

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



785th  
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 11 December 1958,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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**President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).**

## AGENDA ITEM 69

### The situation in Hungary (concluded)

#### SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY (A/3849)

1. The PRESIDENT: We shall now continue our consideration of the agenda item concerning the situation in Hungary.

2. Mr. BELTRANENA VALLADARES (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights we read:

"Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

"Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law, ..."

3. Only a few hours ago, the United Nations solemnly celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the inspired words of the President of this Assembly are still fresh in all our minds. But the tragic events with which this debate is concerned are even fresher.

4. I do not need to do more than recall very briefly the events which led to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1133 (XI) and the other resolutions which have been ignored, defied and trampled under foot by the puppet régime of János Kádár and the Government of the Soviet Union.

5. The Hungarian revolution of liberation began on 23 October 1956 with the demonstrations led by the Hungarian students who were demanding a Government for their country which would respect the law and the principles of the Charter; and the aggression by the

\*Text quoted in English.

Soviet Union began the same day, when, during the night, Soviet tanks and jet aircraft were used against the demonstrators. Twenty-four hours later, Soviet military units entered Budapest at the request of the Communist régime and began to fight the people of Hungary. Two days later, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party promised to organize new elections, correct past errors, negotiate with the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of its troops, establish relations with Russia on a basis of equality, accept workers' councils and grant an amnesty to all who had taken part in the uprising.

6. On 30 October, the Government led by Imre Nagy was practically in control of Hungary, freed Cardinal Mindszenty and gave the hard-trying Hungarian people hope that their just demands and their heroic uprising would achieve some results. Nevertheless, on 1, 2 and 3 November, although the Nagy Government was already in full control of the country, Soviet troops again entered Hungary and occupied strategic positions. On 4 November, strong Soviet forces, supported by every kind of conventional weapon, carried out the most monstrous aggression of modern times.

7. From 12.27 p.m. on 1 November 1956, following the appeal made by the legal Government of Hungary under Imre Nagy, the United Nations was responsible for ending the aggression against the Hungarian people, for it was at that time that the United Nations teletypes received the denunciation of the entry of fresh Soviet troops and Hungary's declaration of neutrality, proclaimed by its legal Government. During the afternoon of 4 November, the USSR used its first veto in connexion with this item in the Security Council [754th meeting], thus frustrating the action of the United Nations and protecting itself from the consequences of its own aggression. However, that same day the second emergency special session of the General Assembly affirmed the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being.

8. On 9 November 1956, at the same session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1005 (ES-II), in which it called upon the Government of the USSR to withdraw its forces immediately and reaffirmed the Hungarian people's right to hold free elections under United Nations auspices. On the same day, the General Assembly, in its resolution 1006 (ES-II) called upon the Soviet Union to cease actions against the Hungarian population, which it described as a violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality.

9. On 12 November 1956, the János Kádár Government informed the Secretary-General by telegram [A/3341] that there was no justification for the presence of United Nations observers.

10. On 21 November 1956, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1127 (XI), which emphasized the

urgency of the USSR withdrawing its forces from Hungary and ceasing the mass deportation of Hungarian patriots to the Soviet Union.

11. On 4 December 1956, in its resolution 1130 (XI), the Assembly reiterated its appeal that United Nations observers should be permitted, to enter Hungary. And, finally, on 12 December, at a plenary meeting, the Assembly adopted resolution 1131 (XI), which categorically declared that, by using its armed force, the USSR was violating the independence of Hungary and condemned the USSR for violating the United Nations Charter in depriving Hungary of its liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental rights.

12. On 14 September 1957, the Assembly adopted resolution 1133 (XI), in which it strongly endorsed the conclusion, stated in the Special Committee's report [A/3592] that the resolution in Hungary was a spontaneous national uprising and found, on the basis of its examination of all available evidence, that the Soviet Union had violated the Charter in depriving Hungary of its political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights; that the régime now in power in Hungary had been imposed by the armed intervention of the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union had carried out mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to its territory and that the Soviet Union had violated the human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary of 10 February 1947.

13. I am obliged to refer to the General Assembly resolutions, which have been disregarded, unheeded, flouted and ignored, both by the Soviet Union and by the régime imposed on Hungary, in order to give, in full, the reasons which led my delegation to co-sponsor the draft resolution [A/L.255] now before the Assembly. The delegation of Guatemala has already stated its views on what it considers one of the gravest cases of aggression in the history of mankind, but on this occasion we must refer again to certain aspects of the question in view of the news of the assassination of Imre Nagy and General Pál Maléter which became known after the adoption of the Assembly's last resolution on the subject. Imre Nagy and General Maléter were tried in secret, condemned to death and then executed, according to the reports broadcast to the world by Radio Budapest on 16 June 1958.

14. Although he is living in a glass house, the representative of the Hungarian régime imposed by the Soviet Union saw fit to refer again to the case of Guatemala in the course of the violent propagandist attack on the nations of the free world he made in his statement on 29 September 1958 at the beginning of the general debate at the thirteenth session of the Assembly [763rd meeting]. In view of this fact, my delegation has no alternative but to reiterate the views, facts and explanations which have already been given. However, on this occasion and as I was one of the signatories to the joint declaration of January 1954 which repudiated the unconstitutional régime of Jacobo Arbenz, I must reiterate that the liberation movement of 1954, led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, was a genuine popular movement of the people of Guatemala against the tyranny imposed by a communist type of régime, which had deprived the Guatemalan people of the exercise of its fundamental freedoms; that it was in the exercise of our constitutional right as Guatemalans and in order

to restore constitutional government that we took up arms on 17 June 1954; that the liberation movement was wholly and exclusively Guatemalan; and that since then, freedom has reigned in Guatemala, where journalists and observers of every kind have been welcomed and where, during the last few months, the people have had the opportunity of fully exercising their civic rights, without pressure or intervention of any kind. For instance, on December 1958, in a completely free ballot, elements which had naively supported the attempt to establish communism in Guatemala were able to win the local elections in some of the most important municipalities in the country.

15. We have opened our frontiers to all foreigners and for more than four years impartial observers have been able to verify the truth of our statements; even the representatives of the communist régime in Hungary are free to visit our country, to talk to our humblest citizens and see with their own eyes that the liberation movement in Guatemala was in conformity with the dearest and most sacred rights of the Guatemalan people, who, when their liberator died, paid him one of the most spectacular, spontaneous and sincere tributes of affection and gratitude our country has ever seen.

16. My delegation and others that have spoken before it have consistently demonstrated the independence of their judgement and opinion. Our votes in this and preceding sessions of the Assembly and in the Trusteeship Council are conclusive proof of our absolute independence. If the representatives of the communist puppet régime in Hungary were in a position to give similar proofs, they would have some right to be heard. But they are not able to provide such proofs, because as we all know they are absolutely dependent upon the Soviet Union and unless they can find something better to support their reckless propaganda statements, we hope that this will be the last time we have to refer to the Guatemalan people's tragic epic of 1954. Although the price of our victory was bloodshed and suffering, we have humbly accepted the benefits of the freedom which that victory brought us and are now devoting ourselves to the protection of the rights of which, in a dark hour of our history, an attempt was made to deprive us forever.

17. I now want to mention some other aspects of the question which deserve the attention of the Assembly and of world opinion, to which, indeed, they are already known.

18. The first is the deaths of Imre Nagy and Pál Maléter. Under normal conditions, the fact that patriots should be condemned to death merely for having tried to restore their fundamental freedoms to the Hungarian people would be disgraceful enough; but the circumstances surrounding the execution of Nagy and Maléter are even more revolting, because they are crimes against liberty, an attempt to strike at the very heart of freedom. The same applies to the death sentences on Miklós Gimes, József Szilágyi, Ferenc Donát, Zoltán Tildy, Sándor Kopácsi, Ferenc Jánosi, and Miklós Vársárhelyi. Nagy and Maléter were negotiating truce terms with the Soviet forces. While he was negotiating, Maléter was arrested. Nagy's case is even more serious, as he had sought diplomatic asylum at the Yugoslav Embassy with other prominent members of his Government. During the negotiations, in order to obtain a safe-conduct, the Hungarian régime imposed

by the Soviet Union gave assurances that there would be no reprisals against Nagy and the members of his Government, including of course Maléter, the Minister of Defence.

19. I do not want to embark on an analysis of the legal points relating to the competence or lack of competence of the Hungarian courts to try those who had been fully recognized as Ministers of the Government, but I do want to comment briefly on the violation of the right of asylum in Nagy's case.

20. In the first place, it is evident that the right of asylum is recognized by Hungarian law and was also proclaimed in the 1949 Constitution, as would be logical, since the general principle is an accepted rule of international law. Some Governments make reservations and exceptions; but the simple fact that negotiations had been started with the Government of Yugoslavia for the purpose of providing a safe-conduct to a person who had taken asylum clearly proves that the Hungarian régime recognized the validity of the principle of asylum. If that had not been so, it would immediately have demanded his surrender, without considering under what conditions the safe-conduct would be given, and it would not have made statements regarding the safety of the persons who had taken asylum. As jealous guardians of the legal institution of asylum, the majority of the Latin American countries can do no less than censure the violation of this right, particularly when negotiations had been entered into in good faith and been broken off, as there was not only violation of the right of asylum itself but to a certain extent, violation of diplomatic immunity, on which the right of asylum rests.

21. Further, the fact that Nagy was arrested by Soviet troops adds to the heinousness of the crime, as these troops had absolutely no right to act as agents of the Hungarian Government because, under the Warsaw Treaty of 14 May 1955 in force between Hungary and the Soviet Union, the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian territory was not to impair the sovereignty of Hungary in any way and the troops were forbidden to meddle in the country's internal affairs.

22. The initial offence—the abduction of Imre Nagy by Soviet troops—is aggravated by the fact that he was imprisoned in another country behind the iron curtain and then returned to Hungary for trial and execution, as far as our information goes, in spite of Government assurances that the full protection of the right of asylum would be extended to Nagy and his followers.

23. Another fact which my delegation finds deserving of attention is the attitude of János Kádár's Government to Cardinal Mindszenty, whose only crime is to have been faithful to his flock and to the highest principles of humanity and freedom. On the death of his Holiness Pope Pius XII, the Hungarian Cardinal, who represents the millions of Hungarian Catholics whose faith has remained unshaken in spite of all the Communist Government's attempts to destroy it, should have gone to Rome to take part in the conclave which was to elect the new Pope. All the efforts made to enable Cardinal Mindszenty to attend were fruitless, and the Hungarian régime thus deprived Hungarian Catholics of the right of having their Primate take part in the election of the new Pontiff and all Catholics everywhere of the presence of this Prince of the Church in the Conclave. The Hungarian régime's refusal to give Cardinal

Mindszenty the safe-conduct he required to leave Hungary is a further unjustifiable violation of the right of asylum and must be condemned by all civilized peoples. No attention was paid to the special petition which the College of Cardinals presented through the United States Legation, as was reported in The New York Times on 23 October 1958, and it is obvious also from the statements made to the Press on that occasion that the Cardinal was in need of asylum, because he faced prison or death if he fell into the hands of the Hungarian or Soviet Communists.

24. On 22 October 1958, The New York Times published a Reuters despatch from Budapest which indicated that the mass arrests of Hungarian citizens were continuing. In view of the fact that repressive action against the Hungarian people has continued and that both the Government of the Soviet Union and the communist puppet Government in Hungary have defied the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops and the restoration of the Hungarian people's liberties, my delegation has decided to sponsor and support the draft resolution [A/L.255] now before us, in the hope that collective censure by the United Nations of these appalling events, which helped to enslave a people of indomitable valour, will make it clear to those responsible that no one can believe their protestations of respect for peace, justice and human rights so long as they do not make a genuine, sincere and honest effort to remedy the present situation, and also that the world is continuing and will continue to watch the action they take.

25. While the Soviet Union is pleading in the United Nations General Assembly for the independence of the peoples which are having their first taste of sovereignty and trying to pass itself off as a champion of the Non-Self-Governing countries and of anti-colonialism, it has enslaved the most long-suffering of all the central European nations, to say nothing of keeping other peoples beneath its yoke.

26. We can know only by its acts, not by its words, whether the Soviet Union is sincere in its efforts to promote peaceful relations of goodwill between States, and one of these acts must be the liberation of Hungary. Until all Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Hungarian territory, until the hundreds of communist agents who control the country have returned to the Soviet Union and until the Hungarian people are allowed freely to elect a Government of their choice under the auspices of the United Nations, the countries of the free world will be unable to believe that the Soviet Union's protestations of respect for the law are sincere.

27. For the present and future generations of Hungary there remains the hope that their present oppressors may yield to the censure and appeals of world opinion and for their sake the United Nations must spare no effort to achieve, by peaceful means, the restoration of their liberties and fundamental rights.

28. For those who died in a glorious attempt to reconquer freedom, nothing remains but the memory of their heroic deeds, written in the glorious pages of the revolution of liberation; this is true also of those who, like Nagy and Maléter, have fallen beneath the executioner's ruthless hand. It is to them that the last lines of a poem written during the tragic days of the Hungarian invasion are dedicated:

"For the Hungarian heroes, fallen in battle, a star has risen and will never set."<sup>1/</sup>

29. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): It is now fifteen months since this Assembly last debated the question of Hungary. At that time we had before us the memorable report [A/3592] published in June, 1957, of the Assembly's Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary. That report not only traced the course of the spontaneous national uprising which took place in Hungary in October and November, 1956, but also gave details of the increasingly severe reprisals which the Kádár régime had inflicted on the Hungarian people in the months following the suppression of that uprising. That report confirmed our worst fears in respect of the repression and denial of human rights that had taken place.

30. The Assembly now has before it the second report of the Special Committee [A/3849] published on 14 July 1958. In its second report the Committee has done two things. It has set out the circumstances of the arrest, trial and execution of Mr. Imre Nagy, General Pál Maléter, and their companions; and it has investigated, in so far as it was in a position to do so, the action taken since the publication of the Committee's report of June, 1957, against those who took part in the rising of 1956. This second report brings out clearly that, in the interval, the hand of repression and oppression has clamped down still more heavily on the unfortunate Hungarian people.

31. The United Kingdom Government, in common with the vast majority of Governments represented here today, learned with horror and indignation of the execution of Mr. Nagy and General Maléter. The Hungarian authorities, in a communiqué issued on 16 June 1958,<sup>2/</sup> attempted to justify that action by laying a number of charges against these two men. We should not let such apologies obscure the reality. Mr. Nagy was the legally appointed head of the Government which tried to make Hungary free, independent and neutral. General Maléter was a soldier who fought bravely for the same cause. It was for those actions, and because of the Soviet Government's fear of the effect of their example, that Mr. Nagy and General Maléter paid with their lives.

32. A particularly disturbing feature is the manner in which the processes of law operated, or rather failed to operate. Mr. Nagy, General Maléter and their companions were tried and executed in secret without being given any chance to state their case, either to their own countrymen, or to the rest of the world. It is not as if the cases of Mr. Nagy and General Maléter were isolated. The formidable list [A/3842, annex IV] prepared by the Special Committee of publicly announced sentences on other patriotic if less famous persons associated with the rising shows how many other brave men and women suffered. And I feel bound to share the Committee's doubts as to whether that list is at all comprehensive. Reports of arrests and trials are still being received. The number of these which are allowed to percolate to the outside world will no doubt continue to diminish; but it would be a mistake to imagine on

that account that repression in Hungary had come to an end. That would be a total misreading of the situation.

33. The Special Committee both in its main report, and in the special report published in July 1958, referred to the summary procedures provided for under Hungarian law. It is clear that the Hungarian régime has used this period since it was reinstated to refine its methods of control and intimidation. The secret police are again a formidable organization and they appear to have resumed their former unlimited powers; the individual citizen is again subject to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; and the apparatus for the administration of justice has been so organized as to ensure not only that it serves the political purposes of the régime, but that it shall do so without question and, where necessary, in secrecy. There has, in short, been re-established in Hungary all the paraphernalia of a thoroughgoing police state and all the necessary apparatus to ensure that injustice and oppression shall go unchecked and, more often than not, unknown.

34. Such then is the tragic situation in Hungary today. Why is such a situation possible? It has certainly not come about through the will of the Hungarian people; nor, as was amply demonstrated in October and November 1956, would it endure if the Hungarian people had the freedom to decide their own form of government.

35. The truth is that the present situation in Hungary exists solely because it is the will of the Soviet Government that it should exist, and because that Government is prepared to crush by armed force any challenge to its authority or to the authority of those whom it has set in power over the Hungarian people. The Soviet troops in Hungary may not be greatly in evidence; but the Hungarian people know that they are there, they remember 1956, and they have no doubt noted the warning issued in April 1958 that the Soviet Government would not hesitate to send its tanks into action again should there be any serious challenge to the existing order in Hungary. In these circumstances, it is manifestly impossible to maintain that the situation in Hungary is merely an internal matter and the sole concern of the present authorities in that country. It is nothing of the sort. It is the direct outcome of armed intervention by a foreign Power in the affairs of the sovereign State of Hungary and of the continuing threat of further armed intervention: and this intervention, it must not be forgotten, has been maintained for over two years in direct disregard of the General Assembly's repeated calls upon the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people, to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian people's enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

36. Such being the situation, the United Kingdom considers that the United Nations cannot renounce its concern with the fate of the Hungarian people, but on the contrary must remain seized of the problem of Hungary. The Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary has carried out its task with impressive objectivity and efficiency and has expressed itself in two unanimous reports. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Special Committee for the manner in which it has discharged its heavy and prolonged responsibilities. We also owe our thanks to the General Assembly's special representative on the problem of Hungary, H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakon, for the strenuous

<sup>1/</sup> "Hungria en Llamas", *Nosotros*, Mexico, 29 December 1956.

<sup>2/</sup> This communiqué appeared in *Népszabadság* for 17 June 1958. An English translation was issued on 18 June by the Permanent Mission of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United Nations.

efforts which he made to enter into consultation with the Government of the Soviet Union and the authorities in Hungary with a view to achieving the objectives of the United Nations. It is no fault of his that those efforts were frustrated. Henceforth, however, the amount of information about the true nature of conditions in Hungary which will be allowed to reach the outside world is likely to be limited. It would seem most appropriate at this stage therefore to invite some individual of outstanding ability, distinction and integrity to establish and to present for the consideration of this Assembly significant developments which bear on the carrying-out of the General Assembly's resolutions relating to Hungary. Sir Leslie Munro is a man who possesses in full measure all these qualities. As a distinguished former President of the General Assembly he will bring to this charge all the prestige of his high office and in his person will represent the deep concern of the United Nations with the continuing situation in Hungary.

37. For these reasons my delegation has joined in sponsoring the draft resolution [A/L.255] before us in the names of Argentina and thirty-six other delegations. The United Kingdom Government fully supports the resolution. It considers that the Assembly should endorse both the report of the Special Committee of July 1958 [A/3849] and the report submitted by Prince Wan in December 1957 [A/3774]; it considers that the Assembly should denounce the execution of Imre Nagy and his associates and deplore the continuing repression in Hungary; and finally it considers that the Assembly should condemn the continued defiance of the General Assembly by the Soviet Union and the authorities in Hungary.

38. In conclusion, despite the fact that so many similar appeals have been ignored, I wish to express the fervent hope that, even at this late hour, the Soviet Union and the authorities in Hungary will desist from their repression of the Hungarian people, will introduce respect for fundamental human rights and freedom, and will thus enable the gallant Hungarian people, in the enjoyment of the rights to which they are entitled, to attain liberty and political independence.

39. It is a sombre and ironical coincidence that this debate opens on the day after the celebration of the publication of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that proclamation of a rule of human conduct for Asia, Africa, for America—and also for Europe.

40. That Declaration called for the protection of human rights by the rule of law, if man was "not to be compelled", in the words of the Declaration, "to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression".

41. The Hungarian people in October 1956 reached that last resort. It was contempt for human right which led, in the further words of the Declaration, to "barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind".

42. It is because the events in Hungary have outraged the conscience of mankind that the United Nations must watch with vigilance and strive with the means at its disposal to remedy this cruel denial of the inalienable rights of one suffering member of the human family.

43. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): This is not the first time

that the United Nations General Assembly, thanks to the United States and certain other Western States, has been diverted from the tasks for which it bears direct responsibility under the United Nations Charter, and has wasted time in discussing non-existent, fabricated and provocative matters which are detrimental to the authority and prestige of the United Nations and are calculated to aggravate, rather than to relax, international tension.

44. No one can or should be misled as to the real motives underlying the constant and morbid interest shown by ruling circles in the United States in the situation in the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and indeed in other peace-loving countries which have cast off the imperialist yoke and are building their lives on foundations different from those likely to please the instigators of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. This interest certainly has no connexion with the devotion to freedom, democracy, humanitarianism and human rights, which they are so fond of vaunting and which they have vaunted today, in order to conceal their real intentions.

45. Western imperialist circles, in particular the United States, are alarmed at the growth of the forces of socialism and democracy in the countries of Europe and Asia, and wherever peoples are struggling to achieve real freedom and independence. They are thrown off their balance by the successes and achievements of the new socialist world, which, taking giant steps along the path of progress, is creating a life worthy of mankind, and constitutes the hope of all mankind and of all peoples still oppressed and enslaved by imperialism.

46. Aggressive circles in the West are furious at the fact that history is evolving exactly as was prophesied by those great giants of mankind, Marx and Lenin, is evolving as the Communists have predicted. Socialism is growing, strengthening and developing; it has become a world system, an invincible force on which any modern aggressors who attempt to test the might of the new world by war will break their teeth. As well try to stop the earth in its course as try to turn the clock of history back to those days, blissful for the colonialists, when, dealing out kicks and halfpence, they high-handedly lorded it over Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America as though over their own backyards.

47. Fortunately for mankind, those dark times have passed away, and the peoples wish to live, and will live, by principles other than those prescribed by American or other monopolists. The sooner the Western exponents of the policy of "positions of strength" understand this, the sooner they realize that the world is turning round and will continue to turn towards progress and real democracy, under which the people will manage their own affairs, the better it will be for them, for all mankind and for the maintenance of world peace.

48. Perhaps what I have said will not be to the liking of certain persons in the United States and other delegations; but it is not our fault if an attempt is being made here to initiate an ideological discussion and if hatred of socialism is being voiced from the forum of the United Nations. We do not believe that ideological differences should be discussed in the United Nations. Unfortunately, that is constantly being done here on any pretext, and even without any pretext, by the represent-



atives of the United States and of certain other countries which, being bound to the United States by military and political obligations, behave like poor relations towards a rich uncle who may pat their heads if they behave nicely, but may also punish them for disobedience. What have Hungary and the life and constructive efforts of the Hungarian people to do with these Jeremiahs? They are no more really interested in all this than people are interested in last year's snows. However, they are prepared to do what is required by certain circles in the United States, which are pursuing a policy of direct and indirect aggression and will not abandon their hopes for the restoration of the capitalist order both in Hungary and in the other socialist countries, although it has been rejected by the people. That and that alone can explain why the alleged problem of Hungary has been placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at this session.

49. This is not the first time the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have had to face imperialist attempts to interfere in their domestic affairs; but they are perfectly well able to look after themselves. However, things will be much worse for those countries, especially the small ones, which have not the courage today to look ahead and consider the situation they will be in if the United States and certain other Western Powers are allowed to use the United Nations as a means of crude interference in their domestic affairs; for these countries do not possess sufficient means to resist the forces which are trying to invade their sovereign rights and independence.

50. Did we, the States Members of the United Nations, learn nothing from the attack by the United Kingdom, France and Israel on Egypt? And have not last year's imperialist plot against Syria and the intervention of the United States and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan given us cause to ponder and ponder again the responsibility of every State for the maintenance and strengthening of the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace?

51. No, we will not and cannot take the course proposed by aggressive circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries, and sanction the transformation of the United Nations into a tool of United States diplomats and militarists for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

52. The Soviet delegation has already had occasion to point out that the inclusion in the agenda of items such as that which certain delegations now want to compel the United Nations to discuss, not only cannot serve any useful purpose, but is directly contrary to any such purpose. Both the delegations which instigated the inclusion of this question in the agenda and those which for various reasons have not yet mustered the courage to object to this new provocation should think once again what direction they are thereby forcing the United Nations to take, what an unseemly role they are assigning to this international Organization, and what consequences it may well bring for them too.

53. Since however the General Assembly is despite everything being forced to digress from the really urgent questions and international problems before it, let us at least have things out once for all and tear the mask from the faces of those who by repeatedly imposing unnecessary, fabricated problems upon the United Nations, are preventing it from reaching useful

and constructive decisions. The only ones to blame are those masters of intrigue who want to compensate for their failures in international affairs and for the bankruptcy of their aggressive "brink of war" policy by successes in the "cold war". But here again they will achieve neither success nor the good-will of the peoples.

54. Specific information and evidence has already been adduced here to expose the aggressive nature of United States policy towards the countries of the socialist camp. The events in Hungary represented one of the results of the so-called "policy of liberation", a policy which is dangerous to international peace and security, but which has been proclaimed in the United States as an official line in foreign affairs.

55. There is documentary proof that the preparation and organization of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary was the work of the intelligence services of the United States and other Western countries. The counter-revolutionary elements in Hungary were organized in advance, and received instructions from abroad. They had their command centre, special groups were assigned to seize armament depots, objectives for attack were selected in Budapest and in other towns, transport facilities were mobilized for armament supply, and arms distribution points were set up.

56. Plans for the counter-revolution in Hungary were prepared in the United States; Horthyite-fascist units were formed and trained, mainly in West Germany, and diversionist agents and weapons were smuggled into Hungary through Austria. This was a genuine act of intervention by the armed forces of imperialism in the Hungarian People's Republic, which could have developed into a war in Central Europe had the Hungarian people and its true friends not lopped off the claws of the provocateurs and adventurers.

57. Hundreds of examples can be given to show how foreign intelligence services, in particular those of the United States of America, have been and are still carrying on subversive work directed against Hungary. Let me cite as an example of the account given by Peter Renner, an American spy arrested by the Hungarian authorities, who acted as the "intelligence officer" of an armed group in one of the districts of Budapest at the time of the counter-revolutionary rising. On 26 November he escaped to Austria, where he was at once enlisted to organize subversive activities against Hungary. These activities were directed, on the instructions of United States agencies, by Bela Kirai, a notorious foreign agent and spy. In accordance with a plan prepared by Kirai, Renner and other agents like him saw to the distribution of subversive literature in Hungary, the establishment of depots of arms and radio apparatus smuggled in from the West, the recruitment of new members for underground groups and so forth. In other words, they made preparations for a new armed attack against the Hungarian People's Republic. According to Renner:

"Senior lieutenant Décsy of the General Staff, Kirai's personal adjutant, arrived in Vienna. Kirai informed us through him that he had been able to get everything he wanted in the United States ... He asked us to have ready by his return in ten days, an accurate account of the results we had so far achieved and a complete list of the type and quantities of arms to be sent to Hungary ... Senior lieutenant Décsy also

informed me that he could send my mail to Kirat by the diplomatic couriers of the United States Mission and that he had arranged with the Mission for me to use that method after his departure".

These are actual excerpts from Renner's testimony.

58. Need we ask where the Hungarian subversionists obtained their weapons, when we can see clearly the hand which guided them in their activities? I could cite innumerable facts of this kind, bearing witness to the direct participation of United States agencies, including diplomatic agencies, in subversive activities and acts of armed force against the people's régime in Hungary; but I shall not take up your time by doing so. The facts have been brought before world public opinion by the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian Press, and by various progressive organizations in other countries.

59. Nor shall I take up your time by enumerating other proofs of the direct implication of certain Western European Powers in the events in Hungary and their preparations for fresh diversionist and adventurist activities against the freedom of the socialist peoples. I would recommend those who still harbour any doubts on that score to peruse the full text of the statement by Miklós Szabó published in the press release issued by the Hungarian Mission. This statement gives the actual addresses of the subversive centres in the West which are working against Hungary and the other socialist countries, and the names of the persons who are organizing this work, work which is dangerous to the cause of peace.

60. The statement also confirms the fact that these activities have by no means now come to an end. Since the spring of 1957, American and British intelligence agencies have been preparing the organization of a new counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary. This is borne out by a number of irrefutable proofs, as also by the fact that the NATO bodies which participated in organizing the Hungarian counter-revolutionary revolt are now analysing the reason for their failure. As an example let me cite a semi-official organ, the General Military Review, which is the magazine issued by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) aggressive military bloc, the list of patrons of which includes, in addition to such not-unknown figures as Generals Gruenther and Norstad, who have earned unenviable fame as specialists in the incitement of war psychosis and hysteria, representatives of the military commands of nearly all the NATO countries. Another member of the board is the Hitlerite General Speidel, the former executioner, one of those whom the American devotees of humanitarianism are now apparently enlisting in droves to reinforce humanitarian principles, human rights and love of peace in NATO.

61. In the eighth number of this semi-official journal last year there appeared a noteworthy opus, significantly entitled "The Secret Army". The object of its author, a Canadian Captain Goodspeed, was to go thoroughly into the subject of subversive activity against independent States and the organization of military plots to overthrow their present régimes. Explaining why he has undertaken his highly unusual task, the author states that he has decided to fill a gap in the education of NATO army officers, a gap due to the fact that "in the recent past too little military thought has been given to the technicalities of the coup

d'état", and that "the coup has not been a subject for study in most staff colleges". Most regrettable! And how many more coups d'état will have to be carried out in Asia, Africa and Europe in order that the subject may be "studied" in the specialist schools? The article gives detailed instructions, for NATO officers and their agents in various countries, on how to organize underground work, how to provide conspirators with arms and how to maintain connexions abroad. Mention is also made of drawing up proscription lists of persons who, as the author states in almost Hitlerite style, will have to be "neutralized".

62. No one who reads this article can fail to see that it is simply a summing-up of the lessons of the adventure carried out by the NATO hotheads against the people's democracy of Hungary, and a direct instruction to the subversive elements which are preparing new provocations against the socialist countries. In this article, or instruction, it is stated quite unashamedly that "as conventional war becomes more and more costly and uncertain... the coup d'état will play an increasing part in military calculations in the future". These are quotations from this instructional article.

63. Speaking of the preparation of coups d'état in various countries, the author of this article published in the journal of NATO recommends above all that efforts should be made to ensure that "public opinion is inflamed against the Government", and cynically remarks that "there is probably no better way of achieving this aim than by a judicious assassination or two". This is written in the official journal of NATO.

64. This NATO instruction also speaks openly of the need for "ruthlessly eliminating" those who hinder the implementation of the planned coup, and says that for this purpose "the employment of a special section to rescue captured members or to eliminate those who are in danger of revealing vital information" will be necessary.

65. Let Mr. Lodge and Sir Pierson Dixon, who have spoken here today, and all other representatives of Governments which have justified the activities of certain Western Powers in connexion with the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary, come to this forum and refute the monstrous orders and instructions issued in this official journal of NATO—an organization with which I believe they have some connexion. Let them explain to the General Assembly why this journal of their "defensive" organization, as they call it, contains such eloquently humanitarian recommendations as the following: "The neutralization of Government leaders may be achieved in one of two ways, either by death or by capture. Of these, death is generally the easier and the more reliable, as it is... final". These are the actual words of an article published in the official journal of NATO.

66. What right do they have to speak here of humanitarianism, human rights and freedom and democracy, when instructions of this kind are being prepared by the staffs and intelligence services of the Western Powers, and when official organs of NATO publish them openly and are training, at Munich, Frankfurt on the Main and various places in the United States, persons who will actually carry out assassinations of members of lawful Governments, without trial or investigation, as was done in Hungary in the autumn of 1956? What

right have they to comment on trials in Hungary, when they are issuing illegal instructions for the assassination of members of the lawful Government of Hungary?

67. We could perhaps pass over these facts, if ruling circles in the United States had not turned to subversion as one of the main elements of general United States policy towards Governments which do not wish to follow their lead. It is precisely from this standpoint, and from this standpoint alone, that we can and must consider the "Hungarian question".

68. The Soviet Union and other peace-loving States have on more than one occasion stressed that such a policy is inadmissible and is a threat to peace. The real meaning of this whole aggressive policy was exposed by the representatives of progressive forces throughout the world in the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries<sup>3/</sup> held a year ago. This Declaration contains the following statement:

"The aggressive, imperialist element in the United States is endeavouring, through its 'positions of strength' policy, to establish its domination over the majority of the world's nations and halt mankind's march to progress in accordance with the laws of social development. It is using the pretext of 'combating communism' to subjugate an ever-increasing number of countries, to destroy democratic liberties, to threaten the national independence of advanced capitalistic countries, to replace the yoke, in a new form, on the necks of those countries which have achieved liberation, and to conduct a systematic campaign of subversive activities against the socialist countries. By means of this policy, certain aggressive elements in the United States are trying to rally around themselves all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world. They are thus becoming the centre of world reaction and are the bitterest foes of the masses of the people."

The real facts, which we ourselves are witnessing, and life itself, confirm the correctness of this analysis.

69. The foreign inspirers of the putsch in Hungary met with a decisive rebuff, and their plans to overthrow the people's power in Hungary by force met with defeat. Nevertheless, there are now new facts to show that the subversive activities of the United States against the countries of the socialist camp are being continued and even intensified. There is a great deal of evidence that ruling circles in the United States are far from giving up their declared policy of interference in the affairs of other countries.

70. A special communiqué from the White House issued on behalf of the President of the United States on 30 December 1955 stated that the "liberation" of the peoples of the peoples' democracies "has been, is, and, until success is achieved, will continue to be a major goal of United States foreign policy".

71. On 23 April 1957 Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, spoke as follows at a Press conference:

"We have consistently emphasized our view about the liberation of the satellites"—the word is his—"for a long time, and in any general review of our basic foreign policy considerations I think that would have to be included."

<sup>3/</sup> Conference held in Moscow from 14 to 16 November 1957.

Not long ago Mr. Dulles reaffirmed this United States position in his statement at San Francisco.

72. The fact that under the Mutual Security Act of 1951, the United States Congress annually approves an appropriation of more than \$100 million for espionage and diversionary and terrorist activities against other countries and more particularly the socialist countries, is unprecedented in international relations and is an unheard-of violation of the rules of international law.

73. It is characteristic that certain senators and congressmen cherish plans for the open establishment by the President of the United States of a special agency to combat the socialist countries. I would mention, for instance, that quite recently, only last year, Senator Douglas of Illinois introduced a joint resolution in the Senate to provide for the creation by the President of the United States of a special "Freedom Authority". A fine lot of liberators! According to the joint resolution, the Administrator of the Authority would be entitled, in consultation with the Director of Central Intelligence (again, what a liberator!) and the Secretary of State to make grants to—and I am quoting from the joint resolution:

"...any private or semi-private nonprofit organization, committee or group which is actively engaged in broadcasting, publishing, corresponding, or other activities"—what other activities is not specified—"designed to keep alive the spirit and hope of freedom"<sup>4/</sup> (in the socialist countries).

74. In introducing this joint resolution, Senator Douglas stated that he was excluding from the activities of the Authority any incitements to "premature"—and I would emphasize the word "premature"—revolts, although he added that this would take "careful" doing. And this is not an isolated act by a Senator who had suddenly gone mad.

75. The counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary showed how the ruling circles in the United States interpret this so-called "liberation" policy and what dangerous objectives—dangerous to universal peace and security—they are trying to achieve under this misleading slogan.

76. Various special espionage and subversive organizations created in the United States and closely connected with United States intelligence are actively engaging in subversive activities against the socialist countries. They include such groups as the Romanian National Committee, the Bulgarian National Centre, the Polish National Democratic Committee, the Free Albania Committee, the Hungarian National Council, the American Committee for Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, the National Union of Russian Solidarists and others.

77. Their activities are entirely devoted to training spies, diversionists and terrorists and sending them into the socialist countries, and to fanning the flames of hatred and the "cold war".

78. Life magazine was quite frank on this point in June 1958, stating that,

"...since nuclear war would be self-defeating, United States strategists must devise a more appropriate kind of force for winning what may be a

<sup>4/</sup> Congressional Record, vol. 103, No. 76, p. 5784.



new kind of guerrilla war. Corps of East European exiles trained with the United States troops, volunteer units like General Chennault's, mobile units both overt and covert—such are the kind of forces we may need."

This was said in so many words in an American magazine which has a wide circulation.

79. In their attempts to find ways of continuing their subversive activities against the socialist countries and undermining world peace, the adversaries of international co-operation are forever trying to use the United Nations to this end and through it to propagate slanders and falsehoods.

80. Yet even this is not enough for those who organized the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary. They would like to use the United Nations not only for a propaganda campaign against Hungary, but also for direct pressure on that country by force of arms. This was stated quite unambiguously by former Senator Knowland, a well-known leader of the Republican Party in the United States, at a congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution in April 1957. As reported in the New York Herald Tribune on 16 April, ex-Senator William Knowland of California stated that the freedom fighters who touched off the uprising in Hungary should have received "guns and grenades from the United Nations rather than sympathetic resolutions". Apparently, Mr. Lodge has not taken Mr. Knowland's wishes into account in introducing his draft resolution [A/L.255] today.

81. What the United States Secretary of State has not yet ventured to say openly has been revealed by certain United States politicians who play a considerable role in charting the present course of foreign policy. The United States Government should not, however, ignore the significant fact that in the recent elections, the United States electorate resoundingly rejected just such reactionary statesmen as Mr. Knowland.

82. The subversive activities of Government agencies and so-called private organizations in the United States are, of course, directed not only against the socialist countries but also against many other States.

83. This aggressive and subversive trend reflects the general foreign policy of the United States, dictated by United States monopolies which seek to achieve world domination in order to protect their profits in all parts of the globe. This is the reason for the armaments race, the creation of aggressive military blocs, the suppression of national liberation movements, and the dispatch of fleets, aircraft and marines to various parts of the world thousands of miles away from the frontiers of the United States.

84. The Guatemalan representative made a statement here, which was apparently prepared in advance—I don't know where—in which he said that previous speakers had already referred to the events which occurred in Guatemala in 1954, although, as we can all bear witness, no one had referred to these events before the Guatemalan representative spoke. Apparently, however, the Guatemalan representative had expected some mention of these events in Guatemala, feeling that it was unlikely that they would be passed over in silence. It is only surprising that he treated these events so lightly, for they shook the Guatemalan people and showed the whole world the aggressive policy

followed by the United States in dealing with a small but courageous nation.

85. We have none of us forgotten the police action of the United States against Guatemala, whose people did not wish to allow United States monopolies, such as the United Fruit Company, to dominate their country.

86. Equally fresh in the public mind is the sending of United States armed forces into the Caribbean area in connexion with the anti-American demonstrations in Caracas during the visit to Venezuela of Vice-President Nixon of the United States in May 1958.

87. The facts about United States intervention in the domestic affairs of another Latin American country—Cuba—are well known. The Cuban representative is on the list of speakers; no doubt he intends to tell us about United States intervention in Cuban affairs. The whole world should know that the United States Government is supplying arms to the dictator Batista and that Cuban military aircraft are equipped at the United States base at Guantanamo for operations against the civilian population. Perhaps in a few days' time we shall witness acts of direct intervention by the United States for which preparations are apparently being made here.

88. Surely no one has forgotten the notorious inflammatory statement made by Mr. Dulles on 11 February 1958, a few days before the beginning of the military rebellion in Indonesia. In this statement Mr. Dulles openly called on the dissidents to rise against President Sukarno of Indonesia and the Djuanda Government, stating that the United States would like to see in Indonesia "a Government which is constitutional and which reflects the real interest and desires of the people". Who has given the United States Secretary of State the right to say that one Government in Indonesia is constitutional and another is not? Following this statement, United States pilots flying United States aircraft dropped bombs on peaceful towns and villages in Indonesia, killing the innocent, peaceful inhabitants, including women and children.

89. The Arab countries of the Near and Middle East have always been of special interest to United States monopolies. United States and United Kingdom monopolies have been deriving colossal profits from their plundering of the national wealth of these countries and from their merciless exploitation of the Arab people, and their fear of losing these profits gives rise to various doctrines such as the Dulles-Eisenhower doctrine, to expansionist plans and to aggressive actions. This is graphically illustrated by the events of the last two years in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, which we have already had an opportunity to discuss in detail in the General Assembly.

90. Only recently the United States colonizers carried out an armed invasion of Lebanon; but this intervention did not achieve the result on which Washington had counted. The Arab people did not bow before the aggressors. They were supported by the peoples of all peace-loving countries. The third emergency special session of the General Assembly in fact condemned the United States and United Kingdom aggression in the Near and Middle East and called for the withdrawal of the forces of intervention. The United States and the United Kingdom were compelled to withdraw their forces from Lebanon and Jordan. These are facts which cannot be ignored.

91. Having suffered a setback in the Arab East, the advocates of the "brink of war" policy embarked on new provocative actions in the Far East which mark the beginning of another and even more dangerous military adventure.

92. Official United States representatives have been trying to justify the presence of the United States Seventh Fleet, the concentration of United States aircraft and other armed forces in the Taiwan area, and the threat to use atomic weapons against the People's Republic of China by "commitments" allegedly entered into by the United States Congress with regard to the "defence" of this region. By what right does the United States Congress assume commitments which prevent that great country, China, from exercising its sovereign rights over Taiwan and other islands which are Chinese territory? There is a provision in the United Nations Charter which clearly prohibits any encroachment on the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

93. These are the true facts concerning the flagrant intervention by the United States in the domestic affairs of other countries and its open violation of the United Nations Charter.

94. I might note that there is no Hungarian question which would call for our consideration. Hungary has a Government which enjoys the confidence of the people. After the ordeal imposed on that country by international provocationists the Hungarian people have rallied still more closely round their leaders and the Socialist Workers' Party which they resolutely support.

95. Hungary's economy, which the provocationists abroad and their henchmen in the country tried to disrupt, is growing stronger. As official data show, industrial production is almost 14 per cent higher this year than last. The people's level of living is rising and progress is being made in education and cultural matters.

96. The Hungarian people's devotion to the cause of socialism has been reaffirmed in the recent elections to the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic. Although the United States Press and radio, inspired by the masterminds of the "cold war", have been waging a rabid anti-Hungarian campaign in an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Hungarian people, the latter learned much from the events of 1956 and will not fall into the trap set by their enemies. The Hungarians replied to all the anti-Hungarian intrigues by warmly supporting the candidates of the Patriotic Popular Front. Ninety-eight per cent of the electorate voted.

97. There has never been any justification for dragging the United Nations into discussions of the so-called "Hungarian question" which was cooked up to meet the requirements of the "cold war". Those who think that, by introducing such questions into the General Assembly's agenda, they will force anyone to yield to their pressure are very much mistaken. The Soviet Union and all the friends of a free Hungary will not allow it to be harmed. Hungary has never been and never will be a colony of the United States or of any other Power. The Hungarian people wants to be independent, and it will be.

98. János Kádár, the well-known Hungarian statesman

and the recognized leader of the Socialist Workers' Party, made a very pertinent statement in this connexion:

"Everyone who mistook the date in October 1956 and thought that it was August 1919 has only himself to blame. And it would be a good thing if such people were to take another look at the calendar and rid themselves of their 1956 attitudes."

99. Mr. Lodge who, as recent experience has shown, has no time for serious negotiation in the United Nations on really grave issues, apparently has plenty of time to meet with other shareholders in the anti-Hungarian venture. However, Mr. Lodge and other United States leaders are wasting their time and efforts. Hungary will live, develop and grow stronger as a socialist country regardless of the views and efforts of its enemies and in spite of them. Those who associate themselves with the anti-Hungarian campaign in the future will only demonstrate once more that they are living in the past and looking back. They are obviously incapable of looking ahead, and in politics such an attitude promises nothing but failure. This should also be borne in mind by those who promote or at least do not oppose the continuation of the anti-Hungarian campaign in the United Nations.

100. In the last analysis, the fate of the United Nations itself will depend on whether it continues to encourage this double game and lend the cloak of its authority to the United States policy of force and of intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. We must not allow this Organization, created for the defence of peace, to serve the malicious aggressive designs of certain Powers against other Powers. If the United Nations embarks on this course it will not lessen but, rather, aggravate the existing disputes and differences and, in the end, it will not prevent war but will precipitate it.

101. It may be that this is what the warmongers seek. It is no accident that Mr. Rogers, Attorney-General of the United States, lamenting the fate of the Hungarian criminals who were punished by the Hungarian people, called upon the American people not to swallow the bait of peaceful co-existence. That is why, at the very beginning of this session, Mr. Lodge objected in the General Committee [117th meeting] even to the wording of the item on the development of peaceful co-existence.

102. The interests of the world's peoples and the conscience of mankind demand that the United Nations should not allow itself to be side-tracked and that it should resist any attempt to turn it into a weapon in the hands of the enemies of peace and peaceful co-existence.

103. The United Nations Charter and the hopes placed in it require that the United Nations should remove the obstacles that are being placed in the way of its normal and fruitful activity and that it should cease once and for all to discuss provocationist issues raised by the enemies of peace and international co-operation. This is a duty the United Nations must discharge.

104. The United States representative has today [784th meeting] introduced a draft resolution for consideration by this Assembly. The meaning of this resolution is abundantly clear. It seeks to push the United Nations into further intervention in the domestic affairs of a Member State. In his statement Mr. Lodge made a

number of remarks on which I do not feel it necessary to comment at this juncture, as they were taken from the arsenal of the cheap propaganda in which United States agencies have been engaging for several years now in connexion with the Hungarian question. Mr. Lodge said nothing new. He reminds me of a man who keeps trying to break down the door of someone else's house even when the owner tells him to go away because he is not needed. The Hungarian representative stated publicly here [784th meeting] today that the Hungarian people did not need Mr. Lodge's good offices; even if Mr. Lodge has thirty-six associates when he breaks down someone else's door that does not make his action any more lawful or sensible.

105. We believe that the draft resolution introduced by Mr. Lodge today and supported, unfortunately, by a number of countries which are, we understand, dependent on the United States, cannot lead to any constructive results with regard to either the solution of the so-called "Hungarian question" or the enhancement of the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

106. The Soviet delegation energetically opposes this draft resolution, which is in conflict with the United Nations Charter and is a product of the "cold war" fomented by the United States. We refuse to take part in fanning the flames of the "cold war" and we shall vote against this draft resolution.

107. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guatemala, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

108. Mr. BELTRANENA VALLADARES (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I should like to offer a word of clarification to the representative of the Soviet Union in regard to his reference to Guatemala.

109. I can assure you that my statement was prepared only last night and I was, of course, referring to the speech made in the General Assembly by Dr. Endre Sik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Hungary, on 29 September 1958 [763rd meeting].

110. I should like to remind the representative of the Soviet Union that he is forgetting to mention the enormous cargo of arms provided by the countries behind the iron curtain, and carried by the Alfheim, which were intended for use in the communist attack on Guatemala; and I should like to remind him also that we never saw any foreign tanks anywhere in Guatemala, whereas 13,000 tanks entered Hungary with the Soviet forces.

111. I should like also to remind him that there have been several completely free elections in Guatemala since 1954 and that the people of Guatemala have fully reaffirmed their support for, and confidence in, their leaders in the struggle against communism, which is the most conclusive proof that my country is fully democratic and that the Soviet representative's statements are mere propaganda.

112. Mr. EINAAR (Netherlands): The sad and shocking facts of the Hungarian tragedy are so well known to all of us that it would be superfluous for me to recall them. On that score no more needs to be said than that, since our twelfth session, honoured leaders have been treacherously done to death, repression and violation of human rights continue, and neither the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary nor the special representative of the General Assembly has been able to

obtain even a first beginning of co-operation from the Government of the Soviet Union or the present régime in Hungary. In all these respects there is brutal and undisguised defiance of all the previous resolutions of this Assembly.

113. Unfortunately, we know that the Assembly lacks the means to enforce compliance with those resolutions. This does not mean, however, that we can just shrug our shoulders and forget about it.

114. The General Assembly—as the highest forum of the nations of the world—should make it clear that our Organization is still seized of the situation in Hungary, should openly condemn the continued defiance of its authority by the two delinquent régimes, should denounce the latest judicial murder of Hungarian patriots, and should once more call on the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary to respect the liberty and independence of Hungary and its people's enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

115. We harbour no illusions that another such appeal will touch the conscience of those to whom it is addressed; they have shown us too often that their doctrine renders them immune to what the peoples of the free world consider normal and decent human feelings. What we can reasonably hope is that these guilty régimes will come to realize that their defiance and their repression do not pay and that a show of respect for the accepted standards of humanity is in their own interests.

116. As the President so rightly pointed out in his moving speech last night, respect for fundamental human rights is a condition for world peace. Our Organization, which under its Charter has as its first and main purpose the maintenance of international peace, cannot but continue to proclaim these truths. It is for this reason that this appeal must be made and that further developments must be carefully watched.

117. The sponsors of the draft resolution before the Assembly [A/L.255], among whom my country has the honour to be, have been fortunate in finding so eminent a person as Sir Leslie Munro prepared to undertake this latter task. May it be granted him to be able to report a favourable development with regard to the implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions on Hungary.

118. Mr. KURKA (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The Czechoslovak delegation emphatically protests against further discussion in the United Nations General Assembly of the so-called "Hungarian question", and against the fact that our Organization is again being used for the inadmissible purpose of intervening in the domestic affairs of one of its Member States.

119. During past debate on the "Hungarian question", the Czechoslovak delegation has repeatedly insisted that the very inclusion of this manifestly provocative item in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly is a gross breach of the principles of the United Nations Charter, particularly Article 2, paragraph 7. We therefore support the position taken by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, which categorically rejects any consideration of the "Hungarian question" by the United Nations as an attempt to intervene unjustifiably in Hungary's domestic affairs.

120. The "Hungarian question" was artificially

created, and frantic attempts to keep it on the agenda are being made by the Imperialist Powers under the leadership of the United States, which use it as an instrument for spreading propaganda, hatred and enmity among peoples, and increasing international tension.

121. The collapse of the Hungarian counter-revolution was extremely, galling to imperialist circles in the West, and intensified their hatred for the countries of the socialist camp. That is why the Western Powers are making constant attempts to keep the "Hungarian question" on the General Assembly's agenda and to use the United Nations as a means for intervening in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

122. It is worthy of note that a country which offered its services in submitting the proposal [A/3875] to discuss the "Hungarian question" at the present session of the General Assembly was Australia, which is thousands of miles away from Hungary and can hardly be expected to have objective information on the real state of affairs there.

123. The formal pretext for resuming consideration of the situation in Hungary in the United Nations this year was the publication in June 1958 of the announcement<sup>5/</sup> by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic concerning the trial of Nagy and his accomplices, the ringleaders of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary in 1956, and the just punishment meted out to those traitors to the Hungarian people.

124. With a fervour worthy of a better cause the imperialist Powers reactivated the notorious Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary. The work of that illegal Committee, the establishment of which will go down as one of the darkest pages in the history of the United Nations, has resulted in the publication of its new special report on the problem of Hungary [A/3849], which deals primarily with the conviction of the traitor Nagy and his accomplices. What facts were proved during the trial of Nagy and his accomplices?

125. The official report on the trial and volume V of the White Book of the Hungarian People's Republic entitled "The Counter-Revolutionary Conspiracy of Nagy and His Accomplices" show that the condemned traitors to the Hungarian people committed heinous crimes against the Hungarian People's Republic, its laws and its people.

126. In the course of the trial it was proved that Nagy and his accomplices organized a conspiracy designed to overthrow the people's democratic system in the Hungarian People's Republic, and that they played the leading role in preparing and organizing the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary in October 1956.

127. By their activities the condemned men helped to intensify the fury of the counter-revolution, which, in the course of a few days, claimed as its victims hundreds of unarmed Hungarian citizens. Thousands of others were thrown into jail, where most of them likewise faced the prospect of death. They were saved from that cruel fate by the timely assistance of the Soviet armed forces, which in response to the appeal of the workers' and peasants' Government of János Kádár came to the aid of the Hungarian People in accordance with the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty.

128. The trial of Nagy and his accomplices also fully confirmed the counter-revolutionary, fascist character of the events in Hungary and the direct participation of the Western Powers in its preparation and organization.

129. The counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary and the treason of Nagy and his accomplices were due also to the interventionist and subversive activities carried out against the Hungarian People's Republic over a period of many years by the imperialist Powers, particularly the United States. For years, armed groups recruited from Hungarian émigré circles have been assembled and trained in West Germany, with money drawn from funds of \$100 million appropriated by the United States Congress for the organization of subversive activities against the socialist countries; and members of these groups were poured into Hungary from West Germany after the outbreak of the counter-revolution. Similarly, the imperialist Powers smuggled arms into Hungary—for which purpose they did not even hesitate to use Red Cross aircraft and trucks bringing in medical supplies and personnel.

130. The criminal activities of the broadcasting stations Radio Free Europe and The Voice of America during the events in Hungary are also well known. Gross intervention by the United States in the domestic affairs of the socialist States is a publicly proclaimed principle of United States foreign policy. I should like to document that statement by citing examples from Czechoslovakia's own rich experience in the matter.

131. For many years now agents, terrorists and saboteurs have been entering the territory of Czechoslovakia, most of them recruited from among the war criminals who fled to the West after the liberation of Czechoslovakia while others are drawn from the ranks of the émigré traitors and other criminal elements.

132. The Czechoslovak delegation has more than once described, at earlier sessions of the General Assembly, how the United States intelligence services recruit their agents in the refugee camps, particularly in West Germany. These agents are given special training courses at centres located along the Czechoslovak frontier, and are then sent into Czechoslovakia to carry out missions of espionage and terrorism.

133. These agents sent across the Czechoslovak frontier by United States espionage organizations commit the most heinous crimes, and have caused the death of many peaceful citizens. Czechoslovakia has already put before the General Assembly detailed evidence on the activities of United States espionage agencies against the Czechoslovak Republic.

134. The subversive activities of the United States against Czechoslovakia have not ceased. In the past two years the Czechoslovak authorities, in co-operation with the Czechoslovak people, have unmasked a large number of agents and spies sent into the Czechoslovak territory from West Germany. It should be noted that almost all of them have been caught soon after crossing the Czechoslovak frontier. But the provocative acts of the United States against Czechoslovakia are not limited to the dispatch of agents and saboteurs. A few days ago, on 2 December 1958, the United States Air Force carried out provocative manoeuvres in the frontier area between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czechoslovak Republic during which flagrant violations of Czechoslovakia's air space were committed.

<sup>5/</sup> See note 2.

135. In the note of protest delivered to the United States Ambassador at Prague the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that United States military aircraft had been guilty not merely of a single incident but of a series of systematic violations of Czechoslovak air space, which had taken place despite numerous protests by the Czechoslovak Government and despite the assertions of the United States authorities that United States aircraft are forbidden to fly near the Czechoslovak border.

136. The Czechoslovak Republic has for a number of years been subjected to hostile attacks by the broadcasting stations Radio Free Europe and The Voice of America. Aggressive circles in the United States have been using these broadcasting stations for many years for the dissemination of hostile propaganda and for the direct organization and control of espionage, sabotage and diversionary and terrorist acts committed by agents sent into Czechoslovakia by the United States intelligence services. By means of these broadcasting stations contact with United States agents is maintained and coded instructions and orders are transmitted for the carrying out of activities which Czechoslovak laws, like the laws of other States, treat as criminal offences.

137. The work of the United States broadcasting stations was intensified during the events in Hungary. Radio Free Europe was virtually one of the command centres of the counter-revolution. In its broadcasts it gave instructions and orders to the armed counter-revolutionaries, promised them military aid from the Western Powers and incited them to commit bestial crimes against the Hungarian patriots. It made intensive efforts to cause disturbances and raise revolts in the other peoples' democracies, including Czechoslovakia.

138. Of the many examples of inflammatory broadcasts made in the Czech language during the events in Hungary, suffice it to quote one in which Radio Free Europe called for outright armed insurrection. On 7 November 1956, at 2.50 p.m., Radio Free Europe broadcast in Czech such slogans as: "We must be ready to strike while the iron is hot." These slogans were supported by promises of military aid from abroad. The same programme for example, went on as follows: "At this moment we pledge that we will take up the weapons which have fallen from the hands of our Hungarian brothers. We pledge that we will help to restore freedom in Hungary and bring order to the entire world." Thanks for such order!

139. From West Germany and the Western sectors of Berlin a number of United States espionage organizations are carrying on subversive activities against the countries of Eastern Europe. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, in a memorandum dated 12 November 1958 concerning the threat to peace caused by the policies of West Germany, put before the public extensive evidence that there has been a systematic campaign of hostile activity aimed at creating disorder not only in the German Democratic Republic but also in the other socialist countries of Eastern Europe, the object being to overthrow their Governments.

140. The Czechoslovak people joyfully welcomed the collapse of the counter-revolution in Hungary in November 1956, for they fully realized that the restora-

tion in the heart of Europe of a fascist Hungary, which would become a hotbed of imperialist provocation and revanchisme against its neighbours, including Czechoslovakia, would be a serious threat not only to their own security but also to the peace and security of all Europe.

141. Czechoslovakia is a neighbour and ally of the Hungarian People's Republic, and its people are bound to the people of Hungary by ties of sincere friendship. After the peoples of the two countries had done away, following the Second World War, with the old social system based upon exploitation, and had begun the construction of a new socialist society, they also did away with the old disagreements and disputes between their two countries kindled by the ruling exploiter classes with the direct participation and support of imperialist circles abroad. Between the two countries, as between all the other countries of the socialist camp, international relations of an entirely new sort have been established, based on the sincerest co-operation and full mutual understanding and on the principle of mutual aid in the interests of common success.

142. The recent official visit of a delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Czechoslovak Republic has still further strengthened the bonds of fraternal co-operation between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian peoples.

143. The collapse of the counter-revolution in Hungary blasted every hope of the Western imperialists for a split between the socialist States. The relations of the Hungarian people with the peoples of the other socialist countries not only were not impaired, but were indeed strengthened in the common struggle against the onslaught of international imperialist reaction. Those who sought to turn back the clock of history have met with failure.

144. Victory was won by the people, who have proved that nothing in the world can persuade them to allow the fetters of poverty, exploitation and discord to be fastened on them again. During the past two years it has repeatedly been demonstrated that the countries of the socialist camp are going forward in firm, unwavering unity and fraternal co-operation. That is one of the main reasons why the imperialists—particularly here in the United States—are beside themselves with rage when they think of the failure of the Hungarian counter-revolution. Their wishes and hopes frustrated, they are once more using the forum of the United Nations for the purpose of resuscitating the "Hungarian question" and on that pretext making new efforts to stir up animosity towards the socialist countries. They may be assured, however, that no played-out campaign of this kind will enable them to regain what they lost once and for all in the autumn of 1956.

145. A final shattering blow was dealt to all the plans and hopes of international reaction by the Hungarian people when in the recent general elections they gave their unanimous support to the policy pursued by the Hungarian workers' and peasants' Government and to the building of socialism in Hungary in firm brotherly union with all the socialist countries and in friendly co-operation with all peace-loving peoples.

146. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, any resumption, for provocative purposes, of discussion of the Hungarian question in the United Nations



should be ruled out once for all in the interests of greater co-operation among the peoples in a spirit of peaceful coexistence.

147. As I have already said, such a discussion constitutes gross intervention in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, one of the States Members of this Organization; it undermines the authority and prestige of the United Nations and for that reason should be rejected.

148. At its meeting [783rd meeting] yesterday the General Assembly adopted without a dissenting vote a resolution concerning measures aimed at the implementation and promotion of peaceful and neighbourly relations among States. In that resolution the General Assembly called upon Member States to take effective steps towards the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. This means that relations between States should be based on the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-intervention in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

149. If the General Assembly is to set an example and take the first step to give effect to that resolution, it must categorically reject any provocations directed against one of its Members.

150. It must reject the provocative draft resolution [A/L.255] submitted by the United States and other countries, in pursuit of the aims of the United States policy of waging "cold war" and inciting hatred among peoples, a draft resolution which would create an atmosphere conducive to war rather than peace. For that reason, the instigators of such provocations will be condemned by all peace-loving peoples.

151. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ireland for a brief statement in exercise of his right of reply.

152. Mr. O'BRIEN (Ireland): My delegation did not intend to intervene in this debate, but a remark by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Zorin, has made it necessary for us to do so.

153. The representative of the Soviet Union stated that the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.255] before us were dependent on the United States, and he implied that in that fact alone was to be found the reason for their sponsorship. The other sponsors will be able to refute this charge for themselves. I should like briefly to reject it on behalf of the Irish delegation.

154. Ireland is not dependent on the United States or on any other country and our sponsorship of this draft resolution is not motivated by any outside opinion. We are an independent country, as our record in this Organization sufficiently attests. We have protested against denials of freedom not only in Hungary but in many other parts of the world.

155. When the liberty of a small nation is overthrown by outside force, a country with Ireland's history is obliged to protest and needs no outside pressure or even advice to make that protest heard.

156. If the delegation of the Soviet Union would take to heart the fact that its actions in Hungary profoundly shocked precisely those countries which had themselves to struggle for their own freedom, it would cease to ascribe protests against its action to colonialist motives, motives which, cited in relation to Ireland, are too obviously absurd to need refutation.

157. My country is one of those which has done what little it can in the Geneva Assembly to work for the relaxation of tensions and an end to the cold war. We intend to continue to work in that sense. We think it not inconsistent with that effort to appeal to the Soviet Union to pursue in Eastern Europe policies which would make the task of relaxing tensions easier. As long as it fails to do so, we, as an independent and freedom-loving country, are bound to raise our voice against oppression in Eastern Europe no less than in other parts of the world. Our interest in this matter is not the service of "cold-war" propaganda; it is the general cause of human freedom, a cause which those who have had to struggle for their own freedom are most especially bound to defend.

158. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): The General Assembly's concern with the problem of Hungary is now of long standing. No other issue has created greater difficulty for the United Nations or cast greater discredit on one of its leading Members; and of the many abhorrent events which have taken place in Hungary since the end of 1956 none, surely, is more deplorable than the execution of Imre Nagy, the former Premier of Hungary, and General Pál Maléter, his Defence Minister, and their colleagues.

159. The Special Committee has set out the facts in its supplementary report of 14 July 1958 [A/3849]. Mr. Nagy and his companions were deliberately enticed from the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest where they had been granted asylum. They were sent under compulsion to Romania. In spite of official assurances that Mr. Nagy and other Hungarian leaders would not be prosecuted because of their past actions, they were put to death, after a secret trial from which there was no appeal.

160. The Special Committee has pointed out that these executions are not isolated examples of the continued policy of repression which has been carried out in Hungary. The part played by the Hungarian authorities in violation of undertakings given at the highest level is reprehensible. But it is clearly the Government of the Soviet Union which must bear the main weight of the responsibility. It was the Soviet authorities who abused the safe conduct accorded to Mr. Nagy. It was they who arrested General Maléter, and it is under the shadow of Soviet armed force still in Hungary that the present régime is pursuing its attack against Hungarian liberties. In doing so it is repudiating promises it made to its own people. It is contravening General Assembly resolutions. It is violating the United Nations Charter.

161. It is against this background that the draft resolution [A/L.255] has been submitted to this Assembly by thirty-seven delegations. My delegation is among their number and, like the representative of Ireland who preceded me, I would point out that we have put our name to this draft resolution because we too believe in freedom. And I would remind the representative of the Soviet Union that in 1939 when Nazi aggression began in Europe, New Zealand was at war.

162. The provisions of this draft resolution have already been explained in detail by other speakers. I shall not repeat those explanations. I must, however, record New Zealand's appreciation of the devoted effort made by H. R. H. Prince Wan Waithayakon as a Special Representative of the General Assembly, to forward the purposes of the Assembly in respect of

Hungary. I should also like to express our thanks to the Special Committee, whose members have set an admirable example of careful investigation and cogent reporting. The Assembly owes a debt of gratitude to the five representatives drawn from diverse regions of the world for the manner in which they have discharged their responsibilities.

163. I must at the same time dissociate my delegation in the most emphatic terms from the contention that the renewal of the Assembly's consideration of this item is an illegal intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary. I shall say nothing about Soviet explanations of what is supposed to have happened in Hungary in 1956 and what is happening there now. Nor shall I comment on what was said this morning [784th meeting] by the gentleman who claimed to be speaking for the Hungarian people; his reconstruction of history is, to say the least, a considerable strain on the credulity of this Assembly.

164. The reports of the Special Committee on Hungary are, in our opinion, authoritative and conclusive. Other versions of the events of the 1956 revolution and its aftermath have only to be measured against those reports to establish what is fact and what is fiction. But the Soviet representative is right in saying that there has been intervention in Hungary. The intervention has been by one Member State, using armed force in order to usurp the sovereignty of a small neighbour. It was not, as was so fancifully suggested by the representative of the Soviet Union, the forces of the United States which intervened. The reports to this Assembly by its own Special Committee are compelling witness to the role of the Soviet forces in the Hungarian tragedy.

165. The Soviet Government and the Hungarian authorities have steadfastly refused to comply with General Assembly resolutions calling for humanitarian treatment of the Hungarian population and for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This attitude is doubly to be condemned when it is asserted by a great Power. My delegation believes that the consequences of this defiance are wider than the sufferings which are still being visited upon the unhappy people of Hungary. The issue in fact transcends sectional interests or the exchanges of the cold war. It is our belief that no great Power—and I use the term here only in its physical sense—can pursue its own courses in contempt of the public conscience of the world and the just demands of the United Nations. No great Power which professes an attachment to the principles of this Organization can persist in such action and expect at the same time that there will be no loss of confidence in its probity or in the capacity of the United Nations to preserve peace with justice. The exercise of lawless violence and a refusal to withdraw from advantages secured thereby strike at the very foundations of this Organization. A great Power has violated the Charter. Having done so, it not only refuses to repair that breach but seeks to lay the blame on others for the consequences of its own action. Does this mean that it is adding to the sin of tyranny, which is the abuse of strength, the no less reprehensible sin of hypocrisy?

166. While this situation is unredressed and repression is pursued in Hungary, my delegation considers that the Assembly should maintain its concern with this problem. Accordingly, we welcome the proposal that a United Nations representative should be ap-

pointed to report to Member States or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of Assembly resolutions on this question. It is natural that we should be especially gratified that Sir Leslie Munro, our countryman and a former President of the General Assembly, should have been appointed to act for the United Nations in this matter. We have particular reason to feel confident that Sir Leslie will discharge his responsibilities with great ability and distinction.

167. In the issue of Hungary we have a sombre example of contrast between the acceptance of Charter obligations and their observance. That contrast may not become any less stark because we vote to adopt this draft resolution. But to those who have accepted the Charter and who seek to make it effective no other course is open.

### Organization of work

168. The PRESIDENT: I propose, at this juncture, to consult the Assembly with regard to our present situation. There are seventeen more speakers on the list on the item which we have been discussing, namely, the situation in Hungary. The General Assembly decided to adjourn tomorrow. In addition to this item, there are some twenty-four items to come before the Assembly. The First Committee is trying to finish its agenda but has not as yet succeeded. These are the bare facts of the situation.

169. I had planned to continue this debate this evening until 6:30. From the facts which I have just put before the Assembly, however, it seems clearly indicated that a night meeting should be called for this evening in order to implement the decision of the General Assembly to conclude this part of its thirteenth session tomorrow. But the General Assembly is its own master in every respect and may decide for itself whether to hold a night meeting. There being no comments, the Assembly will continue the present debate until 6:30 and reconvene this evening at 8:30 o'clock.

170. Since the General Committee is to meet tomorrow afternoon at 2:30, I suggest that the Credentials Committee meet at 9:30 in the morning instead of at 2:30 in the afternoon. The Credentials Committee, then, will meet tomorrow morning at 9:30 and the General Committee will meet at 2:30 in the afternoon.

### AGENDA ITEM 69

#### The situation in Hungary (continued)

#### SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY (A/3849) (concluded)

171. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the people and the Government of Cuba I wish once again to pay a tribute of respect and admiration to all the Hungarian patriots—men, women and children—who gave their lives in the cause of freedom in that unfortunate country.

172. I wish also to convey our sympathy to the thousands of Hungarian exiles in every part of the world who bear living witness to what happened in Hungary when it was invaded by the armed forces of the Soviet Union in defiance of all the principles of modern civilization.

173. This morning we were the witnesses of a spectacle that can only be described as Dantean. When Dante wrote the Divine Comedy and gave us his brilliant but horrifying picture of hell, he could never have imagined a spectacle of the kind we saw when the alleged representative of Hungary—who is, I am told, a bishop of a Christian Church—came here to tell us that he regards it as admirable and praiseworthy that Soviet troops took the lives of over 60,000 of his compatriots, wounded more than 100,000, and forced more than 200,000 men, women and children into exile. That was a possibility Dante never envisaged in his description of hell.

174. I wish also to draw your attention to certain statements in the speech of the so-called representative of Hungary [784th meeting] which cannot be accepted by any right-thinking person in the civilized world. He spoke as though high treason were the same thing as revolution, a view no lawyer in a civilized country could accept. It is one that is astonishing to hear expressed by anyone in the twentieth century. He went on to say that whatever the offence committed by Nagy and Maléter, their execution was justified and deserved the blessing of the bishop of a Christian denomination who spoke to us at such length this morning.

175. What happened in Hungary is known to us all and known to international public opinion. There is no possible justification for what took place: what the so-called representative of Hungary failed to say, the fact that he omitted from his explanation, is that Nagy was the lawful head of the Hungarian Government, the lawful Prime Minister of Hungary. That fact was not only stated by the Special Committee, but was affirmed by János Kádár who was a member of his cabinet and who said on Radio Budapest that Nagy was the Prime Minister. It follows that if he was the Prime Minister, he was undoubtedly entitled to tell the Soviet troops to withdraw. He did not ask for the intervention of the Soviet troops; it was against his will and against the will of his Government that the Soviet troops invaded Hungarian territory in force and carried out the greatest massacre in history.

176. Moreover, it was Nagy and his Government who requested, <sup>6/</sup> as was their right, the intervention of the United Nations which, in fulfilment of its obligations under the Charter, was bound to give the assistance due to a Member State invaded by another and more powerful Member State which flouted all the principles of international law and committed acts contrary to the laws of civilization and of honour. Those are the facts about Hungary and no one can deny or dispute them.

177. The General Assembly has adopted many resolutions by extraordinary majorities, the only dissenting votes being those of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Those resolutions have been flouted, defied and ignored by the Soviet Union.

178. It has been said here previously—and the representative of the United Kingdom repeated it today—that an attempt is being made to divide the United Nations into two categories of Member States: those which fulfil each and every resolution of the General

Assembly because this is required under the terms of the Charter and those which, like the Soviet Union, arrogate to themselves the right to ignore those resolutions which do not suit them, but, when it is to their advantage, expect other Member States to carry out the resolutions of the General Assembly.

179. It is an extraordinarily serious situation. It will be the downfall of the United Nations, if the great majority of its Members do not join together to impose sanctions on the Soviet Union, which refuses to comply with the Assembly's resolutions. Hungary is not an isolated case. I could mention—as I did in the First Committee—a very large number of resolutions, the great majority of resolutions which the Soviet Union has consistently failed to respect; there is, for instance, the question of the expenses of the United Nations Emergency Force, which have had to be borne by the small nations with very limited economic resources, because the Soviet Union, which boasts that it is one of the richest countries in the world, has refused to respect the decision [resolution 1122 (XI)] taken by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly.

180. In very many cases it has ignored resolutions of the Assembly. It is hard to find words to describe this attitude, but I shall say that its representative has the audacity—to use the kindest word—to come here and tell those who comply with the Assembly's resolutions that the principles of the Charter must be observed and that this or that must be done, when the Soviet Union itself does whatever it likes, without regard for either the principles of the Charter or the rules of procedure.

181. Mr. Zorin made some very significant comments in connexion with the disarmament question, when he in effect told the United States representative: you now have a majority in the Assembly and therefore we do not comply with resolutions adopted here which are contrary to our interests or inconsistent with our views, but the day will come when we have the majority and then you will see what happens.

182. Mr. Zorin's words—and I have reproduced the gist of his statement if not his actual words—underline the gravity of the situation we shall face if the day comes when the Soviet Union can command a majority on any particular issue before the General Assembly. There is no doubt that the least the representatives of the minority could expect would be to be expelled or, if they fell into the hands of the Soviet Union, to suffer the same unhappy fate as Maléter and Nagy.

183. I refer to these questions because they are important for a proper understanding of the way in which events are moving in the United Nations and the positions the Soviet Union is taking in its attempt to destroy the Organization, which has hitherto been an obstacle to its plans for world conquest and hegemony.

184. When the so-called representative of Hungary said in his macabre statement that the case of Hungary created no problem and was of no importance, he disregarded the problem with which the United Nations is faced when the principles of the Charter are so plainly, blatantly and brutally violated and the problem with which mankind is faced when the most elementary principles of civilization are similarly violated.

185. He went on to say that the Hungarian issue was

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Emergency Special Session, Annex, agenda item 5, document A/3251.

the outcome of modern colonialism. He mentioned no names and I think that his subconscious must have been speaking. In this instance he was right, for events in Hungary are the most flagrant example of modern colonialism perpetrated by the Soviet Union in Central Europe. The Soviet Union has occupied numerous territories and brought under its yoke over 100 million men and women.

186. But in no other case is the evidence so clear and so conclusive as in the case of Hungary in which 400,000 soldiers and 13,000 tanks were used to bring the country under the Soviet colonial yoke. A case as glaring as that of Hungary has never before been exposed to the gaze of the outside world. I repeat that it is an example of colonialism in its most savage form and the other peoples in the United Nations must rise up and oppose it.

187. The so-called representative of Hungary said one thing that is meaningless to us and to the majority of the General Assembly; he argued that even the intervention of the Soviet Army in Hungary was a domestic matter. This is a highly significant assertion and reproduces the argument used by Prime Minister Khrushchev in his interview with Mr. Stevenson of the United States of America when he said, in terms that left no room for doubt, that all problems affecting the peoples' democracies in all parts of the world were the domestic affair of the Soviet Union. Evidently the intention of the so-called representative of Hungary was to try to divert the Assembly's attention by making a largely meaningless statement. He told us that everything that had happened in Hungary—including the crimes, murders, etc.—had been wiped out by the elections and he told us that the best and most democratic way of holding elections was for everybody to vote for a single list of candidates. In other words, in the opinion of the so-called representative of Hungary a model democratic election is one in which eight candidates are put forward and all the electors have to vote for them.

188. These elections, he said—and Mr. Zorin takes the same view—justify the deaths of 60,000 patriots, the crimes committed, the 100,000 persons wounded and the 200,000 driven into exile. That is a view which cannot be accepted by the overwhelming majority of the delegations in this Assembly, which represent civilized States and peoples.

189. Finally he referred to a note—on which the United States representative [784th meeting] subsequently set the record straight—in which the Department of State in Washington informed the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it recognized the necessity of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary. The Soviet Union's interpretation of friendly relations was to send to another country 400,000 soldiers and 13,000 tanks, to kill 60,000 citizens, wound 100,000 and exile 200,000. These are the friendly relations which the so-called representative of Hungary and the representative of the Soviet Union believe the peoples should maintain. We protest against that interpretation and affirm that it is at variance with the principles of the Charter and of international law, morality and civilization.

190. I turn now to the draft resolution [A/L.255] of which my country is a sponsor. I must state frankly that my delegation is not in whole-hearted agreement

with the draft. We believe that it is the duty of the United Nations to take more energetic measures in regard to the Soviet Union and the régime in Hungary.

191. In our view we are in duty bound to expel the so-called representative of Hungary from this hall for he represents neither the Hungarian people nor the lawful Government of Hungary. We believe that the General Assembly is under a duty not to approve these credentials and to reject them, as various specialized agencies of the United Nations have already done. If we did so, we should be doing our duty and our action would be acclaimed by all the peoples anxious to see the United Nations take stronger measures. We also believe that it is our duty to say that stronger measures should be taken against the Soviet Union, to compel it by some means or another to comply with resolutions and, if not, to apply the provisions of the Charter concerning States which do not respect resolutions.

192. It is high time to bring to an end the division which exists in this General Assembly, the situation in which one State sets all the other Members at naught while the remaining States comply with the Assembly's resolutions. However powerful the Soviet Union may be, we have on our side international public opinion, the provisions of the Charter and the principles of law; on our side we have right which is far stronger than the military might of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, as decisions must under the Charter be taken by a stipulated number of votes and as Cuba alone or with the support of a few other Member States would have been unable to secure the adoption of a draft resolution along these lines, my delegation decided to vote for and co-sponsor this draft resolution which makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of the people represented here do not approve of what has happened and is still happening in Hungary and, most important, that until such time as this problem is solved, the question of Hungary will continue to appear on our agenda, year after year, an eternal reminder of the crime committed by the Soviet Union when it invaded and destroyed a small nation.

193. It is scarcely necessary for me to refer to Mr. Zorin's remarks concerning my country. In his speech he talked of everything but Hungary. There were long passages of accusation against the United States of America, less extensive accusations against our sister Republic of Guatemala, and finally a few sentences concerning Cuba. But the problem of Hungary itself, the right of the Soviet Union to enter Hungary and murder such large numbers of Hungarians, did not receive Mr. Zorin's attention. His aim was to divert the attention of the Assembly, which is all too familiar with the Soviet Union's approach to the substantive issue, the problem of Hungary. Nevertheless, I propose to comply with his request and to say a few words concerning my country.

194. When General Batista took power in Cuba in 1952, the Soviet Union was among the first Governments to recognize the new régime; for a previous Government, despite my repeated protests in the Senate, had decided to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. At that time Batista was not a "dictator", as he is now described by Mr. Zorin, but in the month when this took place three diplomatic couriers arrived at our main airport from Mexico on their way to another American country. With them they

carried pouches containing large quantities of propaganda material and money intended for Cuba. They were told that we had no agreement concerning pouches with the Soviet Union, that the latter did not accept our pouches and that we would not be able to admit the pouches in question; we would allow them to be left at the airport from which they could be removed without let or hindrance when the couriers continued their flight the next day.

195. After protests and threats—we are, of course, somewhat further away from the Soviet Union than Hungary—the Soviet diplomatic couriers finally accepted the Cuban Government's ruling. They spent the night at the Soviet Legation and the following day collected their pouches, which were intact, and continued their journey. The Soviet Union then decided to break off diplomatic relations with us and from that day onwards General Batista has been called the "dictator Batista."

196. Mr. Zorin asked me to say what was happening in Cuba. I shall answer him very briefly. In Cuba there is a revolutionary movement in which—according to admissions and reports in the newspapers—part of the revolutionary forces opposed to the Government are led by Doctor Guevara, an Argentine national and one of the most important Communist leaders in Latin America. He is an Argentine who had never lived in Cuba, had no relatives in Cuba and had no interest in Cuban problems. He was one of the instigators of the Bogotá riots in Colombia nearly ten years ago. Another of the leaders is Colonel Bayo, a Spaniard, who was in the Spanish Communist militia during the Civil War and attempted to take the Canary Islands or the Balearics. He had never lived in Cuba, had no relatives there and is in command of a part of the revolutionary forces.

197. I might also mention—I made a mental note of them while I was listening to Mr. Zorin—more than twenty foreign international communist leaders who had never lived in Cuba, who had no relatives there and who are fighting in the revolutionary forces. I might point out that in newspapers here and in Europe it has been reported that over \$9 million of Soviet origin have been used in Cuba to disrupt public order and that on two occasions Soviet submarines have landed arms and munitions in Cuba—just as they did in Guatemala. The Cuban army has captured arms of Czechoslovak origin, which have been exhibited and photographs of which have been published in all the Cuban newspapers and in many Latin American papers.

198. But that is not all. Another fact is well known and can easily be verified by all the representatives in this Assembly, particularly those from Latin America. The Cuban Communist Party was the first to submit itself entirely to the dictates of Moscow at the time of the ideological division. They have stated this themselves and do not attempt to deny it, and, on their own admission, they represent, not a national Communism, but international Communism, taking its orders from the Moscow Government. The leader of the Cuban Communist Party, Dr. Juan Marinello, is constantly writing letters to representatives in this Assembly, particularly the Latin American representatives, advocating the overthrow of the lawful Government of Cuba; and as many of you know from the letters you have received, the letters contain a

great many insulting personal references to me, merely because I have raised my voice here in condemnation of what has happened in Hungary.

199. These are the facts. It is for the General Assembly to judge who has intervened in Cuba—the United States of America, which has done absolutely nothing to help the Government or, for that matter, the rebels, or the Soviet Union, which has engaged in the various activities I have described. I ask this General Assembly to judge impartially who is responsible for the fratricidal blood-shed in Cuba where Cuban is fighting Cuban. I am the first to deplore this and am as much moved by the deaths of those fighting on one side as another. I feel no elation when I hear of the deaths of the rebels. I profoundly regret their deaths and my prayers go with them. That is the situation in Cuba, which I wanted to outline because Mr. Zorin asked me to do so.

200. Cuba will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Assembly. We believe it to be our duty to do so. We shall continue to resist to the best of our ability the Soviet attack against our island, our independence and our integrity. They may perhaps be able to achieve a short-lived triumph, as happened in Guatemala in the case of President Arbenz, but I know that 98 per cent of the Cuban population is opposed to Communism and loves freedom; I know that, in the end, it will not be the red flag that will fly over Cuba but the glorious flag with the single star.

201. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): Let us return for a moment from the instructive visit to Cuba on which we have been led by Mr. Nuñez Portuondo with such eloquence and knowledge of his subject—a visit which reveals so much about the essence of this debate. In a very few words, let me state that Spain is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.255] submitted to the General Assembly by thirty-seven countries: a draft resolution which sums up all our thoughts on the matter. In it, the Assembly deplores, it denounces, it condemns, it again calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and it appoints Sir Leslie Munro to represent the United Nations, and requests the Secretary-General to provide him with the necessary facilities to assist him in the performance of his duties.

202. This is not a pleasant debate, nor can anyone who attends it in the spirit of the United Nations derive any particular satisfaction from harsh recriminations against nations which, when all is said and done, are fellow Members of our Organization. I have been taking part in the discussions in the First Committee, and I have not therefore had the good fortune to hear all the speakers in the Assembly, although I have followed their statements indirectly. But all of them have pointed out that it is a flagrant and painful case, a case of foreign intervention in a country's affairs. It is the case of the invasion of Hungary by Soviet troops for which a historical parallel can be found in the invasion by the Tsarist authorities in, I think, 1848. It is a violation of the sacred rights of an independent country, and it is for that very reason that we condemn it. If it had been a question of purely internal events in Hungary, my delegation, like every country in the world, would have deplored the violence and the bloody persecution; but we should have refrained from expressing actual condemnation and from interfering in the domestic affairs of a foreign Government.



203. Where the great Hungarian revolution was concerned, it was perhaps providential that, in addition to the horror of criminal persecution, the appalling massacres, the mass emigration, the shocking photographs which excited the pity of all mankind, there was the fundamental fact that a Government with no legal standing of any description—the very one, indeed, which is represented here—with no contact with anything which might have expressed the legal will of Hungary, called upon, or was called upon by, the Soviet military authorities and allowed the country to be invaded. The Moscow Government seized the controls in Hungary by violence, carried out the dreadful massacre, filled the world with horror and aroused universal condemnation. The organ through which that universal condemnation was expressed was the United Nations. As all the speakers to whom I have listened in the latter part of this afternoon have, I am glad to say, pointed out, the resolutions of the General Assembly were not complied with.

204. That is why we have submitted this draft resolution. To my mind, its most important features are to be found in some of its component paragraphs. Paragraph 4, for example, says that we deplore the continuing repression in Hungary under the shadow of the continuing presence of Soviet armed forces. It is that Soviet shadow which prompts our decision; it is that which makes it necessary for us doggedly to persist in this painful debate; it is for that reason, too, that the United Nations must continue to be vigilant in order to see how this striking instance of—I will not call it colonialism as I do not wish to misuse that hard-worked word—of foreign usurpation of a country's authority will end.

205. Paragraph 7 provides another reason why we should vote for the draft resolution. It "again calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary to desist from repressive measures". The "Authorities in Hungary": we cannot call them a government. If a system is to prevail by which a government is set up as the result of invasion and that government, after some show of withdrawal by the invading forces, comes to be considered as the legally-constituted Government of the country; if, furthermore, successive governments are to be formed from persons of the same way of thinking and they are to appoint new officials; if, I say, such a system is to prevail, then we shall have de-

stroyed, even in their simplest expression, the characteristics of a free nation which would enable an assembly of free peoples to establish what is that nation's internal status. Accordingly, we associate ourselves with this expression of condemnation and with the steps to be taken to give effect to it. We are particularly glad to be associated with the appointment of Sir Leslie Munro, the former President of this Assembly, to carry out this great mission of supervision which is about to be entrusted to him by the whole world. As President, he showed himself to be possessed of unusual ability, power of understanding and unruffled calm. There is reason to hope that he will fulfil his task in an outstanding manner; that he will ensure that we never become faint-hearted and that, so long as the Russian invasion of Hungary endures, the United Nations will be unceasingly alive to this most serious infringement of the Charter.

206. I spend my days in a Committee where we also discuss the affairs of different peoples, none of them as clearly-defined as the affairs of Hungary. Without wishing to enter into controversy, may I recall that, in that Committee, I listen to the representatives of the Soviet Union upbraiding others at every turn for their domination over countries which, history teaches us, were more or less created by other Powers. Those same representatives call for the right of self-determination for those peoples and for the application of all those complementary measures which would allow them to recover their liberty, as they put it, in accordance with democratic practice and the purposes of the Charter. Mankind, though often restrained by common courtesy, may well be unable to avoid a feeling of indignation when those who are fresh from so vast an infringement of all moral law and all principles of humanity have the temerity to pose as accusers of other nations whose problems are very much simpler and more clear-cut than that created by the overthrow of Hungary by Soviet troops. Those troops set up in Hungary a sorry parody of a Government which many of us feel should not be represented here and which perhaps, if we could all agree on it, could be banished like a nightmare from our meetings, be its representative a bishop or no, and whatever may be the sympathy and support which he may be able to count on from delegations among which, you may be quite certain, my own is not numbered.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.