago, Mr. Imre Nagy. Please believe me when I say that I am not being ironical on a subject which is scarcely cause for irony. I meant only to say that there are some silences which weigh heavily—very heavily indeed.

51. Be that as it may, in the face of the anguished appeal by Mr. Imre Nagy, followed by the brutal military intervention of Russia, the Organization has so far proved to be powerless. It is a matter of record that the Security Council [754th meeting], meeting on 4 November 1956, was prevented by the Soviet veto from adopting a draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of the foreign troops. Other resolutions on an entirely different subject, which—I wish to stress the fact—is in no way comparable, were, at the same period, differently treated and differently received. I am grateful to the representatives of Belgium, Colombia, Cuba and Peru for loyally reminding me of the fact when they spoke of two weights and two measures.

52. Let us pass rapidly over the events which followed. On 10 November 1956, the General Assembly, meeting in special emergency session, decided [573rd meeting] to include the Hungarian question as a priority item

in the agenda of the eleventh session. On 13 November, the General Assembly [576th meeting] decided, by 51 votes in favour, with 19 abstentions, to consider that question as a matter of priority and in plenary meeting. Since that time a number of resolutions have been adopted, calling for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the sending of observers and the cessation of deportations. The *de facto* authority in Hungary, which has been installed with the help of Soviet tanks, has so far deprived these resolutions of all practical value. This Soviet-controlled authority has all along maintained that it alone is competent to negotiate the withdrawal of the foreign troops; that these are in Hungary at the latter's own request, that there is no justification for sending representatives of the Secretary-General, and finally that it alone has jurisdiction to organize elections in Hungary. We have even learned from the latest news reports that more brutal measures are contemplated against those Hungarian patriots who had the impertinence not to yield to the dictates of a puppet government similar in all points to its historical counterparts, which were also set up by a foreign army. Among the many cases quoted are the arrests of Hungarian celebrities such as the dramatist Jozsef Gali and the poet Sándor Fekete, and the deportation of the well-known Marxist philosopher György Lukács.

53. I believe I do not need to dwell on the fact that a flagrant breach of the law of nations, as it was formerly understood, was committed in the first place when the plenipotentiaries entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations I mentioned a moment ago were literally led into a trap and kidnapped at the very conference table. A further blatant violation was the abduction of Mr. Imre Nagy himself, the head of a government that was all the more legitimate because it had been endorsed by the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of fighters, strikers, deportees and exiles. It was actions such as these which caused Victor Hugo to say:

"It would be wrong to think that acts such as these
End in apotheosis, or jubilate and please."

We are now in a better position to appreciate the alarm which may be caused in Moscow by the prospect of the emancipation of Hungary. It has been demonstrated, in a manner that brooks no denial, that in the space of a few days the totalitarian and therefore police system of the communist State can be literally ground into dust by the mobilization of none other than the working masses themselves! It is now clearly revealed that the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat was in fact a dictatorship over the proletariat. We certainly had had some suspicion that that was the case, but the fact now strikes us with blinding certainty.

54. In spite of all its efforts, the Soviet Union has not even yet succeeded in establishing in Hungary a complete governmental and administrative machine composed of native collaborators. That, without any doubt, is the reason why it is compelled to take off its mask and to keep that unhappy country under a direct military administration. This is what is now described as a return to normal! Meanwhile, martial law is still in force in Hungary; the workers' councils, which were the only genuine representatives of the working class, have been dissolved. There is, of course, no freedom to form trade unions. In this connexion, my delegation trusts that the special committee whose establishment we are shortly to vote upon will insist on implementation of the recommendations recently adopted by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office,

and that it will endeavour to obtain information on any obstacles placed in the way of the exercise of this fundamental freedom. We have noted with satisfaction that the Director General of the International Labour Organisation has placed himself at the disposal of our Assembly and has agreed to take part in any investigation of the situation in Hungary with regard to trade union freedom.

55. In its efforts to reform its ranks, the Hungarian Communist Party has had to go so far as to camouflage its own name, knowing that it was being hounded by a feeling of popular resentment which has been far from stilled by the sacrifice of the ringleaders of repression. The central organ of the Party itself admitted a few days ago that there are only 21,000 members of the new Communist Party in Budapest, as against 350,000 before 23 October 1956. This deflation speaks volumes for the feelings of the masses. The few travellers who have recently managed to traverse the roads of Hungary and have had to submit to being checked by innumerable *Kommandatura*, no longer have any illusions as to who are the actual holders of authority in that unhappy country.

56. The ruins of what was once a beautiful capital city, over a thousand years old, the collapse of the economy and the inevitable poverty which will result, the exodus of over 150,000 refugee workers towards the free countries—all these impose a plain duty on the United Nations, whose ideas of fraternity, after all, conform to the teaching of twenty centuries of Christianity, on the 168th anniversary (this summer) of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Grandiloquent proclamations that the Hungarian people are fighting for the freedom of the world are no longer enough. What is at stake today is the honour of this Organization and, I venture to say in all seriousness, its future. The United Nations cannot, without failing in its essential mission, tolerate armed intervention against a sovereign State which is a Member of the Organization, for the purpose of replacing the legitimate authority, which the government of Imre Nagy undoubtedly was, by a puppet government under orders from abroad. That is the fundamental issue now before us. The principal exhibit in the case, and the one to which we must constantly refer, remains the telegram sent on 1 November 1956 by the head of the legitimate and legal Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

57. It is essential to the very survival of the United Nations that the Assembly should always bear in mind the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and make certain that they are respected. That document contains an important provision which we shall have occasion to recall, formally prohibiting every Member State from intervening in matters essentially within the sovereignty and jurisdiction of another Member State, which is exactly what the Soviet Union is now doing in Hungary.

58. Clearly no form of international relations would be possible if national sovereignty were not mutually respected. Meddling in the affairs of others, as practised by certain States, is legally inadmissible. It is the duty of this Organization to condemn such interference without mercy wherever it occurs. It therefore owes it to itself to act in the present case, prudently no doubt, but also with resolution and perseverance, if we are not to leave still unanswered that last simple and moving appeal broadcast on 9 November 1956 by an

unknown Hungarian insurgent: "Send us news. We are waiting for news. Send us a word."

59. I hope, then, that the draft resolution which I trust we may vote on this evening, measured as it is in its terms and limited in its objectives, will meet with a better fate than its predecessors, and will at last be the answer awaited, behind his prison bars, by that Hungarian insurgent, the unknown fighter for freedom.

60. Mr. ALVAREZ AYBAR (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): The Dominican Republic co-sponsored the twenty-four-Power draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1] because its position on the question of Hungary is unalterable, as has been shown by its close association in the preparation and voting of all the earlier resolutions. Like other delegations which have expressed their views, my delegation considers that interest in this question must be kept alive or else it will be shelved indefinitely precisely because of the negative attitude of the Soviet Union and the Budapest authorities.

61. Moreover, our delegation also feels that we must continue to discuss the failure of the USSR to comply with our resolutions, which the representative of Peru very aptly described as a rebellion in his brilliant speech yesterday [634th meeting]. There is no doubt that we are confronted with a case of rebellion or defiance. Although the draft resolution does not call for sanctions, it implicitly charges rebellion or defiance, yet we consider that it does not close the door to discussion of the outrageous aggression against Hungary.

62. The fact is that what happened in Hungary is not just an event, it is a cataclysm somewhat greater than a terrible atomic explosion, and it has been felt by humanity just as, in physics, scientific instruments now record nuclear tests. The fall-out from that cataclysm were the Soviet troops and tanks which occupied Hungarian territory, the slaughter of men, women and children, the mass deportations, the hundreds of thousands of people forced to flee their country, and the procession of valiant Hungarian women who added their feminine touch and their sorrow to the immensity of the tragedy.

63. The delegation of the Dominican Republic regards the situation in Hungary in two ways: first, as an event with international repercussions which is acknowledged by the Soviet Union and is therefore fully confirmed. Soviet intervention in Hungary is fully substantiated by the evidence referred to earlier. The Soviet Union has not denied it. In fact it sought at first to justify it under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, by attempting to pass it off, not as an international catastrophe, but as a purely internal matter. Then it changed its position and now claims that what happened was the result of United States intervention, which, it alleges, it successfully thwarted.

64. We also regard the situation in another way: the Soviet Union, faced with the irrefutable evidence of what it has done in Hungary, is in the position of a person who does not deny having done something, but tries to justify it as an exception. But exceptions, naturally, must be proved: that is why we say in law *reus in excipiendo fit actor*. And since that proof could be provided by an investigation, the Soviet Union would now have the opportunity to provide that proof through the machinery of the twenty-four-Power draft resolution, as the representative of Ceylon has very rightly pointed out [633rd meeting]. Through that machinery we would learn whether a nation like the Hungarians,

with a sound universal culture, more than 70 per cent of whom are Catholics, is primarily a group of abnormal people, as the Soviet Union claims when it asserts that the thousands of dead, deported, discontented and refugee Hungarians are or were malefactors or war criminals. We would also learn whether the United States desires to create a climate of freedom, as does the United Nations, or whether its position in Hungary is that of a reactionary and interventionist Power, as the Soviet Union alleges.

65. If we do not allow the exception claimed by the Soviet Union, from the strictly legal point of view, and if the Soviet Union persists in its refusal to comply with our resolutions, the tremendous blow it has dealt international morality, far from being effaced, will be all the clearer, nor will its guilt be erased from the conscience of the world. Its position will remain outside the pale of the United Nations Charter, alien to the human values of our civilization, and it will not prevent the United Nations from considering the question further.

66. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1] submitted by the United States and other countries. The contents of this draft resolution, which proposes the establishment of a committee to investigate the events in Hungary, clearly show the objectives of its principal sponsor—the United States—which does not wish to recognize the failure of the conspiracy it planned in Hungary with the aid of Horthyist counter-revolutionaries, a conspiracy that has had serious consequences for the Hungarian people, as the General Assembly well knows. The United States has not renounced its attempt to use the United Nations as a means of exploiting the events in Hungary against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist bloc, and as a means of intervening in Hungary's internal affairs in the hope of playing the same game over again in that country.

67. The so-called Hungarian question has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for over two months. Mainly on the initiative of the United States delegation, the General Assembly has, in the course of successive meetings, adopted a number of resolutions which run counter to the interests of the Hungarian people and the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. Using the so-called Hungarian question as a pretext the United States has abused the General Assembly's patience and has endeavoured to convert it into a forum for calumny and hostile activities directed against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

68. Everyone knows that the agenda of the General Assembly has for years included important items concerning the maintenance and strengthening of peace, the safeguarding of human rights and the right of peoples to self-determination. Instead of devoting all its efforts to these problems, the General Assembly is paralysed by a question raised for ulterior motives.

69. Those motives are also revealed by the present statements of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution who, although they know full well that their request is completely unwarranted and unjustified, are trying, by using all their eloquence and every kind of artifice, to distort the true facts, to present them to us as they would wish them seen, and to mislead the General Assembly so that it will become the tool of influential circles of the imperialistic Powers—primarily the United States—by setting up bodies which can serve their aggressive plans for world domination. What has actually

happened in Hungary? Who are the instigators? Who is responsible, what means have been used and for what purposes? At previous meetings, several delegations, including the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, have discussed this aspect of the matter at length. Those delegations, as well as the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic, have described and defined, with irrefutable supporting evidence, the true nature of the events in Hungary. The counter-revolutionary *putsch* in Hungary, which was organized by foreign reactionary elements and primarily by influential United States circles, was designed to overthrow the people's democratic régime and to replace it by the Horthy régime. For those purposes, all the rabble of Hungarian fascist reactionary elements, both in Hungary and abroad, including war criminals and common law offenders, was brought together and armed.

70. Without a doubt, the so-called Hungarian question was also intended to cover up the aggression perpetrated by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the joint campaign of calumny against the socialist countries is essential to the United States in order to disguise its dark plans and schemes for intervention in the sovereign countries of the Middle East.

71. As an example of United States responsibility for the events in Hungary, I shall quote only one report published by a German newspaper, which confirms this state of affairs. The newspaper *Neues Deutschland* of 27 December 1956, published a dispatch from Bern which made reference to the participation of the Western Powers in the preparation of the *putsch* in Hungary. The dispatch stated that a number of Hungarian refugees, who are now at a place near the Austro-Swiss frontier, have said that they had almost all received preparatory military training. János Varga, for instance, a former Horthy sergeant, and his group of thirty-five persons, had completed in September 1956 a six-month training course at Montgomery, Alabama in the United States of America, under the direction of United States officers. On 22 October, on the eve of the counter-revolutionary *putsch* in Hungary, that same group was flown from the United States to Stuttgart in Western Germany, from where it was flown on, the same evening, to the Djera region in Hungary. This fact, the newspaper concludes, clearly proves that the West was involved in the training of Hungarian counter-revolutionaries and in the organization of the *putsch* in Hungary.

72. My delegation does not feel that it is necessary, at this stage of the discussion, to analyse the events in Hungary any further. Those events have been adequately considered by this Assembly and the essential nature of the question is absolutely clear. It is quite another matter if some delegations do not wish to admit the true facts for various political reasons, or because the reality is not in conformity with the purposes and interests of influential circles in their countries.

73. My delegation, which represents a people's democracy in this Assembly, is not surprised by the machinations of the imperialists in Hungary. The Albanian people have first-hand knowledge of the hostile policy and activity of United States circles against the people's democracies. The hostile propaganda carried out by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe stations, which are controlled by the United States; the aerial provocations by the United States air force which continually violates the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Albania, dropping propaganda and subver-

sive material directed against the people's régime of my country; the releasing of the famous United States balloons; the assistance and protection given by the United States authorities to exiled Albanian criminals; their organization against the People's Republic of Albania; the introduction into Albania of diversionary agents recruited in Albanian emigrant camps abroad; the sabotage and conspiracies carried out by United States imperialists in Albania: all these facts are well known to the Albanian people.

74. There is no doubt that all the hostile acts which I have just enumerated have not achieved their objectives. They have failed completely. The People's Republic of Albania is today stronger than ever. Those acts failed just as the fascist *putsch* in Hungary failed, and they will also fail in the future, despite all the machinations and schemes of international reactionary elements. No force in the world can prevent our peoples from progressing on the path of socialist construction, little as this may be to the liking of the United States representatives or of the aggressive circles in the United States.

75. Influential United States figures are directly involved in the hostile activity and flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. Mr. Nixon's visit to Austria obviously had nothing to do with so-called humanitarian aims, but was designed to encourage and incite the remnants of the counter-revolutionary *putsch* in Hungary to carry out other acts against the people. Mr. Nixon's visit to Austria was also linked with measures which had been taken to ensure that Hungarian refugees are removed from Austrian territory as soon as possible. As a result of hostile propaganda and misinformation, a considerable number of Hungarians have left the country. By transporting them to distant countries such as the United States, New Zealand and Australia, every possible effort is now being made to prevent them from returning to their homes.

76. The United Nations should exert every effort to facilitate the repatriation of all Hungarian citizens who wish to be repatriated, and to bring an immediate halt to the activity of all centres, organizations and committees that are exerting pressure on the refugees to prevent them from returning to their homeland, in order to recruit them for intrigues against the people. The General Assembly should renounce the attitude it has heretofore adopted on the so-called Hungarian question, since it is contrary to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

77. Following the failure of the counter-revolution in Hungary, the Hungarian people and their Government have set themselves to healing the wounds which the counter-revolution inflicted, and life in Hungary has returned to normal. The Hungarian Government, supported by the mass of the people, has taken the necessary measures to repair the damage that has been done and to restore the national economy. At present peace reigns in Hungary. We cannot but be gratified at this situation.

78. But, at a time when the Hungarian people and their Government need to be left to work in peace in order that they may repair the damage caused by the counter-revolution, the United Nations, instead of assisting and encouraging the Hungarian people in that peaceful task—which would be fully in conformity with the noble mission of our Organization—is taking, under the influence of the very persons who were the main instigators of the events in Hungary, an attitude

which is harmful to the Hungarian people, which tends to create obstacles to its peaceful, constructive work and to encourage further reactionary elements in their criminal machinations. This is contrary to the interests of peace and impairs the authority and dignity of the United Nations.

79. I should like to dwell for a moment on the statement made by the French representative who, a few moments ago, spoke most eloquently on the defence of human rights and freedoms. But the French representative silently overlooked the aggression committed against Egypt by France, the United Kingdom and Israel, in which human rights were trampled underfoot when the peaceful people of Egypt were attacked.

80. This champion of human rights is the representative of France, a country which is waging a merciless and unceasing war against the unarmed people of Algeria, and which is forcibly suppressing the will of the Algerian people to attain national independence and freedom. The French authorities have sent a strong army of approximately 650,000 officers and men against the Algerian people. This army has unleashed a ferocious war against the freedom-loving Algerian people. Every day we receive sad war reports of Algerians who have been wounded, massacred or imprisoned. According to a statement by the Secretary-General of the Mouvement national algérien, between 4 November 1954 and the end of 1956 at least 300,000 Algerian men, women and children were killed by the French army and police, while approximately 125,000 Algerians were thrown into concentration camps. If it is necessary to call for the establishment of a United Nations committee and for the despatch of observers to obtain the necessary information and evidence, then it is necessary in the case of Algeria. It is precisely in that case that it would be useful to question the tens of thousands of men languishing in prison and the thousands of families which are without bread and which, at every moment, are exposed to the danger which threatens them because of the inhuman terrorist acts of the French army and police.

81. The purpose of the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly on the initiative of the United States is to continue the campaign of slander launched against the Hungarian People's Republic and all the countries in the socialist bloc. This draft resolution is designed to serve as a basis for further intervention in Hungary and to keep the question permanently on the agenda of the United Nations, at this session and future sessions as well. This draft resolution is contrary to the Charter because it permits continuous intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation, a Member of the United Nations, and it serves only the objectives of aggressive circles in the West that wish to create a hotbed of dangerous provocation in the middle of Europe.

82. The adoption of such a draft resolution could only jeopardize the authority of the United Nations. My delegation vigorously opposes it and asks the General Assembly not only to reject it, but also to eliminate from the agenda the so-called Hungarian question, which is contrary to the principles of international law and of the Charter, and which is detrimental to the cause of peace.

83. Mr. MENDEZ GUARDIA (Panama) (*translated from Spanish*): The Panamanian delegation has followed with the greatest interest the various debates on the question of Hungary at the present session of the General Assembly. We have refrained from taking

part in them because we did not wish to prolong unnecessarily the discussion of a matter on which there has from the beginning been no division of opinion among the free peoples of the world; world public opinion is unanimous in repudiating and condemning the Soviet Union's aggression against Hungary.

84. Nevertheless, at the very outset, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama and Chairman of the Panamanian delegation to the General Assembly, Mr. Aquilino Boyd, made our position on the question clear when he affirmed [598th meeting] Panama's determination to support any measure to alleviate the tragic plight of the Hungarians, for there can be no question of temporizing with the brutal and ruthless aggression which is being committed against the Hungarian people by the Soviet Union.

85. Panama condemns the use of force and aggression by any State in its international relations, whether in the case of Hungary, in the case of Suez or in any other case. Our voice will always be heard in this great world forum in support of all the attacked or oppressed peoples of the earth. Panama also rejects and wholeheartedly condemns any type or form of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of another country.

86. On matters of principle, there can be no compromise, and Panama is, and has always been, an ardent supporter and champion of the right of self-determination of peoples and relations between States based on equality before the law and mutual respect for political independence and territorial integrity.

87. Panama, which has always been very jealous of its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, can but pay a tribute of admiration and sympathy to the gallant Hungarian people which is today shedding its blood in defence of its freedom and its country. Like the Peruvian representative Mr. Belaúnde, we believe that the United Nations is under not only a moral, but a legal, obligation—since fundamental principles of the Charter have been violated—to raise its voice in protest against Soviet aggression and to give its full and unceasing support to the Hungarian people until such time as freedom and the enjoyment of human rights have been completely restored in that country.

88. We do not share the pessimism of the Cuban representative, Mr. Núñez Portuondo, with regard to the effectiveness of the draft resolution before us [A/3487/Rev.1]. The twenty-four-Power draft resolution submitted for our approval is undoubtedly of great moral significance because it reaffirms the opinion of all the free peoples of the world on the question of Hungary, and makes it clear that the death of thousands of Hungarian patriots who wanted a better future for their country has not been in vain. Reason must be our guide and we must explore every method of peaceful persuasion to bring about a solution of the Hungarian problem.

89. At this stage there is no need to adopt a provocative position or to take hasty decisions which might tend to aggravate rather than to alleviate the tense international situation. We cannot expect the United Nations, which has been in existence little more than ten years, to settle overnight the problem of peace, which is as old as the human race. That is the error of those who prophesy the failure of the United Nations when it fails to solve problems as quickly as they could wish.

90. The draft resolution under discussion, drafted in terms which show respect for the integrity and dignity of all Member States, gives the Soviet Union time to

reflect, and to act in response to the desires of the conscience of mankind and in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. In so doing, the Soviet Union would not be saving face; on the contrary, it would gain prestige, as other great Powers gained it when they acceded to the wishes of the United Nations and took steps to correct ill-advised actions they had taken.

91. Mr. LEGARE (Canada) (*translated from French*): On 4 November last, when the Hungarian question was submitted to the General Assembly, the head of my delegation, Mr. Pearson, concluded his statement with the following words:

"We owe it to the people of Hungary, we owe it to the United Nations, and we owe it to freedom, to condemn in the strongest terms what we know has happened, and to investigate, through the United Nations, what is happening now." [564th meeting, para. 140.]

92. Since that time more than two months have elapsed and the United Nations has continued, with all the means at its disposal, to seek a solution which will help the Hungarian people. The Organization as such and many of its Members individually have done much to relieve the sufferings of thousands of refugees. Freedom-loving Governments, which reject tyranny, have done their best to subscribe money, to send supplies and above all to extend a warm welcome in their new homes to the thousands of victims of the cruel events of Hungary.

93. However, the relief of suffering and the privilege of settling in new homes, appreciable though they may be, are no substitute for the right to live in freedom in one's own country. All our efforts to secure that final objective have been repulsed by the attitude of the Soviet Union and of the Kadar régime which it has installed in Budapest. The Soviet Union Government has scornfully rejected the General Assembly's recommendations on Hungary. It is true that the Soviet version of the events in Hungary differs substantially from ours and from that of several other delegations. The only way of eliminating these divergencies of opinion is to permit on-the-spot inquiry. If the Soviet Government believes its allegations to be true, why should it fear the idea of an investigation which can be carried out only by this world Organization?

94. We noted with profound regret the letter submitted by the group of three investigators and included in the Secretary-General's last report on Hungary, dated 5 January [A/3485]. The Secretary-General suggests in his report that the Assembly consider the possibility of establishing a special committee which would be given the task of conducting an investigation. My delegation has supported the draft resolution now before the Assembly [A/3487/Rev.1], which may give effect to the suggestion contained in the Secretary-General's report. We hope that this draft resolution will receive wide support because we know that, once established, the special committee will be able to perform its task with vigour. In our opinion, one of the means of carrying out that task will be to obtain testimony from Hungarian refugees. We note that the Austrian Government has expressed its readiness to receive members of the special committee. I am pleased to state that my Government, which has also welcomed many Hungarian refugees, will be glad to receive the investigators and to co-operate with the members of the committee.

95. Begum IKRAMULLAH (Pakistan): It is a matter of firm belief and conviction with our delegation that the United Nations resolution must be complied with. We feel that it is necessary for the very existence of this Organization that it insist on this. We find the argument that the United Nations concern with what has happened or is happening in Hungary an unwarranted interference into the internal affairs of a country incomprehensible. This Organization came into being for the express purpose of safeguarding peace and with the avowed object of seeing that the rule of law prevailed among nations. Therefore, whenever there is a breach of peace, it is the bounden duty of the United Nations to interfere. We view with increasing alarm the reluctance on the part of some nations, which refuse to submit to United Nations decisions, and we see in it a threat not only to its prestige but also to its very existence. Therefore, we have associated ourselves on every occasion with resolutions demanding that United Nations recommendations be complied with.

96. My delegation has never entered into a discussion of what is or is not happening in Hungary. We have not indulged in accusations or counter-accusations, for we do not think that this forum is the place for it, nor is the General Assembly a fact-finding commission. But we do insist that a sincerely impartial body be formed for this purpose. We previously requested that observers be allowed to enter Hungary, but this request was ignored. Even a visit by the Secretary-General, which was almost agreed to, was not proceeded with later on.

97. This Assembly cannot allow any of its Members to be so intransigent, and it is for this purpose that we once again ask that a committee composed of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay be formed to investigate and inform the Members of the United Nations as to what actually did happen or is happening in Hungary. Surely this cannot be considered as an infringement of sovereign rights or undue interference into the internal matters of a country, nor can the suggested members of this committee in any way be considered to be partial. We therefore, once again, with all the earnestness at our command, hope that this draft resolution be approved and be complied with.

98. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia): The very word and name of my country, Liberia, spells and means freedom. It is for this reason that we are co-sponsoring the draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1], before the Assembly. We must state that we ourselves, having suffered in the course of our history as a race the most grinding oppression and the denial of the most fundamental human rights and freedom, can never lend a deaf ear whenever these rights are challenged or suppressed in any part of the world. On this principle my country takes a definite and decisive stand and will neither be influenced by party politics, propaganda warfare nor the struggle between East and West. We are not concerned as to where such oppression of freedom exists, whether it is in the East or the West, whether in Africa, Asia, Europe or any other continent. What is our chief concern is that it is the right and privilege of all peoples, whether individually or collectively, in any part of the world, to be masters in their own environment.

99. It is strange, however, to observe that some delegations which so strongly support the cause of the Hungarian struggle, turn a blind eye to the fight for

freedom in other parts of the world and in some cases condone the question of the suppression of human rights and individual freedom by their silence. We cannot have two different yardsticks, as the Greek representative said earlier in this debate [634th meeting], for the very same evil. If it is fundamentally wrong to suppress human rights and freedom in Hungary, it is equally fundamentally wrong and inhumane to suppress human rights in Africa or on any other continent. We cannot be both a Daniel in correcting the faults of others and be a monkey—in the Chinese fable “see no evil”—about our own faults. This is pure hypocrisy and the world is too enlightened nowadays to be so deceived.

100. It is indeed a strange argument and at times perplexing, that whenever the question of freedom is raised in some particular part of the world the question of the Charter of the United Nations has been brought up or even quoted to suppress these very rights. I allude particularly to the question of domestic issues or the non-interference in the internal affairs of a country. This reminds me of those people who contend that the Sabbath is a holy day and on that day, according to the Scriptures, men should do no work. I think this question was brought to the attention of one of the great teachers for a solution. His reply was: which one of you shall have an ox fallen into a pit and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath day? He concluded that the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath. I think this quotation is very apposite to the question of domestic jurisdiction and non-intervention into the internal affairs of countries. Were this principle insisted upon, any nation would be disposed to permit any hardship or cruelty to be perpetrated on its citizens or people under its care or supervision, and in such an instance the international world would be barred from intervention.

101. It is strange, if not amusing, that the question of domestic issues, of internal affairs, never arises in the case of people seized by some epidemic or struck by some volcanic or other element of destruction. There humanity has rushed in and given aid and assistance promptly, which has been warmly and eagerly accepted without any consideration of domestic jurisdiction.

102. If we are correct in giving aid to physical ailments, how much more in the case of the soul and spirit of man, which far supersedes anything physical and which is the very essence of life itself? In the former case we give aid or comfort without any restrictions; in the latter, we hem ourselves in with qualifications of non-interference.

103. Today we have the example of this case of the Hungarian struggle for freedom. We know that whenever people rise up in a struggle against tyranny and oppression they are generally classified as criminals, rebels, terrorists, imperialists or communist agents. To the student of history this technique is neither new nor unique. Any people struggling to thrust off the yoke of oppression or suppressive rule has been described in such vulgar terms. It is only when such a struggle is successful that these fighters have become patriots. Calling a rose by any other name does not destroy its scent.

104. We feel, despite our setbacks in the past on the question of human freedom, that this Assembly has an interest and should be always concerned with the suppression of human rights and freedom in any part of the world. This draft resolution is an attempt by its

sponsors to see that the principles of the Charter are fully discussed and maintained. In establishing a special committee to investigate, establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and to report its findings to the General Assembly, it is to be hoped that in this spirit the Soviet Union and Hungary which have been, at times, foremost in championing the rights of freedom in other parts of the world, will see that these principles are upheld in their own domain. To my mind, unless we are prepared to take a firm stand and attitude wherever these evils exist, whether they concern us directly or indirectly, the United Nations can never be an instrument for enforcing right and justice.

105. Mr. HANIFAH (Indonesia): The Assembly now finds itself in what we may consider the second stage of the consideration of the Hungarian problem. What is desired at the present time is a full assessment of the present situation in Hungary as well as the developments relating to the recommendations of the General Assembly on this item. The measures contemplated are of course a direct result of the inability of this Assembly to obtain a clear picture of the situation in Hungary through observation on the spot.

106. As we have been informed by the Secretary-General, in a key paragraph of his report of 5 January:

“So far there has been no possibility for representatives of the United Nations to make direct observations in Hungary, nor has the co-operation necessary for the investigations been forthcoming from Governments directly concerned.” [A/3485, para. 5.]

I must say that my delegation regrets this situation very much. From the very beginning of the consideration of this item it has been our sincere hope that this Assembly, either through a visit of the Secretary-General or of observers designated by him, be given an opportunity to ascertain directly the situation prevailing in Hungary. We appealed, therefore, to the Governments of Hungary and the Soviet Union to extend that measure of co-operation necessary for the achievement of this end. I believe that no one can question the fact that we addressed that appeal in response to the world-wide concern over the situation in Hungary and with the sole aim of facilitating a peaceful settlement in the interests of the Hungarian people as well as the restoration of stability throughout the area.

107. The twenty-four-Power draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1] now before this Assembly calls for the establishment of a special committee which would have the primary task of furnishing the General Assembly with additional new information. The joint draft resolution also calls upon the Soviet Union and Hungary to co-operate fully with this committee and, in particular, to permit the committee and its staff to enter the territory of Hungary and to travel freely therein.

108. In view of the stated position of my delegation on this question, it should be clear that we have no serious objection to these recommendations. However, I wish to note that it is the strong opinion of my delegation that it should not, repeat not, be the aim of this Assembly merely to collect all available information about the situation in Hungary including such material as is generally known to all of us. We believe that this Assembly should obtain new sources of reliable information and material through direct observation in Hungary, but with the primary objective of an accurate and unbiased assessment of the present situation in

Hungary. And for this purpose, the co-operation of not only the Governments of Hungary and of the Soviet Union but of every Member State is necessary.

109. In particular, however, the co-operation of the Governments of Hungary and the Soviet Union is, of course, essential in order that the special committee, envisaged in the twenty-four-Power draft resolution, may be able to make such observations on the spot in Hungary which can only be helpful towards attaining a full and clear picture of events in that country. Indeed, without the co-operation of these Governments directly concerned, it would be quite difficult, if not impossible, for the committee to carry out its task constructively.

110. It is true that the committee might be in a position to investigate and observe outside Hungary—for example, by getting information from Hungarian refugees in neighbouring countries. But, with all due respect for the accurateness of such information obtained from individuals or groups outside Hungary, my delegation fears that such information may be considered to be biased and one-sided. We believe that the most important information for the United Nations would be that obtained from the present Government of Hungary and through observations on the spot in Hungary itself. In this connexion, my delegation would like again to make a sincere and strong appeal to the Governments of Hungary and the Soviet Union to co-operate fully with the proposed five-member committee.

111. Having made these observations, I would like now to turn briefly to the phraseology of the twenty-four-Power draft resolution which, we feel, does not always reflect accurately the central purpose of this draft resolution—a purpose which we certainly support. For instance, we believe that the words “to observe” rather than “to investigate”, as found in operative paragraph 1, would better describe the task of the special committee. We also would like to see the deletion of the words “to maintain” in this same paragraph, since the observations of the special committee would certainly be of a limited nature—that is, only until the necessary information has been obtained—whereas the words “to maintain” seem to convey the impression of permanency. Finally, we would prefer the word “Requests” rather than “Calls upon” in operative paragraph 2, since it would fit more appropriately into the whole framework of the draft resolution. My delegation puts forwards these observations as mere suggestions, as we do not intend to submit them formally as an amendment to the twenty-four-Power draft resolution. I should like also to state that, in the event that the draft resolution is put to the vote paragraph by paragraph, my delegation would have to abstain on several articles, and it would do so in the light of the aforementioned observations. In conclusion, my delegation wishes it to be put on record that our vote in support of the draft resolution as a whole should also be seen in this context.

112. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers on the list. Therefore I shall request the Assembly to proceed to a vote on the twenty-four-Power draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria,

Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia.

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

Abstaining: Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Finland, India, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria.

The draft resolution was adopted by 59 votes to 8, with 10 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

[NOTE: At its 668th plenary meeting on 8 March 1957, the General Assembly decided, by resolution 1119 (XI), to adjourn its eleventh session temporarily and to authorize the President, in consultation with the Secretary-General and with representatives of the Member States serving on the General Committee during the session, to reconvene the Assembly as necessary in order to consider item 67 further.]