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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

AGENDA ITEM 74

Question of Hungary (continued)

REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE ON HUNGARY (A/4304) (continued)

1. Mr. TSIANG (China): In the fall of 1956, the General Assembly held two emergency special sessions. The first of these sessions dealt with the Suez crisis, involving, among other Member States, two of the permanent members of the Security Council: France and the United Kingdom. The resolutions adopted during the first emergency special session have been complied with. France and the United Kingdom duly carried out their obligation under the Charter. The Suez crisis has been solved and peace has been restored.

2. Now that is not the case with the question of Hungary. The question of Hungary has remained without change since November 1956 when the second emergency special session of the General Assembly was called at the request of the Security Council. The report of Sir Leslie Munro, the United Nations Representative on Hungary [A/4304] confirms the fact that the situation in Hungary itself has not changed. The resolutions of the second emergency special session have been disregarded by both the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities. Let us look at the chief features of the factual situation in Hungary.

3. In the first place, the United Nations Representative on Hungary continues to be prevented from visiting that country.

4. Secondly, the Soviet army which intervened in the fall of 1956 remains in Hungary. According to the latest statement from Budapest, there is no prospect of the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Hungary.

5. Thirdly, repression continues. It is continued as a matter of policy on the part of the Kádár régime. In a speech on 7 September 1959—which is about three months ago—delivered at Salgótarján, Kádár declared:

"What Horthy did for 25 years to the workers, the Communists and to democracy, what the Arrow-Crossits and the 'heroes' of 1956 did, has not yet been paid back. The settlement of quite a few bills is still open."

Without inquiring into the reliability of press reports about recent and possible future executions in Hungary,

we know from the statement of Kádár himself, which I have just quoted, that he is determined to settle what he calls the account with the heroes of 1956.

6. In the fourth place, according to press reports, collectivization of agriculture is being pushed once again.

7. Finally, how about religion in Hungary today? A Communist newspaper, *Csongradmegyei Hírlap*, declared on 8 May 1959: "Events of the counter-revolution interrupted the systematic struggle against religion", but "the time has come to fight". I think we are all justified in thinking that the question of Hungary has remained without change since the fall of 1956.

8. Since the situation remains the same as in 1956, and since our past resolutions have been of no avail, it is not the time for the General Assembly to forget the whole business. What is peculiar about the question of Hungary is this. It is a question which many representatives, including myself, cannot forget. Our consciences do not allow us to forget it. The continued presence of the Soviet army in Hungary and the continued repression by the Kádár régime do not allow us to forget it, even if we should try. Most important of all, the Hungarian people themselves do not forget it.

9. It is clear that the continuation of the Soviet garrison in Hungary and the continuation of repression are necessitated by the factual situation in Hungary. The people have not forgotten their revolution, even though they are not openly revolutionary in act or in word. The continued presence of the Soviet army in Hungary is a domestic necessity. Kádár cannot get along without it. So long as the people of Hungary do not forget their struggle for freedom, we should not forget it. We would be disloyal to the principles of the Charter if we should forget it. We would also be doing a disservice to the future of human freedom if we should forget the tragedy of Hungary. Although it is clear that, so far as short-term success is concerned, there is not much that the General Assembly can do, in spite of that, I believe that we should remember Hungary and we should show our continuous concern by passing the draft resolution which is placed before us [A/L.273].

10. The Soviet Union has in recent years, through all possible media of propaganda and on all possible occasions, inside as well as outside of the United Nations, loudly, repeatedly and insistently championed the principle of peaceful coexistence of different social and political systems. Let us test this Soviet profession in this matter with the events in Hungary. Did the Soviet Union find it possible or desirable to coexist peacefully with the Hungary of Imre Nagy and the freedom fighters? No. The Soviet Union found it impossible or undesirable to grant to the Hungary of Imre Nagy and the freedom fighters the right of peaceful coexistence. Why? Spokesmen for the Soviet Union, both here in the United Nations and outside, have told the world that the revolution in Hungary in October 1956 was a counter-

revolution engineered by feudal landowners, the fascists and the followers of Horthy. For the sake of argument and by a stretch of our imagination, let us assume that the Hungary of Imre Nagy was the tool of landlords and Horthyists. Under that assumption, we can at least say that the so-called peaceful coexistence of the Soviet Union does not include coexistence with Governments that are supposed to be dominated by landlords and fascists. In the case of such Governments, the Soviet Union feels that it has the right to resort to military intervention. I wish the General Assembly to note that the Soviet doctrine of peaceful coexistence is not all-inclusive. Indeed it is restricted; it rules out certain types of Governments which it dislikes; and who can tell when the Soviet Union will pronounce any Government, be it in Western Europe, or in North or South America, or in Asia or Africa, to be a Government dominated by landlords or fascists? Such a limitation of the doctrine of peaceful coexistence is very threatening indeed to the peace of the world.

11. Let us look at the situation in Hungary more closely. What was the real character of the uprising of 1956? The Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary had this to say:

"From start to finish, the uprising was led by students, workers, soldiers and intellectuals, many of whom were Communists or former Communists. The majority of political demands put forward during the revolution included a stipulation that democratic socialism should be the basis of the Hungarian political structure and that such social achievements as the land reform should be safeguarded. At no time was any proposal made for the return to power, or to the Government, of any figure associated with pre-war days." [A/3592, para. 785 (ii).]

That is the judgement of our Special Committee on Hungary. There was in fact nothing landlordish or Horthyist about the uprising in the fall of 1956.

12. Imre Nagy himself, who rose to be the Prime Minister of Hungary in the critical days of October and November, had been a Communist of high standing. He was only temporarily expelled by Mátyás Rákosi, a personage whom even Mr. Khrushchev has no use for. When the Workers' Party in Hungary was reorganized on 2 November 1956 into the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Imre Nagy was included in its Political Bureau, together with Kádár, and, of course, the Socialist Workers' Party is today the Party in power in Budapest. It would indeed be a travesty of truth to label Imre Nagy reactionary. He and his comrades were good socialists; some people would say good Communists. Their sin was not that of reaction but that of deviation from the pattern set by the Soviet Union. The doctrine of peaceful coexistence, which the Soviet Union proclaims, excludes such deviations and revisions as Imre Nagy and his co-workers desired for Hungary. Now here we have a very important additional limitation of the doctrine of peaceful coexistence.

13. It seems to be that it is necessary for us to note that the Soviet doctrine of peaceful coexistence suffered such severe limitations in Hungary, and I wish to add that it would be unwise for any of us to assume that the limitations are applicable only to Hungary and not to other prospective victims.

14. The doctrine of peaceful coexistence, as actually practised by the Soviet Union, at least in the instance of Hungary, is inconsistent with the Charter of the

United Nations. The Soviet doctrine of peaceful coexistence is the coexistence of master and slave. It is peaceful only when the slave is obedient. It is an instrument of imperialism. In voting for the draft resolution before us, my delegation wishes to make clear that we stand for the principles of the Charter as well as against the Soviet version of coexistence.

15. Mr. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): As we once again take up this item, I wish I did not feel constrained to voice and sad conviction that this debate is not likely to alter the situation that prevails in Hungary, a belief that, I am afraid, is shared by most of us here. This note of pessimism should not, however, discourage us from earnestly considering this issue. Quite on the contrary, I think that this discussion is indispensable, even when there remains little or no hope that it may yield concrete results. To allow this matter to fade away in painful silence would be for the United Nations tantamount to condoning, by omission, the subjugation of the Hungarian people.

16. In the past few years, my delegation has made quite clear its position on this question. We attach particular significance to the 1956 uprising in Hungary and to the subsequent occupation of its territory. The human drama of that episode in bravery has won my countrymen's unbounding respect for the Hungarian people in their struggle for independence. Our concern over their plight, nonetheless, does not stem from mere admiration for gallantry; it goes much deeper than that. It involves the vital principle of a people's right to live free and undisturbed. Brazil has never failed in the past and will never cease in the future to condemn the imposition of any form of government or of any political system upon a people against its will; in this sense, the cause of Hungary is our own, and commands the solidarity of all nations for whom the concept of liberty is not just an empty formula.

17. It is common knowledge that a settlement between the big Powers no longer seems unattainable and that an atmosphere of negotiation is said to be taking shape. This auspicious news has undoubtedly given us warm new hope. At the same time, however, we hear in the hallways of the Assembly that, for the sake of peaceful coexistence, it would be most convenient for the United Nations to drop the question of Hungary once and for all. As much as we prize the prospect of complete international co-operation and understanding, we must by all means resist the insinuation that the oblivion of Hungary may be instrumental in bringing about peace among the great. We take this stand not on moral or juridical grounds alone, but also having in mind the well-known historical fact that world peace cannot be secured at the expense of the lesser Powers; such "peace" would not last longer than the time required by the germs of tension it contains to erupt into new conflicts. We look forward to a real and lasting peace, not to an ephemeral image of it. While we harbour the ardent hope that the cold war will become a thing of the past, we expect with no less anxiety that the new era to follow will also ensure the restoration of freedom in Hungary and throughout the world.

18. It was in the light of the preceding considerations that I supported some days ago the inscription of the question of Hungary in the agenda of the General Assembly. We are thankful to Sir Leslie Munro, whose report gives evidence of his efforts to carry out the mission entrusted to him by the United Nations. Need-

less to say, I shall vote in favour of the twenty-four-Power draft resolution [A/L.273].

19. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): When, on 12 December 1958, the Netherlands delegation voted in favour of resolution 1312 (XIII), of which it was a co-sponsor, it did so neither in a happy mood nor with any great expectations.

20. Our feeling of depression at that time stemmed from the fact that the Security Council and the General Assembly had proved incapable of rescuing the Hungarian people from the oppression imposed on them by a foreign Power and by the minority of their own politicians who availed themselves of that Power's aid to maintain their régime. Our lack of expectation was caused by the fact that the Soviet Union and the Hungarians who derive their authority from its armed protection had consistently refused to comply with any of the ten resolutions adopted since November 1956 by the General Assembly, in which these two régimes were repeatedly urged to cease their harsh and repressive actions against the Hungarian population, which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality.

21. Moreover, the authorities had kept the Hungarian borders firmly shut, not only to prevent their countrymen who wished to escape from doing so, but also in order to keep out the United Nations observers, mentioned in resolutions 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November, 1005 (ES-II) and 1006 (ES-II) of 9 November, 1127 (XI) and 1128 (XI) of 21 November, 1130 (XI) of 4 December and 1131 (XI) of 12 December 1956; the Secretary-General, who, on 21 November 1956, offered to go personally to Budapest; the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, established by resolution 1132 (XI) of 10 January 1957; and the General Assembly's Special Representative on the Hungarian Problem, His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon, who was requested by resolution 1133 (XI) of 14 September 1957 to endeavour to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in accordance with the previous General Assembly resolutions.

22. To trust that the Soviet Government and the Hungarian authorities would admit the new Representative of the United Nations, Sir Leslie Munro, or even be willing to enter into discussions with him, was tantamount to believing in a change of heart on their part. Their refusals to have any dealings with Sir Leslie Munro therefore did not come as a surprise to my delegation: they were merely another instance of the negative attitude they have displayed all along in this case.

23. What is far more serious and shocking, however, is that the United Nations Representative's report shows that, in spite of the numerous assertions by various spokesmen of the Hungarian authorities that trials and executions in connexion with the uprising of October 1956 were now a thing of the past, the "People's Chambers" continue to try Hungarian patriots for their part in that uprising, to sentence them to death and to have these sentences carried out, and that they do so by applying a procedure "failing to provide the minimum safeguards of justice in criminal trials which are recognized by civilized nations" [A/4304, para. 35].

24. Of course, the truth of these statements is denied by the Soviet and Hungarian authorities, and we heard it denied again this morning. But I would ask you: what

faith can be attached to denials accompanied by a refusal of any information and of admittance of any persons authorized to ascertain the truth? So long as Hungary remains a closed cage, inescapable from within and inaccessible from without, the Members of the United Nations will be sorrowfully compelled to accept the conclusion that the denial and violation of human rights continue in that country as before. The denial of union rights, mentioned in Sir Leslie Munro's report, is a well authenticated example of those violations.

25. The continued existence of this repression places upon the General Assembly the duty to denounce it, and no amount of references to the spirit of Camp David should cause us to be side-tracked from this duty. If the spirit of Camp David really means something to those who invoke it, let them then act in accordance with it and ease tensions by observing their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

26. Nor can we be impressed by arguments based on Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, an article highlighted by some delegations in cases where it happens to suit their purposes and entirely ignored in cases where it does not. The situation in Hungary was caused by the use of force against the political independence of a neighbouring State, in plain violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter. It is therefore a situation which cannot possibly be said to be a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary alone.

27. It is for these reasons that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/L.273 and will vote for it.

28. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): Our present debate has its origin in resolution 1312 (XIII) which the General Assembly adopted on the question of Hungary at its thirteenth session. In that resolution the Assembly declared that the United Nations would continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the disregard of its resolutions by the Governments of the Soviet Union and of Hungary. The same resolution appointed Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand to represent the United Nations for the purpose of reporting to Member States or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly resolutions on Hungary. Sir Leslie Munro has carried out the mandate which was entrusted to him by the General Assembly and his report is now before us.

29. I should like to express the thanks of the United Kingdom delegation to Sir Leslie Munro for the painstaking and conscientious efforts which he has made to carry out what must have been a frustrating task. It is clear from the correspondence quoted at the beginning of his report that Sir Leslie Munro made a sincere attempt to establish some kind of working relationship with the Governments of the Soviet Union and of Hungary in order the better to carry out the task assigned to him by the United Nations. It is also clear that he has done his utmost, in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution, to gather information on significant developments in Hungary. The information which he has succeeded in obtaining has been presented carefully and objectively. It was incongruous to hear the Hungarian representative this morning picking on points to which he took exception in recent public statements made by Sir Leslie Munro. I think it will be generally accepted as natural and fitting that, given the task imposed on him by the General Assembly, and given the frustrations which he has been faced with in

carrying it out, Sir Leslie Munro from time to time should have given expression to his feelings, which are deeply and widely shared.

30. This report is not a cold war document. The assertions and explanations given by the Hungarian authorities—not to the United Nations Representative but in the course of various public pronouncements—are fully set out in the report, even when Sir Leslie Munro felt bound, on the basis of other evidence, to disagree with them. We owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Leslie Munro for a careful and convincing presentation in very difficult circumstances. He has certainly earned our confidence for the future. We hope that he will continue to act as United Nations Representative on Hungary.

31. There are, I believe, three principal impressions which this report will leave in the minds of its readers. First, there is the continued disregard by the Soviet and Hungarian Governments of previous United Nations resolutions on the Hungarian question. For three years the United Nations has called upon those Governments to redress the wrongs done to the Hungarian people by the repression of the uprising in October 1956 by which the Hungarians spontaneously expressed an ardent desire for true liberty, which is still deeply felt by a courageous and noble people. It is right that the United Nations should maintain its concern with such aspirations, which we all share and understand.

32. The second impression left by the report is the rigid refusal of the Hungarian Government to extend any kind of co-operation to the appointed United Nations Representative. Leaving aside the question of courtesy, I must say frankly that, in the view of my delegation, it is an anachronism at this time of improving international relationships, and in view of the circumstances in which it came to power, for the Hungarian Government to refuse to the United Nations Representative even a minimum of information and facilities. It is to be deplored that the Government should have consistently refused to accede to the request of the United Nations Representative to visit Hungary in order to obtain the information which the General Assembly has charged him to provide. If the Government has nothing to hide, why not admit him to see and report?

33. The Soviet and Hungarian Governments would, I believe, find the Assembly ready to welcome any significant sign that they were willing to apply the doctrine of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation to the resolutions of the United Nations on Hungary. The contrary course which they have chosen is not only a check to the wishes of the United Nations; it is out of harmony with the general trend in international affairs on which, as this present session has amply shown, great store is being placed by the world community as a whole.

34. The third main impression which this report leaves is that the Hungarian Government continues to maintain its authority by means of repression. Sir Leslie Munro in writing this part of his report, as he freely admits, has not in all cases been able to verify the information available. That is because of the persistent refusal of the Hungarian Government to allow him to visit Hungary. This, however, does not invalidate either the general picture or the details out of which the report is constructed. Much of the information rests on statements made by the Hungarian authorities themselves, or on deductions that can legitimately be drawn from these statements.

35. Thus, the fact that eminent Hungarian writers are held in prison, many on life sentences imposed for so-called crimes against the Hungarian people, has been admitted by the Hungarian Ministry of Justice.

36. The report shows that it is a matter of public knowledge, often resting on statements by the Hungarian media of public communication, that trials and executions of other members of the public are still continuing. Her Majesty's Government confirm their belief that this is so. We are disturbed to hear reports of the possibility of further executions and to read the statement of Mr. Kádár on 30 November that the Hungarian people "have still many accounts to settle with the counter-revolutionaries". That statement, with its sinister ring, has not passed unnoticed by the world community.

37. I may add that it is far from logical for the Hungarian Government to complain that Sir Leslie Munro's report is based on hearsay, while at the same time refusing to allow its author those facilities which would have enabled him to verify his information.

38. Although individual news items may not be verifiable, there emerges from the report a clear picture of continued trials and sentences. It cannot be a matter of indifference to the United Nations that the Government of a Member State should continue to maintain its authority by the imprisonment and execution of its political opponents, and should use the overwhelming force which it possesses to discipline, dragoon and destroy those of its citizens who disagree with it or oppose it politically, all in disregard of the resolutions of this Assembly.

39. I turn to another important aspect of the Hungarian question. The General Assembly has repeatedly called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary. As Sir Leslie Munro justly observes in his report, the withdrawal of these forces "would undoubtedly be regarded by all Members of the United Nations as a contribution to the normalization of the situation" [A/4304, para. 21]. The members of my delegation were therefore very sorry to read reports of a speech made in Budapest on 30 November by Mr. Kádár in which he attempted to justify the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and held out no hope of their withdrawal. Mr. Kádár went so far as to say, and I am not the only one to be struck by the incongruity of this remark:

"Soviet troops are today in Hungary not for reasons of internal policy but exclusively on account of some still unsettled international questions."

That was not the reason for which Soviet troops entered Hungary in 1956, and, according to our information, it is not the reason for which, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for their withdrawal, they remain there today.

40. In all these circumstances, it has, in our judgement, been clearly right that the United Nations should once again take the opportunity to express itself on the question of Hungary. The debates on inscription in the General Committee and in plenary meeting and this debate in which we are now engaged show that the opinions of the great majority of delegations remain firm. They continue to believe that the United Nations has a duty to concern itself with what has happened in Hungary. The least we can do is to deplore the continued disregard of the General Assembly's resolution and call upon the Hungarian Government to co-operate

with our representative, Sir Leslie Munro. That is the purpose of the draft resolution [A/L.273] which the United Kingdom has joined twenty-three other countries in sponsoring. The draft resolution has been carefully drafted to avoid any language which might appear extreme or inopportune.

41. In taking this action, the General Assembly would not be endorsing some provocative move in the "cold war". It would merely be acting in harmony with its past decisions and the deep feelings which the tragedy of the Hungarian people has aroused all over the world and which the draft resolution, in restrained language, seeks to reflect. We hope the draft resolution will, like its predecessors, receive the overwhelming support of the General Assembly.

42. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation and the representatives of a number of other countries have already pointed out on several occasions that inclusion of the so-called question of Hungary in the agenda for the session is in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, which forbids interference in the internal affairs of States. One can only regret that a number of delegations have abused their position to drag the General Assembly into a discussion which is harmful to the cause of peace and undermines the prestige of the United Nations.

43. Quite recently we saw how the world followed with untiring interest the visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, to the United States and his meetings with President Eisenhower and other American statesmen. We all remember the statement by the head of the Soviet Government at the Assembly's present session [799th meeting], in which he made a proposal for general and complete disarmament, which was welcomed by all peoples as a great peace programme.

44. During the visit by the head of the Soviet Government to the United States, President Eisenhower said in one of his speeches that the meeting of the leaders of the USSR and the United States could be regarded as a beginning of a new era. This is undoubtedly true, for the visit by the head of the Soviet Government to the United States and his meetings with President Eisenhower are paving the way for a new era in international relations.

45. We are glad to observe that realistically-minded people in all countries, and here in the United States as well, are tending to the belief that existing ideological and social differences should not prevent us joining hands in the struggle for a lasting peace on earth, just as they did not prevent us from being firm friends during the Second World War. This outlook creates favourable conditions for closer co-operation in international affairs with a view to maintaining and consolidating peace, and also for a further expansion of contacts in all fields; and it is already bearing fruit.

46. We may quote by way of example the positive results of the business-like co-operation between the Soviet and United States delegations on a number of important items on the Assembly's agenda for this session, particularly on the question of disarmament. Business-like co-operation between the USSR and the United States also helped considerably in reaching agreement on the Antarctic. As a result of recent negotiations in Moscow and Washington, there are now good prospects for co-operation and the exchange of

experience in the fields of science and technology, culture and art; in particular, agreement has been reached on a regular exchange of scientific information between scientists working in the field of nuclear physics in the Soviet Union and the United States respectively.

47. All men of good will welcome the change which has occurred in international relations and the establishment of fruitful co-operation between countries. This is fully understandable, in view of the fact that the peoples have grown weary of the "cold war" and are glad that a warmer spell has begun.

48. In these circumstances, there is no need to stress that all Governments and all statesmen and public men have an obligation to contribute in every possible way to the consolidation of this recent improvement in the international situation. On this question, the head of the Soviet Government said in his speech in Budapest on 1 December:

"All realistically-minded statesmen now realize that international tension has been relaxed. Henceforward, every statesman and every country must help to improve the international situation still further and eliminate tension. They must untie the knots, clear the road of all the boulders which have been laid across it during the 'cold war' and are preventing a normalization of the international situation."

49. For its part, the Soviet Government is doing everything to make the ice of the "cold war" thaw even faster. In the western countries, however, we are sorry to see that there are still some people, including men with influence on foreign policy, who refuse to reconcile themselves to this improvement in the international climate and still talk in terms of the old "position of strength" policy. They do not like the spirit of Camp David, the spirit of international co-operation. As the head of the Soviet Government expressed it, these people now feel rather put out of joint, and are struggling to maintain the "cold war" atmosphere in which they have grown used to living.

50. These proponents of the old and dangerous course of foreign policy refuse to recognize the need to solve international issues by negotiation and have no wish to place relations between States on a foundation of equality and mutual interests. They are, in fact, against peaceful co-operation and in favour of the arms race and of maintaining international tension with all the effects which it produces.

51. It is quite clear that this new scheme of bringing the so-called question of Hungary before the United Nations, which has been initiated by the United States delegation, is a kind of offering to the forces which are opposing any improvement in the international situation.

52. Today's statement by the United States representative merely indicates what I have mentioned before, namely, the desire to introduce the "cold war" spirit and to obstruct the development of effective co-operation. The Assembly's attention is being distracted from really important and urgent problems on the agenda for the present session.

53. Can there be a single man in this room who would put his hand on his heart and say that discussion of this question, particularly today's statement by the United States representative, permeated as it was by

the "cold war" spirit, helps to improve the international situation?

54. No amount of references to United Nations resolutions on the question of Hungary, which are, in any case, illegal, no amount of letters from Sir Leslie Munro, whose style betrays the influence of a department well known to all, can possibly help those who are against a relaxation of international tension to conceal the true aims which they are trying to further by bringing the question of Hungary before the United Nations. Even more clumsy are the efforts made by the organizers of this scheme to shift responsibility for their actions on to the shoulders of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Hungary, from "the sick head on to the healthy one", as we say.

55. One thing the United States representative tried to do was to justify his interpretation of the events of 1956 by references to the speech made in Hungary by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev. The United States representative tried to create the impression that the head of the Soviet Government, in his statement to the seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, produced a new version of the events of 1956, allegedly similar to the one offered by Mr. Lodge himself. But it is not difficult to prove that these references, in which the sense of the statement by the head of the Soviet Government was intentionally distorted, cannot in any way help the organizers of this hue-and-cry about the question of Hungary to turn black into white.

56. This well known device will certainly deceive no one. There is a popular saying to the effect that dripping water will wear away a stone, but the truth can wear away a stone and iron as well. Since the General Assembly has now been dragged into this discussion, it is essential to make a brief survey of the history of the so-called question of Hungary, with a view to getting down to the truth. The Soviet delegation is fully in agreement with the account given by the representative of Hungary in his extremely informative statement.

57. For my part, I should like to recall a statement on the events of 1956 in Hungary, which the head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, made on 21 September 1959 during his stay in the United States.

58. Mr. Lodge accompanied Mr. Khrushchev during his journey across the United States and should remember the answers which the head of the Soviet Government gave to those who wished to interfere in Hungarian internal affairs. In this particular statement, the head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, said:

"The People's Republic of Hungary has its own constitution, its laws, its rightful Government elected by democratic procedures. It is developing freely and is being extremely successful in the establishment of socialism. What happened in Hungary in 1956? There was a rebellion by anti-popular elements there, who were displeased that power belonged to the workers. The Hungarian counter-revolution, encouraged by the forces of international reaction, tried to overthrow the socialist régime. The conspirators used weapons, received from the West, and followed directives emanating from the same source. Having seized power in Budapest for a few days, the counter-revolutionaries began to commit outrages, to destroy property, to shoot honest people. At that critical moment, the Hungarian revolutionary Government,

headed by János Kádár, asked us for help. We answered the appeal and are proud of having done so. If we had not come to the help of the People's Government, headed by János Kádár, the fascists might well have seized power in Hungary. By offering brotherly assistance to the Hungarian people in their struggle against the fascist rebels, we discharged our international duty."

One should add that, in putting down the fascist rebellion supported by international reaction, the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary was acting fully in accordance with Hungary's obligations under a peace treaty which obligates her not to tolerate the existence or activity in the country of any fascist organizations.

59. This is the true picture of what happened in Hungary in 1956.

60. This, in 1956, the Hungarian people expressed its will clearly and unambiguously. Hungarian workers do not want the factories and plants, which now belong to the entire people, to be returned to the exploiters. The Hungarian peasant does not want the land which he has received from the People's Government to go back to the Esterházys and their like.

61. After quickly making good the devastation caused by the criminal activities of counter-revolutionary rebels, supported from abroad, the Hungarian people has made great strides forward in the development of its economy and culture and in raising the level of its welfare. Gross industrial output in 1958 was 25 per cent higher than in 1956, and more than three times higher than in 1949. It is expected that industrial output in 1959 will be about 12 per cent higher than in 1958.

62. The recent seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party approved a new plan for development of the national economy of the Republic, according to which industrial output by the end of 1965 will be at least 65 to 70 per cent higher than in 1959, and agricultural output 30 to 32 per cent higher. Let the countries of the so-called free world, whose representatives have the audacity to describe Hungary as a "colonial slum", try to equal the rate of economic growth which the Hungarian people has already attained and is planning for the future.

63. The enemies of the Hungarian People's Republic are, for obvious reasons, particularly dissatisfied at the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and link their hopes for a restoration of the bourgeois system to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country. As is known, Soviet troops are stationed in Hungary at the request of the Hungarian Government and in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty, in order to ensure the external security of the parties to the treaty. The Soviet Government and the Governments of all States parties to the Warsaw Treaty propose to the Western Powers which belong to NATO the simultaneous and reciprocal withdrawal of foreign troops from foreign territory.

64. Allow me, in this connexion, to quote a statement made by the head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, at the time of his visit to the United States:

"Let us agree about the withdrawal of your troops and our troops behind their own national frontiers and let us see what comes of it . . . Do you agree? Let us sign an agreement about the withdrawal of troops. Let the soldiers return home. What joy their return

will bring to their mothers and sweethearts. Do you agree?"

No answer to that proposal was, however, forthcoming at the time, and there has been no answer since.

65. The Hungarian people itself chose its own system and Government, without asking for anybody else's permission or blessing and it is fully capable of defending its system against any adversary.

66. As can be seen, this is precisely what some people in the West do not like. In the United States of America and other Western countries there are still people who persistently refuse to recognize the legitimate right of every people to order its own life as it sees fit. There are also influential people who are either so blinded by their hatred of the socialist system that they do not heed and are unwilling to recognize the true relationship of forces in the world today, or who labour under a misapprehension and fail to appreciate the strength of the communist movement. In defiance of reason and in disregard of reality, these people are ready to embark on gambles, to organize conspiracies and weave intrigues in an attempt to turn back the tide of history.

67. Many will no doubt remember that, at past sessions of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation, together with the delegations of other countries, produced ample evidence of subversive activities by the Western Powers against the socialist States.

68. In that connexion, we would refer to Public Law 665 passed by the United States Congress on 26 August 1954, which provides for an annual appropriation of \$100 million to finance subversive activities against the socialist countries. Section 401 of the law provides as follows:

"...the funds available under this section may be expended for any selected persons who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes, . . ."

In accordance with this law, numerous emigrant groups like the anti-Soviet organization, "NTS", have found asylum and received generous material assistance in the United States. The members of these groups are recruited from among criminal elements who have fled from punishment for their offences against the socialist countries. The United States is spending enormous sums on maintaining reactionary bankrupt Governments and the remnants of régimes such as that of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which have been overthrown and repudiated by the people.

69. At the same time, a whole series of what might be described as home-grown United States organizations such as the Crusade for Freedom for the Peoples of Eastern Europe and the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia and others are actively engaging in subversive work against the socialist countries.

70. It may be asked whether all this is in keeping with the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States and whether such a policy is likely to reinforce confidence among States.

71. Indeed, is not the adoption by the United States Congress in July 1959 of a resolution providing for the

observance of a so-called Captive Nations Week an instance of flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States? That resolution contained an appeal to the people of all socialist countries to launch a crusade against the existing system of government in those countries. The resolution specifically states that it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of Eastern Europe should be steadfastly kept alive. In this context, the people's desire for liberty and independence means the liquidation of the existing socialist system in Eastern Europe.

72. It would also be possible to name a number of reports prepared on the instructions of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate as, for instance, report No. 3 entitled "Western Europe", which was published on 15 October 1959, report No. 7 entitled "Basic Aims of United States Foreign Policy", which was published on 25 November 1959, and many others. Although these documents recognize the need for negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on the most important international problems, an attempt is also made to justify the position of strength policy and to work out plans for undermining the system of government in the socialist countries.

73. Another document that might be mentioned in this connexion is the one entitled "National Security and Peace", which was recently published by the National Committee of the Republican Party of the United States. That document again defends the long discredited objective of "liberating the enslaved peoples" as the principal aim of United States foreign policy.

74. Certain circles in the United States are thus seeking to pursue subversive activities against those States which do not wish to follow in the wake of the United States. It is from this particular angle that the so-called question of Hungary should be considered. To discuss that question means, first and foremost, to talk of the intervention by the Western Powers in the domestic affairs of other States and of their desire to foist their own bourgeois order on the peoples of those States.

75. But do those who have created a stir over the Hungarian question really believe that its discussion in the United Nations can lead to the liquidation of socialist achievements in Hungary and the restoration of the Horthy régime in that country? Does Mr. Lodge seriously believe that the socialist countries will cooperate in attempts to liquidate socialist achievements in the countries of Eastern Europe?

76. I think that the representatives of the Western Powers who are raising this question do not themselves believe that their proposals are reasonable. They are taking this action in order to console those reactionary circles which have not yet been able to reconcile themselves to the severe defeat they suffered in 1956.

77. There is only one thing to be said about these extravagant plans, and that is that they will never come to anything and that their sponsors are senselessly squandering time and huge sums of money to no good purpose. The head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, has given a quite explicit answer to the uninvited "liberators" of all shades, to the amateurs of acts of provocation of every kind against the socialist countries. In a speech made at a meeting in Moscow on 23 July 1959, he said:

"We have told and continue to tell the imperialist gentlemen that our socialist camp is strong and in-

destructible. We stand above all your acts of provocation; we resolutely condemn them and frankly state that you will never attain the aims you have set yourselves! The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries will travel their own road confidently and firmly to their great objective; they will steadfastly strive for a relaxation of international tension."

78. Some days ago, when speaking in Budapest, the head of the Soviet Government had the following to say on the same subject:

"We shall continue in the future to fight consistently for peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and general security... As for those who are still trying to fan the flame of the 'cold war' and are planning to operate 'from positions of strength', we repeat once more that a cudgel will not help them. As you know, a cudgel has two ends and if one end of it is raised against the socialist countries, then the other end will come down on the head of whoever is brandishing it."

79. This is our reply. The people's régime in Hungary and in the other socialist countries stands firm and will remain firm for ever. The peoples of the socialist countries are keeping a close watch on the intrigues of their foes and are displaying the necessary vigilance. They are ready at all times to give a crushing rebuff to any attempt to impede their progress along the road of their choice. The sooner the enemies of socialism understand that, the sooner will they be guided in their relations with other States by the principles of peaceful coexistence, and the sooner will the conditions necessary for ensuring lasting peace come to exist.

80. While unflinchingly defending the principles of peaceful coexistence, which are gaining growing international recognition, the socialist States are not forcing their opinions upon the capitalist States, and are asking for the same treatment in return. We do not intend to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries and are entitled to ask that other States should likewise refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of the socialist States.

81. The sooner the United Nations, which is called upon to further the cause of peace, sets aside once and for all provocative questions like the one at present under discussion and summons up the strength to banish the "cold war" atmosphere from the Organization completely and for ever, the better will it be for itself and for the cause of peace throughout the world.

82. The Soviet delegation will, of course, vote against the draft resolution on the so-called question of Hungary.

83. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): This year, fifty-one delegations have formally voted in favour of the inclusion of the item entitled "Question of Hungary" in the General Assembly's agenda. As at previous sessions, only the Soviet Union and the Powers which normally vote with it voted against the inclusion of the item. It can therefore properly be argued that a great majority of Member States still think that, this year again, the situation in Hungary warrants examination and discussion by the General Assembly.

84. This is not, as has been alleged, a new manifestation of the cold war, and as far as the French delegation is concerned, it would have wished that there would no longer this year be anything to discuss. Unfortunately such is not the case. Persons whose

opinions carry weight have already urged from this platform the need for discussing the question, and I see no reason to dwell on the point.

85. For some days, the General Assembly has had before it the report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, whose work merits a sincere tribute, in view of the discouraging and difficult conditions in which it was accomplished. This report again, with its ample documentation, disposes of the argument that the Hungarian affair is a purely domestic matter and hence outside the scope of our discussions.

86. The situation we are examining originated with foreign intervention to put down a movement designed precisely to shake off foreign intervention. Although the nature of this intervention has changed in recent months, its effects have certainly not disappeared, and the French delegation, whose steadfast policy stand in the matter is well known to the General Assembly, considers that, in this particular instance, the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter cannot be invoked.

87. Sir Leslie Munro confirms in his report the information—most of it drawn from official sources—we possess on the Hungarian situation. Quoting the actual terms of resolution 1133 (XI) adopted by the Assembly at the eleventh session, he makes it clear that the régime imposed by the armed intervention of the Soviet Union on the Hungarian people continues its domination within Hungary. As I say, there has been a change recently, and the presence of foreign troops is manifestly more discreet. The troops are none the less there, and their presence helps to aggravate the constraint imposed by the régime on a people who certainly made it quite plain, the moment they had the opportunity, that they wanted none of it. It is true that, since Mr. Khrushchev visited Budapest last June, Soviet control over the Hungarian administration has become much less apparent. It is also true that the Soviet technical advisers who, in 1957 and 1958, were to be found everywhere in the Hungarian administration, side by side with the ministers and high-ranking officials, have been formed into specialized commissions and that the corps of Soviet interpreters has been considerably reduced. But these few deceptive improvements would appear to be less the result of a determination to relax control in response to the wishes of the people than of the docility of the present régime, for it is obvious that the Kremlin still keeps the reins in its own hands and that, through the agency of Komekon, Hungary's economy is more closely dependent on that of the Soviet Union than the economy of any other country in the socialist camp.

88. Despite the efforts of the Hungarian leaders, it is equally clear that the relative stabilization of the régime has been the result, not of the action by the Party or the trade unions, which in local parlance are a transmission-belt connecting the Party with the workers, but of the use of force, i.e., of elements from outside Hungary. In fact, it is the presence of Soviet troops that has been and is still the determining factor, since it guarantees that no open resistance movement of any proportions will occur again. Despite the reduction in the number of foreign troops—now no more than five divisions, apparently—and the stationing agreement of 7 April, under which the foreign troops no longer have any competence as regards the maintenance of order, every Hungarian citizen knows

perfectly well that, on the least provocation, further intervention will inevitably take place. We have a number of statements on this subject by Soviet and Hungarian leaders of which I shall merely quote the latest, in order to show that in this sphere at any rate there has been no essential change.

89. On 20 August 1959, Mr. Kádár said at Győr:

"The time will no doubt come when Soviet forces will leave the country, but, in any case, the enemies of the people need not try to take advantage of the fact, since the State was strong and possessed powerful means of defence to protect the People's Government."

Again, he declared on 30 November, in his report to the seventh Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, that Soviet troops would remain in Hungary so long as the international situation made it necessary.

90. The head of the Soviet Government, during his most recent journey to Peking last October, harped again on the old theme when he declared that the socialist camp possessed means of defence in the event of aggressors trying to meddle in the affairs of the socialist countries in an attempt to turn them from their course and lead them back to capitalism.

91. At earlier sessions, the French delegation has dwelt at length on this "proletarian internationalism" aspect of Soviet policy, and I would merely mention once again that the General Assembly must not give any appearance of recognizing the principle that people living under a particular political system no longer have the right to change or even to abolish it if they do not like it. This reminder seems all the more necessary, since the seventh Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, which is meeting at the very moment when this matter is under discussion here, has gone out of its way to let the world know that it is now the undisputed master, thus hinting to the malcontents—numerous, but necessarily lacking organization—that they would be ill-advised to count on international assistance of any kind.

92. The Hungarian propaganda services continue to proclaim flagrant political untruths. We are told, ad nauseam, that the Party is stronger than ever. In fact, however, its 460,000 members are only half the number it had at the time of the collapse of the régime that Mr. Kádár himself has called "the Rákosi clique". What is more, to prove that the Party is the be-all and end-all, it has made a great fuss about the few new members it managed to muster on the eve of the Congress. For example, Mr. Dobi, Chief of State and leader of the Smallholders' Party, has just sought admission to the Communist party, as also has Mr. Kishazi, Minister of Labour, who, until just recently, has refused to rejoin Mr. Kádár's party. These belated and much publicized conversions, it need hardly be said, prove nothing and cannot in any way be considered as an indication that the general public is coming round to the Party's way of thinking.

93. In the country areas—which are a very important feature of Hungary—the régime is trying very hard to strengthen its hold. According to the information in our possession, the land collectivization policy has to all appearances borne fruit, but it is noteworthy that the leaders nevertheless think it advisable to call a halt for a while in view of the resistance of the peasants. For, only this summer, absenteeism and sabotage

gave rise to incidents in the famous Tokay vineyards, and also at Szolnok, where some thirty peasants are said to have disappeared. Hence, the Party's Central Committee at its last meeting felt compelled solemnly to declare that the collectivization campaign would be handled with the utmost care and flexibility. This policy would seem to indicate certain failures on the part of the régime, and indeed its weakness is revealed in another sphere to which we attach particular importance.

94. Despite official denials—I am thinking of the statements made by the Prime Minister on 18 February 1959 and by the Minister of Justice on 27 February to the effect that the courts had finally done with the trials of counter-revolutionaries—trials and executions are continuing, three years after the suppression of the liberation movement. The Hungarian Telegraph Agency itself has informed us that, as a result of a trial which took place between 24 March and 1 April 1959, five sentences of from two to ten years' imprisonment were pronounced on intellectuals accused of conspiring to overthrow the People's Democracy.

95. In his report, Sir Leslie Munro informed us of the following:

"On 17 October 1959,"—i.e. some six weeks ago—"a Hungarian spokesman' in Budapest, in answer to the questions of western newspaper reporters, conceded that sentences of death had recently been carried out in connexion with alleged crimes committed during the uprising in 1956. It would appear that these sentences of death, together with other sentences of long-term or life imprisonment, were the outcome of the trial of a group of people from Ujpest, an industrial suburb of Budapest, earlier this year. Ten sentences of death are reported as having been pronounced, and eight executions as having been carried out on or about 13 August. Some twenty-six sentences of imprisonment were reported, the shortest being for a period of five years." [A/4304, para. 31].

96. According to the same source, there has been confirmation of another major trial, that of a large group of young people accused, according to the statement of an official Hungarian spokesman, of "political crimes committed in 1958" [*ibid.*, para. 32]. The report then goes on to say: "It is against this background that consideration needs to be given to recent reports of a disturbing character which have aroused wide-spread concern regarding the imminent possibility of further executions." [*Ibid.*, para. 33.]

97. If the Government were really as sure of itself as it would have us believe, would it feel constrained to hold in prison Tibor Déry, who was condemned in November 1957 to nine years' imprisonment, Gyula Háry, condemned to six years' imprisonment, Domonkos Kosáry, József Gáli, Gyula Obersovsky and other well known members of the Hungarian intelligentsia whose fate has caused so much concern among intellectuals the world over—the P.E.N. Club, for example, tried in vain in July last to persuade the Hungarian Minister of Justice to show clemency towards them.

98. The representative from Budapest maintains that there is no Hungarian question. Unhappily, for the world at large and for the General Assembly which symbolizes it, the question does still exist. Otherwise, the Hungarian Government would clearly have nothing to hide, and the United Nations Representative would have been able to carry out without hindrance the task of

securing information entrusted to him at the thirteenth session. We still venture to hope that this attitude of non-co-operation will change for the better, and that the Governments concerned will decide to help Sir Leslie Munro in the performance of his task. This, to our view, would be the best proof that what our agenda rightly calls "Question of Hungary" no longer exists.

99. That is precisely the purpose of the deliberately moderate draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by twenty-four Powers. The French delegation, which has the honour to be a co-sponsor of the draft, would like once again to state that it embodies no cold war intentions. All we want, as we have always said, is that the Hungarian people should gradually recover the democratic freedoms for which they revolted in 1956 and that they should finally be allowed to express their political wishes; and we hope that the General Assembly will stand by its own principles and adopt our draft resolution by a substantial majority.

100. Mr. NESBITT (Canada): The Canadian delegation comes to the discussion of the report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary with a deep feeling for its immediate as well as long-run significance. We also come to this debate today with a sense of sadness that the Hungarian question should still be before us and should now be aggravated by new allegations of violations of human rights and a general disregard for the good opinion of many States.

101. The report of the United Nations Representative, whose wisdom and authority are so well known to us all, charges that a régime of great rigour and repression continues to operate in controlling the lives of the Hungarian people. If, in October and November 1956, this were a matter of proper human and constitutional concern for the United Nations, there is no reason to doubt the continuing right of the United Nations to be concerned in December 1959, when the allegations of repression remain as strong as they do in the report of the United Nations Representative.

102. The Canadian delegation is aware of how often the Government of Hungary has denied the charges of repression and, too, how insistent has been its view, as well as the view of a small number of Member States allied with it, that whatever has taken place or is taking place in Hungary is a matter essentially of domestic jurisdiction and, therefore, beyond the proper scope of the Assembly's legal interest.

103. Each Member State is, of course, entitled to treat its internal security problems as matters essentially within its domestic jurisdiction. With this thesis the Canadian Government could have no quarrel. But when the criminal law and administration go so far as to offend the very spirit of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, the issue may, in some of its aspects, become one of essential United Nations concern.

104. The Canadian delegation cannot, therefore, accept either the denial of facts as such or the denial of a United Nations interest in this area. Our position rests on a simple proposition: bearing in mind the provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 and its guarantees of independence and human rights for the people of Hungary, and having in mind, too, the violent events in Hungary in October–November of 1956, the great majority of Member States believed not only that there had been an unlawful "intervention" in the affairs of Hungary by another State, causing great disruption there, but also that there had been important violations of

human rights to which the United Nations could not be indifferent. Moreover, these violations continued long after the military intervention aspects had disappeared. These are facts of wide public knowledge and acceptance.

105. Indeed, it is possible to say that, once the period of military intervention had passed, the behaviour of the Hungarian Government towards its own people involved so substantial an interference with the concept of decent levels of behaviour by States towards their peoples that the United Nations could not have remained indifferent. Moreover, if the Hungarian Government had wished to bring these allegations to an end, it could, at least, have provided some measure of co-operation with the United Nations in the various resolutions passed since 1956 inviting such co-operation, particularly by admitting United Nations representatives to make on-the-spot inquiries in order to be able to report back to the Assembly on the basis of a firm foundation of observed fact.

106. We all know the story. The present Government of Hungary, claiming the right of a sovereign State to be free from interference in its domestic affairs, has refused to permit any semblance of United Nations or other type of inquiry into the record of the régime since those events in the autumn of 1956. I presume that matters might well have drifted in this way even with the appointment of the present United Nations Representative, whose report is now before us, had it not been for some recent developments. One of these arises from the very considerable efforts that have been made by Prime Minister Macmillan, President Eisenhower and other Western leaders, and by Premier Khrushchev, to provide the foundations for a relaxation of tensions and for the possibility of conferences among the leading Powers in order to deal with some of the more difficult problems now dividing them. A new spirit, whether described as of Camp David or simple as a fresh effort at a "détente", now pervades many aspects of major dealings between the two sides in world politics today. Since it is well understood that the Government of Hungary has the closest of ties with the Government of the Soviet Union, it is a matter of great surprise to the Canadian delegation that the friends of Hungary should not advise her on the political and moral inconsistency of the continuing unco-operative Hungarian attitude towards the ascertaining of facts about conditions there and towards the present search for a sound basis by both camps to approach, in a new spirit, their grave divisions.

107. But if this were not enough to bring forcibly to our attention the substance of the United Nations Representative's report, there is in the opinion of the Canadian delegation reason to believe, or at least to suspect, that new and shocking events may have taken place in recent months in Hungary. I refer here to paragraphs 30 to 34 of the United Nations Representative's report dealing with the recent allegations that have appeared in the press of many parts of the world that many young persons had been held for trial since 1956 who, at that time, were below the age provided by Hungarian criminal law for the application of severe penalties for certain political and kindred offences. I wish to say that my Government does not necessarily believe all the rumours that have been circulating for the past several weeks in Canada and the United States and that have been widely reported upon in the Press of many countries. But I cannot deny that these reports

have disturbed us greatly and that the people of Canada are deeply distressed at the possibility that they may be true.

108. I am aware that the nature of the evidence—and I use the term very broadly—supporting these allegations of cruel judicial procedures towards young people may not be such as to completely satisfy observers desiring the most severe test for such evidence. Nevertheless, apart from newspaper reports, there is the already well-known bulletin No. 9 of the International Commission of Jurists, which reports in some detail on trials held in camera, on confessions obtained from young accused persons, and on a number of executions. This bulletin, which is to be found as an appendix to a recent issue of the Journal of the International Commission of Jurists, cannot be dismissed easily. Too many responsible jurists, including many Canadians, are members of this organization for the seriousness of its efforts and its conclusions to be doubted.

109. I am well aware that, on 31 October last, in a statement to the Budapest branch of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Mr. János Kádár, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, officially denied these allegations. But we are equally aware that official denials would be the natural response of the Government and that it would be naive to have expected it to give any other statement.

110. Surely what is needed here are not denials but some gesture that would help dissipate this cloud of angry suspicion that now has begun again to cover the relations of Hungary and many Member States. My delegation desires only to see that the minds of decent people everywhere can somehow or other be satisfied that charges of this nature that have been made and referred to in the United Nations Representative's report are baseless and that the Government of Hungary, in the proper exercise of its own political powers, is behaving no differently than might be expected of any other State faced with normal questions of the maintenance of public order.

111. In my Government's opinion, the only way that the Government of Hungary could possibly satisfy sympathetic observers who do not wish to remain forever suspicious of the Government of Hungary is to permit some type of inquiry, whether by the United Nations or by any other acceptable agency.

112. Our insistence on due acceptance by the Government of Hungary of those resolutions of the Assembly that have regularly, since 1956, invited the co-operation of Hungary in such inquiries does not preclude the possibility of other devices being employed if they could elicit impartial information that would satisfy those of us who are now deeply distressed by these charges. Surely, the Government of Hungary is concerned with its own good name in the world and in the United Nations. Surely, it would want to set at rest the rising volume of distressed concern that now permeates the attitude of many Member States towards it, with particular reference to these new charges concerning the trials and possible executions of young people for alleged political crimes.

113. Would it not be possible for the Government of Hungary to invite the International Red Cross or some similar non-governmental religious or charitable organization to make appropriate inquiries and report back to the Press of the world in such a way as to put to rest once and for all the suspicions and allegations

arising from the charges so frequently made in recent weeks? The Canadian Government appeals sincerely to the Government of Hungary. Do you wish to make a contribution to the emerging relaxation of tensions and to the progress towards the summit, that is the hope of all international politics at the moment, or do you wish to embitter relations and make that emerging "rap-prochement", however limited or extensive its character may be, difficult and perhaps impossible?

114. Finally, I should like to ask what the Government of Hungary has to lose by such an inquiry, either by the United Nations Representative or any other agency designated by the Assembly or by some private organization. Surely, there can be no question of a challenge to its sovereignty or its independence. Its membership in this Organization is testament to its status, and inquiries of the kind we suggest would not detract one whit from that status. But the continued refusal to permit inquiries will detract profoundly from that other status it no doubt wishes to maintain, that is, the status of a member of the family of nations whose good name in its treatment of its own people in the protection of their human rights is now under a very dark cloud.

115. My delegation, as a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on Hungary, will therefore support any reasonable measures to encourage the Government of Hungary to co-operate in these efforts to avoid interference with the spirit of this new phase of international relations affecting all States today. We sincerely hope that the alleged events, harmful to the good name of the Government of Hungary in its treatment of young offenders, are not taking place as reported throughout the world. But we cannot be content with a silence that may imply damaging admissions. It is for the Government of Hungary to move all of us from suspicion to satisfaction, from a sense of distress to a knowledge that puts conscience to rest.

116. Mr. ORTONA (Italy): The Hungarian question is being considered once again in the General Assembly. This new debate is indeed caused by the great misgivings and profound feelings still existing about the situation in Hungary, and which are wide-spread in world public opinion. From all indications at our disposal, the régime of repression in Hungary, far from ceasing, continues and still imposes on the unfortunate Hungarian people a heavy burden of sorrow. The report of the United Nations Representative is eloquent evidence of this situation.

117. No assistance, in any form, has been given to Sir Leslie Munro by the Soviet Government and the Hungarian authorities in order to allow him to perform, even to a limited degree, the task entrusted to him by this Assembly as set forth in a resolution approved by an overwhelming majority. Surely, it is inconceivable that the General Assembly would approve in silence the continuance of such a state of affairs. This Assembly has to take cognizance of and express itself on the report of the United Nations Representative who, notwithstanding the complete lack of co-operation by the Hungarian authorities, has been able to collect and to expose factually a most distressing evidence.

118. During the last three years, the General Assembly has adopted ten resolutions on the question of Hungary and has repeatedly recognized the grave situation developed in that country as a matter of international concern. We cannot accept once more the thesis according to which this Organization should have

no word in it. What was and still is at stake is not a domestic situation in Hungary, and what we are doing here now is certainly not interference in the internal affairs of a Member State. Everyone, no doubt, recognizes that, without a minimum standard of behaviour and a minimum compliance with the wishes expressed by the international community, the prerequisites of real peace are missing, and constructive co-operation among nations is not possible.

119. Some delegations have maintained in the course of our debate that to deal with this question at the present time would hamper the efforts now being made in order to lessen the international tension and to inject an element of controversy into the spirit of Camp David.

120. My delegation is fully aware of these new trends in the international political arena, and I wish to state here very firmly that Italy favours, in all possible ways, an improvement of the international atmosphere. We hope for it, and we are ready to do what we can in order to see this materialize. But this is not the problem. The problem is the same as the one which was tragically brought to our attention in 1956, and all along since then. In other words, the problem remains in the same terms as I tried to formulate it in my intervention last year, when I said:

"To insist on our resolutions is not a cold war or power politics; what we have at heart, above all, is the lot of the Hungarian people. . . . This must be our main purpose, the reason for our debates, the sense and significance of our resolutions." [786th meeting, para. 170.]

121. In fact, what we have before us today is one more appeal to the USSR and to Hungary to allow that the decision of this Assembly take its proper course. It would be a patent omission on our part to ignore the historical background of the active intervention of the Soviet Union in the situation in Hungary. This has been openly confirmed by recent statements emanating from Soviet authorities at the highest level. These statements, and I refer in particular to what Mr. Khrushchev said in Budapest on 2 December, have touched upon the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and upon the reasons for their recent action in that country. I might add here that such references have actually been made with striking candour when it was said that the Russian interests to block certain trends in that country date as far back as 1848. Naturally we cannot endorse in silence such an attitude.

122. With regard to the part played by and the responsibility of the Hungarian authorities, may I point out that the very resolution which was passed [resolution 1312 (XII)] appointing Sir Leslie Munro as United Nations Representative with "the purpose of reporting to Member States or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly resolutions" offered to the said authorities a great opportunity. In fact, what more significant development could Sir Leslie Munro have reported than that the situation in that country had been restored to normalcy?

123. We are told by the Hungarian authorities that there is nothing exceptional in the internal situation in Hungary and that the presence of foreign troops on Hungarian soil is merely due to the implementation of the Warsaw Treaty. But if this is so, why prevent Sir Leslie Munro even from crossing the frontier of

Hungary? His visit there would have offered suitable means to the present Hungarian authorities to show that the fears and preoccupations expressed in this Assembly were unfounded. In fact, we are grieved to note that this is not the case and that there has not been any convincing evidence to show us that the course initiated in 1956, with the chain of exceptional events which amazed the world, has been reversed.

124. Notwithstanding the denial of any facilities to Sir Leslie Munro, his report covers a lot of ground and appears absolutely impartial. The facts exposed in it speak for themselves. It is true, as Sir Leslie Munro recalls, that the hope for the withdrawal of Soviet forces seemed possible in October 1956. It is also true that, and I quote from his report:

"Trials and executions in the past year have not attracted the world-wide attention that was focused on the fate of Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter and other Hungarian patriots in June 1958." [A/4304, para. 22.]

But it is also known that some of the outstanding intellectuals of the country, as well as other patriots of all ages, and we fear of young generations, are awaiting trial.

125. This has been also recently and openly stated by a spokesman of the Hungarian Government, Minister Gyáros, to a British correspondent, when he said that some trials of a political character were still under way and some death penalties have been carried out. It is also known that legal procedures in Hungary are still summary and that the whole structure of the legal system is not normal. However, it is not only the existence of so much sorrow and grief in Hungary that prompted Sir Leslie Munro not to follow his earlier idea of resigning his mandate. In his decision he has been inspired and guided by the thought that it would be in the interest of the Hungarian people—and the following are Sir Leslie Munro's words—and in accordance with the purport of the General Assembly's resolutions that he be allowed to bring about "an amelioration of the relationship between the Organization and the present Hungarian authorities" [*ibid.*, para. 15].

126. Our purpose is the same: the world has the right to know and the duty to go on appealing to the Hungarian authorities in the hope that human sufferings be alleviated and that the great oppression should cease. In this context, we feel that a proclamation of a general amnesty would prove somewhat that the situation in Hungary is developing towards some measure of freedom and justice. An amnesty of this kind, carried out in earnest, would only be in line with what this Assembly has been trying to achieve for years; that is, to spare human sufferings and restore the situation to normalcy.

127. My delegation has joined other delegations in sponsoring the draft resolution which is before this Assembly. Our purpose is not to recriminate or to resume the cold war; it is the moral duty to reassert the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As an Italian, I should like to add that friendship towards Hungary and the Hungarian people is a tradition in my country, and that we are really anxious to see the Hungarian nation take once again its rightful place amongst the peace-loving countries of the world. And as far as the spirit of Camp David is concerned, that was and still is our inspiration. It can only be said that a gesture of goodwill by the Hungarian authorities and of consideration on their part of the resolutions of

the General Assembly would be the best stimulant for that spirit. Compliance with the hopes and requests of the United Nations would help lessen international tension and would prove to the world that the Assembly has not acted in vain in trying to bring back Hungary to new standards of political morality in the community of peace-loving nations.

128. Prince ALY KHAN (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan was one of the sponsors of resolution 1312 (XIII) by which Sir Leslie Munro was appointed United Nations Representative on Hungary. Sir Leslie Munro has endeavoured with great calm, patience, tenacity and good sense, to carry out the responsibilities assigned to him by that resolution, in a spirit of devoted loyalty to its terms and to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter; and we owe to him a debt of profound gratitude.

129. If he has not thus far been altogether successful in his mission, it is only because of the circumstances entirely beyond his control, and in particular, the refusal of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to comply in any way with the terms of the resolution or to co-operate with the United Nations Representative. It is not the United Nations or its Representative who have failed in this matter; it is rather those Members of the Organization who have failed to collaborate in the application and fulfilment of resolutions of the General Assembly.

130. But we refuse to be discouraged. We reject cynicism and defeatism, and we venture to express the hope that both the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities will alter their present adamant stand and will now extend with regard to Hungary that co-operation which has hitherto been lacking. In this event, we should be among the first to acclaim this new evidence, particularly with regard to the Soviet Union, of a truly sincere desire to contribute to peace and harmony among nations.

131. Resolutions of the General Assembly are not considered lightly. They are not passed lightly, and they should not be taken lightly by any Member of the United Nations. It is our view that world public opinion, as expressed through Assembly resolutions, is a vitally important factor for world peace, and we consider it axiomatic that every Member of our Organization has a profound obligation to accept the judgement of world opinion and comply with the terms of Assembly resolutions, whether or not those terms are altogether to its liking.

132. The issue before us is not only one involving compliance or non-compliance with Assembly resolutions; nor do we look upon the question of Hungary as a cold war issue in any sense of the term. On the contrary, this question has nothing to do with the so-called cold war. What is involved is a very fundamental issue of human rights—in this case, the denial of human rights to the people of Hungary. In our opinion, there are no more important provisions of our Charter than those concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms.

133. The delegation of Pakistan has always consistently supported and will continue to support measures which have as their aim the restoration of those rights and freedoms to any people anywhere who are being denied them. The facts in the Hungarian situation are very simple and very clear. The Hungarian people are living under a severe repressive régime supported by

a foreign Power, and their human rights and fundamental freedoms are still systematically being denied them.

134. In these circumstances, the United Nations would clearly be derelict in its duty not only to the unfortunate people of Hungary but also to all mankind if it failed now to call attention once more to this tragic situation, and to take such action as it can to help alleviate their plight.

135. For these reasons, the delegation of Pakistan has again joined this year with a number of other delegations in sponsoring a draft resolution on the question of Hungary. This draft resolution now before the Assembly for consideration is the very least that we can do. I hope and trust, therefore, that it will receive the Assembly's overwhelming approval and that it will be accorded a greater and more loyal spirit of co-operation by those most directly concerned, so that the continuing task of the United Nations Representative will be facilitated and no longer thwarted by them.

136. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): In view of the favourable atmosphere which has generally characterized the debates of the present session and the satisfactory results obtained on a number of important points, such as the resolutions on disarmament and the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, the delegations to this Assembly thought, until quite recently, that the United Nations was going to finish its important work this year in a spirit that would be more wholesome and more in harmony with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, which entrusts the Organization with the noble task of co-ordinating the efforts of all countries to maintain international peace and security and to develop friendly relations and co-operation among States in the interests of the whole human race. Unfortunately, certain influential circles in the United States deliberately chose that very moment to disturb this atmosphere and prevent us from finishing our work in harmony with the spirit and the letter of the Charter; once again, towards the end of the fourteenth session, as at previous sessions of the General Assembly, they have brought up the shop-worn and stale old item, the "Question of Hungary", which is just an invention for the needs of a shameful cause. And so, following a course which utterly disregards the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and is in flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, these influential circles suddenly brought up the so-called question of Hungary in order to continue their systematic interference in affairs lying within the domestic jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as to stir up the cold war and divert the attention of the United Nations from the vital problems directly involved in the protection of international peace and security, peaceful coexistence and co-operation among States with different régimes. They had kept it in reserve for a specific purpose and have forced the United Nations to launch once again into this futile debate which cannot but impede the relaxation of international tension and harm United Nations prestige in the eyes of the world.

137. What, indeed, are the reasons which could justify the debate which is now taking place at the end of, and is even prolonging, the fourteenth session? Have any important and urgent events of concern to the United Nations really occurred in the Hungarian People's Republic which would justify the inclusion of a new

item in our agenda, in accordance with the rules of procedure, with a view to its discussion and the adoption of relevant measures?

138. The facts are that nothing of the kind has occurred and that now, as at previous sessions, the same tactics, the same motives and the same provocative intentions are at the bottom of a debate which is forcing the United Nations to continue again at this session to meddle in the internal affairs of a Member State in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

139. My delegation strongly protests against such dastardly attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. It is high time for our Organization to end, once and for all, the cynical manoeuvring which is intended to divert it from the path laid down for it by the Charter and draw it into a dangerous course, where it may well worsen relations between States.

140. The real instigators of these manoeuvres, having failed in their attempts at previous sessions to use their tool, the so-called Special Committee whose deplorable record is only too well known, for the same purpose, have replaced it by an illegal resolution that was forced on the twelfth session of the General Assembly and by a representative who was intended to serve the same purpose, that is to say, to keep the door open on the so-called question of Hungary, so that they could continue to use the United Nations as a forum for intervening in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

141. The way—a somewhat dubious one, to say the least—in which this so-called question was submitted for inclusion in the agenda of the present session, the means employed and the efforts made to ensure its inclusion, and the objections of several delegations to it, both in the General Committee and in plenary meeting, reveal the speciousness of the question and the difficulties encountered by its sponsors in presenting an imaginary and non-existent problem as an important and urgent one.

142. The author or authors of the report, which is now under discussion, have followed the same rules as their predecessor, the Special Committee, and have libelled the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union in the same way. This hollow-sounding report thus contains nothing new and merely repeats the previous lies and attacks. The same arguments are repeated again and again: trials that are alleged to be taking place in the Hungarian People's Republic under a judicial system which is not to the taste of the authors of the report, troops stationed on Hungarian soil, the desire of the so-called United Nations Representative to continue his work and so on.

143. The contents of the report, and the fabrications, the libels and cynical remarks it contains regarding the Hungarian People's Republic reflect once again the real reasons for such reports and the aims of their authors; they are evidence of the obvious hate and hostility of certain Western circles towards the socialist régime in Hungary, which has been established and is resolutely defended by the Hungarian people. Such expressions reflect the rage felt in those circles as they see with increasing clarity that, after the failure of their ill-starred attempt to restore the former capitalist régime in Hungary by force, the Hungarian people, under the leadership of its Government, are making great strides towards progress and prosperity.

144. There would be no point in making a detailed review of the events which occurred in Hungary in October and November 1956. It is an incontrovertible fact, of which everyone is aware, that, in order to subjugate Hungary, re-establish the fascist régime of Horthy and his associates and make the country a base for aggression against the other socialist countries, imperialist circles in certain Western countries, particularly in the United States of America, used a handful of reactionaries in Hungary to pave the way for the counter-revolution in every possible way—by the most unbridled propaganda, as well as by bribery, sending weapons to Hungary, spying, training special contingents in West Germany, etc.

145. As everyone knows, this counter-revolutionary uprising, organized and supported by the imperialists, was a complete failure. The Hungarian people and its revolutionary Government composed of Hungarian workers and peasants completely crushed the counter-revolution with the brotherly aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

146. It is clear that, by responding to the Hungarian Government's appeal and coming to the assistance of the Hungarian people, the Soviet Union and its army fulfilled their obligations under the Warsaw Treaty of 1955. In so doing, the Soviet Union carried out a brotherly duty in harmony with the international solidarity of the proletariat, on which relations between socialist countries are based. In aiding its Hungarian brothers to crush the counter-revolution, the Soviet army not only helped the Hungarian people to defend the people's democracy and its revolutionary aims, but also, by preventing Hungary from becoming a dangerous hotbed of war and a spring-board for aggression in the very centre of Europe, it rendered an invaluable service to the defence of the other people's democracies and to the cause of European and world peace. All peace-loving peoples, particularly those of the people's democracies, are deeply grateful to it.

147. At previous sessions, we have already had the opportunity to point out that the accusations against the Hungarian People's Republic are fallacious and unfounded. The allegations contained in the present report are pure libels or concern matters which lie exclusively within the competence of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

148. The question of Soviet troops being stationed in Hungary is a matter which—as the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic has already stated very clearly—concerns only the Hungarian People's Republic and the other signatories of the Warsaw Treaty.

149. Moreover, the Soviet Union, as clearly stated by the representative of that country, has made concrete proposals on the subject which have elicited no response from the Western Powers.

150. All these hostile attempts, libels and attacks of all kinds that have been directed against the Hungarian People's Republic by every means, including so-called special committees, special representatives and even other special procedures and services, are obviously doomed to failure.

151. Having survived the terrible ordeal forced upon it by the international reactionaries and having crushed the counter-revolution for ever, the Hungarian people are now living a free and hard-working life and are devoting all their efforts to the building of socialism

in their country. Under the leadership of their Government and their workers' socialist party, which enjoy increasingly solid support, the Hungarian people have recently been achieving great successes in all fields. The remarkable results of the elections to the National Assembly, held in November of last year, reveal the Hungarian people's determination to strengthen their democracy and also prove their deep attachment to socialism.

152. The Hungarian People's Republic is making steady progress in its economic and cultural development. Thanks to the determination and devotion of the masses under the leadership of their Government, and to the fraternal and disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Hungarian economy which, three years ago, had been paralysed owing to the damage caused by the counter-revolutionary uprising, has now fully recovered.

153. Industry and agriculture have revived, and production has even increased. The level of living has rapidly improved. By the end of 1957, both production and the level of living of the vast majority of the people had regained and even surpassed the 1955 level. Total industrial output is increasing every year. The second five-year plan, which covers the period 1960-1965, opens wide horizons for the further development of the country.

154. Many delegations of officials, tourists, hundreds of politicians, scientists, journalists and the like who have visited Hungary have spoken with admiration of the situation there and the successes achieved by the Hungarian people. In his last speech during the general debate in the Assembly, when he invited all Members of the General Assembly to visit Hungary, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic stated that any Member of the Assembly might go to Hungary whenever he wished "provided that he undertakes this trip of his own accord and not as a mission on the basis of a resolution hostile to the Hungarian People's Republic" [820th meeting, para. 150].

155. Although they failed in Hungary and in other socialist countries, certain imperialist circles in the United States and other Western countries are still playing their dangerous game of interference and subversion directed against the socialist countries.

156. Since the end of the Second World War, the People's Republic of Albania has been one of the people's democracies which has borne the brunt of their provocations and hostile machinations.

157. At previous sessions, my delegation has presented the Assembly with irrefutable evidence and documentation of many cases of interference in Albania's internal affairs, as well as acts of subversion and violation of its integrity and sovereignty by certain Western Powers, especially the United States of America.

158. All possible means have been used for this purpose, such as violent propaganda campaigns, particularly broadcasts of "Radio Free Europe" and the "Voice of America", official declarations of the United States Department of State, violations of territorial integrity and air space, infiltration of spies and diversionary agents, sabotage and all types of subversive activity. We do not propose to take up the time of the General Assembly by reverting to these facts or by citing subsequent incidents. However, my delegation

cannot keep from mentioning one recent fact which constitutes, to say the least, an act of interference in the internal affairs of my country.

159. Every year, on the occasion of Albania's national independence day, that is, on 28 November, the United States Department of State issues a statement which is a deliberate act of interference in the country's internal affairs and a threat to the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Albania.

160. Once again this year, on 28 November, that is, only ten days ago, the United States Department of State issued a statement in which it said, *inter alia*:

"This important event in the long and courageous struggle of the Albanian people for national existence has particular significance to all free peoples at a time when the Albanian nation is subjected to Soviet domination. The Government and people of the United States look with sympathy and understanding upon the aspirations of the Albanian people for national independence and full enjoyment of human rights and freedoms."^{1/}

161. Thus, despite the signs of a relaxation of international tension, the United States Department of State, in clinging to its policy of the cold war and of open hostility to the people and Government of Albania, has not, this year either, hesitated to make a statement which constitutes a flagrant violation of the elementary principles governing relations between sovereign States as well as of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter under which the Members of the United Nations are obliged to refrain from intervening in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

162. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, on instructions from its Government, once again most strongly protests against such intolerable acts of the United States Department of State and asks for an end of these manoeuvres, which are contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter and to the generally recognized principles of international law. The Albanian people indignantly and scornfully rejects this slander, this crude interference by the United States Department of State.

163. These machinations of the United States authorities can be explained by the fact that certain influential circles in the United States, blinded by their hatred for the socialist countries, are unable to control themselves and to refrain from engaging in activities without precedent in the history of international relations.

164. It might even be said that, in the case of Albania, certain politicians, obsessed by the glory of belonging to a great Power, are beyond themselves with rage because all their hostile attempts, in particular all their provocations, are brought to nought by the unyielding and firm position of the little People's Republic of Albania, its people and its Government.

165. Those gentlemen, whoever they may be, should be reminded that, although Albania is a small country, its people are none the less proud of it, and of its history of age-old struggle for freedom and independence, and of the people's régime which it created by dint of its heroic battles against the occupation forces in the Second World War, the Italian fascists and the German nazis, whose ranks had been swelled by the same

^{1/} Quoted in English by the speaker.

Albanian war criminals, the same gang of traitors to their country, which the United States has rounded up and enlisted in the hope that they can be used again against the Albanian people.

166. Like all the peoples of the socialist countries, the Albanian people do not want the freedom and independence being offered by the United States imperialists; they have had enough of that kind of freedom and independence in the past, and experience has taught them, among other things, to be vigilant and to defend their conquests, their freedom and their independence. The Albanian people are not alone, and they will, together with their powerful and loyal friends, be capable, as in the past, of defending their conquests, their freedom, their independence and their democratic régime, regardless of what Western imperialist circles may do.

167. The relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union, as well as the relations among all the socialist countries, are based on the principle of sovereign equality, on mutual confidence and respect and on friendship and mutual aid. It is on the basis of those relations and primarily as a result of the unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union that the People's Republic of Albania has been so successful in its economic, political and cultural development. The friendly relations and the unflinching solidarity of the socialist countries are a sure guarantee of their independence and security and of world peace.

168. The action of the State Department is only one example of the lack of respect on the part of certain United States quarters for the most rudimentary standards underlying relations between States and of their hatred for the socialist countries. Many other cases could be mentioned and, without going too far afield, we might refer to the so-called Captive Nations Week proclaimed by high officials in the United States last July, at the very time when the Foreign Ministers of the great Powers were meeting at Geneva.

169. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): May I make an appeal to the representative of Albania? The Chair is very reluctant to make such appeals, but in order to preserve the dignity of the debate and to ensure that it does not stray from the subject under discussion, I feel that I must, in all courtesy, make this observation to him. I was waiting for him to finish alluding to a matter which has no bearing upon or no direct connexion with the subject we are discussing, but since he is expatiating on that matter at undue length I would ask him to confine his remarks to the item under discussion.

170. The representative of Albania may continue his statement.

171. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): We are talking about an issue which, in fact, was "fabricated" for the purpose of intervening in the affairs of a sovereign State. I have merely presented arguments to prove that it is the policy of the United States to continue to interfere in the affairs of other countries, and, since that policy applies to my own country, I could not keep silent. In any event, I have said all that I want to say about Albania.

172. United States interference has not been confined solely to the socialist countries; it has also been directed against other countries which have refused to yield to the policy and uphold the interests of the United States.

173. Certain imperialist circles are doing their utmost to aggravate tensions in Asia and the Far East and to promote subversive and military activities by certain aggressive blocs. That is the case with the occupation of foreign territories by United States troops as in South Korea and Taiwan, and in South Viet-Nam and Laos, a situation which is jeopardizing peace in those areas.

174. In the debates on the various agenda items, both in plenary meetings and in the Committees, many delegations have expressed optimism regarding the prospects in store for mankind in the new international atmosphere. A great many delegations have expressed gratification at the exchange of visits between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, and have regarded the present political juncture as a major turning point pregnant with hope for the strengthening of peace. There can be no doubt that this hope reflects the sincere desire of all peoples of the world that the cold war policy and the danger of another conflict will be permanently eliminated.

175. The United Nations can and must play a very important part in the efforts to improve the international situation and establish relations of good neighbourliness and co-operation between nations in their mutual interest. Unfortunately, experience shows that the United Nations has allowed itself to be diverted from the role conferred upon it by the peoples of the world and, instead of promoting a relaxation of international tensions, has been converted into a forum of the cold war, as is the case in the present debate.

176. The so-called question of Hungary is part of the cold war arsenal and can only revive international tension and prevent the United Nations from contributing to the peaceful settlement of outstanding international problems and the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence and co-operation among nations in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. My delegation considers that it is high time for the United Nations to dispose of this non-existent problem once and for all and to reject the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly.

177. DATO' KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): Once again the question of Hungary comes up for debate in the General Assembly. The report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary conveys to us the sad tidings that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities have continued to refuse bluntly to co-operate with the United Nations in its efforts to achieve the objectives embodied in its many resolutions arising from the tragic events in Hungary in 1956.

178. During its thirteenth session, the General Assembly was confronted with the same situation and, by resolution 1312 (XIII) which was adopted by an overwhelming majority, it deplored the continued refusal of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to avail the United Nations of their co-operation. The General Assembly further deplored the continuing repression in Hungary of the fundamental rights of the Hungarian people and of their freedom of political expression under the shadow of the continuing presence of Soviet armed forces, and called upon the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to desist from such repression. By the same resolution, the General Assembly declared that the United Nations would continue to be seized of

the situation in Hungary, and in this respect decided to appoint Sir Leslie Munro as the United Nations Representative to report on significant developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly resolutions on Hungary.

179. This resolution speaks for itself and in view of the world-wide attention that has been focused on the Hungarian question, I need hardly recall the tragic circumstances and events that have motivated the adoption by the General Assembly of this and previous resolutions on the issue.

180. My delegation would like to express, at this juncture, its appreciation to Sir Leslie Munro, the United Nations Representative on Hungary, for his patient efforts to enter into consultations with the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities. We are satisfied that he has explored all possible avenues that might lead him to open discussion with the appropriate authorities with the view to implementing the resolutions of the General Assembly. That these attempts eventually turned out to be of no avail is certainly not the fault of Sir Leslie Munro himself. Indeed, I venture to submit that his untiring efforts in this regard merit the appreciation of the General Assembly.

181. My delegation views with great concern the fact that, despite the many resolutions adopted by this Assembly and the repeated appeals made to them by the nations of the world in the forum of the United Nations for the implementation of the objectives of these resolutions, the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities have not changed their attitude. They continue to deny the legality of the General Assembly resolutions on the issue and by the same token persist in challenging the validity of the office of the United Nations Representative on Hungary.

182. My delegation cannot but take the view that such an attitude as adopted by the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities constitutes no less than a flagrant defiance of the conscience of humanity which has found expression in the resolutions in question. Such an attitude would greatly impair the efficacy of this Organization for the ideals which we are pledged to promote, and, indeed, make a mockery of it as the symbol of mankind's efforts to preserve the fundamental rights of peoples and individuals and to further the cause of international harmony and peace.

183. The authorities concerned have tried to justify their stand on the grounds that the Hungarian issue is a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary. It may be recalled that the United Nations became seized of the question as a result of the intervention of the armed forces of the Soviet Union in the Hungarian uprising of 1956 for the purpose of re-establishing a régime that had been overthrown by a spontaneous uprising. No one can doubt the competence and the right of the General Assembly to be concerned with such a situation which involved foreign military intervention against a people, a situation which constituted a threat to international peace and security.

184. Furthermore, the repressive measures taken against the Hungarian people subsequent to the military intervention, such as the imposition of a régime against the wishes of the people, the mass deportations of Hungarians to the Soviet Union, and the mass trials and executions of Hungarian patriots, constitute a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

185. My delegation has consistently taken the view that, while the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of any State must be upheld, any issue which involves a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and which might be a threat to international peace and harmony, cannot be claimed as exclusively an internal problem.

186. I emphasized this principle when I had the privilege of making my statement in the debate on the question of Tibet less than two months ago; the Hungarian question being, as it is, basically similar in nature to the Tibetan issue, I deem it incumbent upon my delegation to repeat this point. It is not on Tibet and Hungary alone that my delegation has applied this liberal interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter. Our stand on the question of Algeria and the question of race conflict in South Africa will bear witness to this. As I stated in my statement on the question of Tibet, in respect of this principle:

"It is our contention that any systematic violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world, by whichever nation, great or small, Eastern or Western, cannot be morally justified and is a matter of which the United Nations must be seized." [831st meeting, para. 15.]

I have taken this opportunity to recall my own statement because I feel it important to make our position on this issue clear of all doubts.

187. Coming back now to the report of the United Nations Representative, my delegation notes with regret and concern the following statement:

"In the course of the past year, no evidence has been forthcoming of any basic change in the Hungarian situation which would warrant relaxation by the United Nations of its continued attention to the problem." [A/4304, para. 19.]

188. There has been no evidence of any compliance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 1312 (XIII) which called upon the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people and to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian people's enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms. Soviet forces have remained in the country, contrary to the requests of the General Assembly for their withdrawal. The United Nations Representative has gathered sufficient information from reliable sources to indicate the continuance of trials and imprisonment of prominent Hungarians for allegedly conspiring to overthrow the Government, and of a large group of young people accused of political crimes committed in 1958. Reports of imminent possibility of further executions have also gained currency recently and, viewed against the background of recent trials and executions, such reports are already causing wide-spread alarm and concern.

189. I shall not go into the details of the continued repression of the Hungarian people by the present authorities of Hungary. These are well covered in the report of the United Nations Representative.

190. What is clear from the report is the inescapable conclusion that the Hungarian people are still subjected to measures of repression and to constant fear. And,

under the shadow of the continuing presence of Soviet armed forces, their rights to the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms and to political liberty and independence continue to be denied to them. The persistent refusal of the Soviet authorities to co-operate with the United Nations towards the achieving of the objectives of General Assembly resolutions pertaining to the rights and freedoms of the Hungarian people provides an eloquent confirmation of the conclusion to which I have referred.

191. My delegation feels very strongly that, in view of the continuing repression in Hungary, the United Nations must continue to be seized of the situation. In this regard, we would strongly urge the continuance of the office of the United Nations Representative on Hungary. It is to be hoped that the Soviet authorities will by deeds translate into reality their often-declared adherence to the "spirit of Camp David", thus truly contributing to the cause of international peace and harmony which is the primary purpose of the United Nations. Their co-operation with the United Nations in regard to the Hungarian question will no doubt strengthen the efficiency of this great Organization for the furtherance of this purpose. The remark made by the United Nations Representative in his report on this point is a very pertinent one:

"It is evident that the purposes of the United Nations are dependent for their achievement on the loyal collaboration of Members with the Organization in the application and fulfilment of the resolutions of the General Assembly." [A/4304, para. 2.]

192. In conclusion, I should like to state that, in the light of the considerations which I have set out in this statement, my delegation has decided to co-sponsor the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly.

193. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): My delegation wishes to indicate briefly its position on the question of Hungary.

194. Unfortunately, the circumstances in which we begin discussion of this subject are, once again, no more favourable than in previous years. In that connexion, the report of the United Nations Representative is enlightening as regards the measures taken by the Hungarian Government to prevent him from carrying out the mandate conferred on him by the Organization. The position continues, therefore, to be one in which the authorities of a Member State are refusing to give effect to a legitimate resolution of this Assembly.

195. We do not believe it is necessary to restate our country's attitude towards the events which so disturbed world opinion four years ago. Final judgement has already been passed upon them by the world's conscience. Suffice it to say that the memory of the events which took place in Hungary in October 1956 is still as fresh in the minds of my country's people, and of all the free peoples of the world, as it was at the time of their occurrence. We shall never be able to forget those sad days when we were forced to witness with heavy hearts the sacrifice of a people loyal to traditions which have given them an honourable place among the worthiest and most virile nations of the earth.

196. There is no point in repeating now everything that was said when the question came before the Assembly for the first time. At that juncture, my delegation took occasion to make unmistakably clear its

views on the crushing of Hungarian sovereignty by foreign forces and on the subsequent martyrdom to which the Hungarian people were subjected for the crime of having set more value upon their beliefs and their freedom than upon their own lives.

197. At the present stage, what we have to do is to decide our attitude towards the fact that the United Nations Representative has been unable fully to discharge his task, because the Government of Hungary has not only failed to provide him with the necessary information but has not even allowed him to cross the frontiers of its territory. In spite of this, he has been able to collect evidence indicating that the position in Hungary is far from having changed for the better.

198. There are thus two aspects to the question now before us: first, non-compliance with the Assembly resolutions; secondly, the continuance of a system based on the denial of the most elementary human rights.

199. With regard to the first aspect—non-compliance—my delegation believes that its gravity far exceeds that of the concrete circumstances leading up to it. Not merely has it so far proved impossible to carry out a specific inquiry ordered by this Assembly; what is also at stake is the moral authority of the United Nations itself. For, if this procedure of ignoring the decisions of our Organization were to spread, there would no longer be any point in our meeting to adopt resolutions on any subject whatsoever. Organizations with no armed force behind them depend, for their effectiveness in action, solely on the respect which they inspire. If they are systematically treated with disrespect, that respect turns into contempt, and it is then but a very short step to their enfeeblement and disappearance.

200. If, therefore, we wish our decisions to carry weight and inspire confidence, we cannot simply adopt them and then disinterest ourselves in what happens to them. We must follow them closely and ensure that they are carried out. And if anyone opposes them, it is likewise our duty to apply suitable sanctions. These sanctions may be merely moral sanctions, since our power is a moral one. But the fact that we cannot enforce our decisions does not mean that we should be content with cynically shrugging our shoulders. We must at least denounce any failure to carry out our resolutions.

201. In the present case, disobedience as to the substance has been combined with discourtesy as to the form. The United Nations Representative tells us, in his report, that a written communication addressed by him to the Hungarian Government's representative with the United Nations, dated 14 May 1959, was returned to him unanswered. It was returned through the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Now, the gesture of returning a letter to the sender constitutes, both at the personal and at the diplomatic level, a discourtesy the seriousness of which cannot be disguised; and, in the present case, it is aggravated by the fact that the person subjected to this affront not only has been entrusted with a mandate by our Organization but also is an internationally respected figure who has been President of this Assembly.

202. As for the second aspect, my delegation wishes to draw special attention to those parts of the report which refer to the present situation in Hungary. The fact, already noted, that the United Nations Represen-

tative has not been allowed to enter Hungarian territory necessarily limits the extent of the information embodied in that document. None the less, the report contains matter indicative of the fact that there exist, in Hungary, circumstances to which we cannot remain indifferent.

203. In this respect, we feel that the following clarification is essential: if these circumstances in Hungary are of concern to us as representatives of States and not only as human beings, that is mainly because they have their origin in an episode of an international nature.

204. Not all the systems prevailing in the world are to our liking. But our unshakable loyalty to the principle of non-intervention keeps us from interfering in them so long as they are not foreign in origin and do not endanger international peace and security. We do not believe that there can be any doubt as to the foreign origin of the situation still prevailing in Hungary. For this reason, and this reason alone, we consider that the United Nations has the right and the duty to examine it.

205. With this clarification, we pass to the facts mentioned in the report, and find, with deep regret, that repressive measures are continuing or are now—three years after the event—being applied. We would draw attention, in particular, to the carrying out of death sentences during this year and the condemnation of twenty-six accused persons to hard labour, the shortest sentence being five years. We are distressed, furthermore, by the information that the execution of other death sentences is imminent.

206. We do not wish to analyse the report in detail, since all representatives are acquainted with it. The facts which we have just mentioned seem to us sufficient justification for asserting that the Hungarian people, as a result of an episode of an international nature, are still being deprived of their freedom and their rights.

207. The twenty-four Power draft resolution on the subject under discussion represents, in view of the circumstances on which we have just commented, the minimum action which the United Nations can take. It simply deplors the continued disregard of General Assembly resolutions and calls upon the parties concerned to co-operate with the United Nations Representative. We hope that this moderate language will be interpreted, by those to whom it is addressed, not as a sign of weakness but rather as the expression of an inflexible desire that the Government of Hungary should, by a decision freely taken, restore a régime compatible with the principles of the Charter which it has sworn to observe, and with standards which ensure the dignified coexistence of human beings.

208. In accordance with that hope we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

209. Mr. SHAKA (Nepal): My delegation, while speaking on the question of Hungary on many previous occasions, has made its position clear in relation to the events that took place in Hungary in 1956 and the way in which this question, in our opinion, should be approached. If I want to restate our position today, it is because we feel that our stand on this question has to be reviewed from time to time in the light of current developments that have the effect of relaxing the international tensions.

210. If we recall only for a moment the state of world public opinion at the time when those events took place, we can easily find how deeply moved and disturbed were the feelings of the peoples in many countries, and particularly in the small countries like my own. The struggle of Hungary became practically a symbol of the struggle of a small country against a big and powerful neighbour to follow its own way of life and line of thought in international politics. The aspirations, the longings and the desires of a small country to live its own life appeared to have been seriously tampered with.

211. Hungary was a small country, independent, and recognized as such at the time by the rest of the world, including the Soviet Union. Again, Hungary had at the time a government headed by the late Mr. Imre Nagy, a government which was recognized as the lawful and effective government by the entire family of nations, including the Soviet Union. The only fault of this government, if that could be called a fault, was to demand, in deference to popular wishes, the withdrawal of foreign troops from its territory and proclaim its neutrality in respect to the two military blocs in the world.

212. Now, in an hour of grave crisis in 1956, this independent small country, through its lawful government of Imre Nagy, made a desperate appeal to the United Nations to come to her assistance and save her. My delegation felt that the United Nations must respond to the appeal and do all it could to help Hungary. Our stand was based on the realization that what had happened to Hungary could happen to any other small country in the world.

213. We know that the United Nations remains yet to be perfected as an instrument of protecting legitimate freedom and the interests of the small nations against being encroached upon by the mighty and the rich. But however imperfect an instrument the United Nations may be, for this purpose it is the only one to which small countries like mine can have recourse in times of their trial and distress. The price Hungary had to pay for the profession of her neutrality and freedom had yet, in another way, a special significance and meaning to a country like mine that believes in a policy of non-alignment and no military pacts of any kind and seeks to pursue an independent foreign policy of judging every international issue on its merit, without committing itself beforehand to any course of action for or against anyone.

214. This, of course, has nothing to do with our ideological inclinations and sympathies, which are only too well indicated by our earnest efforts to set up and work out institutions of representative democracy. Situated as we are between the two vast land masses of Asian civilization, we, for our part, have always relied for the maintenance of our freedom and security on the steadfast and conscientious practice of what has now become fashionable to call peaceful coexistence.

215. From our own experience, I must say that our reliance on this principle has served us well enough, since Nepal has survived as a separate and independent entity throughout her history, even in times of great upheavals as a result of which empires rose and fell on both sides of her. What would have become of us if either one of our two great neighbours thought it necessary to take us under its protective wing for whatever the reasons may be? Our faith in the principle of peace-

ful coexistence as the very basis of our survival has been reinforced by our own experience in history.

216. So great is our faith in self-reliance in this matter that my Prime Minister, Mr. Koirala, who is a great friend of India and has fought for India's independence as much as for freedom in his own country, reacted to Prime Minister Nehru's declaration that an attack on Nepal would be taken as an attack on India by politely saying that this expression of friendliness on India's part did not in any way imply her coming to Nepal's rescue without being requested by Nepal herself to do so. I must say that Mr. Nehru, two days later, in a highly commendable spirit approved of the construction put on his earlier declaration by the Prime Minister of Nepal. This is only to show how a pattern of relationship between two countries, big and small, could operate successfully and smoothly on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

217. I have taken the liberty to make these brief references to my own country in this respect because our reaction to any international event can best be interpreted or understood in terms of our own national feeling and experience. We have prized freedom more than anything else in our history and, by the same token, we cannot remain indifferent to the denial of freedom to any other country. When the United Nations fails to respond to the plea of small nations for rescue and help against the forceful domination by the bigger nations, we have reason to be deeply concerned because, in the case of nations like mine, as I have already said, the United Nations, however imperfect, is the only source of protection on which we can draw in times of our real need.

218. My country looks up to the United Nations not only as an organization of peace but also as an organization to which the small countries can look for their security and survival.

219. Looking back, therefore, over the past years during which the United Nations action has unfortunately met with little success, my delegation feels that it could not have taken any other line under the circumstances from what it did.

220. We regret that the authorities in Hungary have not found it possible to co-operate with the United Nations in this respect. The United Nations resolutions have been defied and the United Nations Representative has not been permitted to get into Hungary. Because of this non-co-operation, the United Nations action has remained largely ineffective.

221. In spite, however, of the lack of progress on the Hungarian question, my delegation realizes that the international political situation has somewhat improved. There has been quite a constructive exchange of views between the Western and the Communist statesmen. This improved atmosphere has often been popularly described as the "spirit of Camp David". We do not want to do anything that will arrest the relaxation in international tension.

222. So the position, as we see it is that, while the Hungarian question remains unsolved in spite of the United Nations resolutions, the climate of tension between the East and the West has improved. When we now submit, as before, that the question of Hungary be taken up, we are told that we are fostering the prolongation of international tensions which is far from our intention. The smaller countries which entertain no

dream of world domination or of dominating even a geographical region, have no interest in tensions, conflicts and war, whether hot or cold. We know that the map of the world is always redrawn at the expense of the smaller countries after every war. Thus, a small country like my own has a vital interest in peace. This being so, it is far from our intention that international tensions should continue.

223. Many delegations have drawn comparisons between Hungary and Tibet. It seems to us that the comparison does not hold good. So far as Tibet is concerned, in spite of the fact that the recent developments that led to the Dalai Lama's exile had pained us deeply because of our cultural and religious ties with Tibet, we cannot quite overlook the fact that the political existence of Tibet apart from China as an independent political entity has never been recognized.

224. To be frank, we are still faced with the dilemma which the following quotation from my speech of 2 October 1957 reflects:

"To those who were inclined from the beginning to believe that the Assembly's action on Hungary would be altogether futile, may I pose a simple and direct question: If the Assembly had passed over in silence the intolerable situation that occurred in Hungary last fall as a result of foreign armed intervention, would it have redounded to the credit of the United Nations in any way? Would such a course of action have better served the cause of peace, humanity and the freedom of smaller nations? In my opinion, such an attitude of timidity or inaction on the part of the United Nations would have seriously damaged its reputation as an organization pledged primarily to secure the freedom and rights of every Member nation.

"Because we have failed, for the reasons discussed at length in the earliest part of my statement, to evolve a military arrangement for collective security, must we also desist from the unhindered expression of collective opinion and also from the limited exercise of collective influence and authority in the exclusively moral sphere of judgement and faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter?" [698th meeting, paras. 57 and 58.]

225. In a situation like this, when we take up the question of Hungary, we wish to make it clear that we would appreciate if the People's Republic of Hungary responded positively to the United Nations resolutions, and we believe that it is necessary for the United Nations to express itself unequivocally on such questions so that the Hungarian experience will not be repeated in the future.

226. All nations like ours claim the right and freedom to discover and work out, each in its own way, the social and political form of organization. We can only hope that the Soviet Union will show respect for the inalienable right of the Hungarian people, and make this possible for them.

227. It is in this hope that my delegation will vote for the draft resolution on the question of Hungary.

228. Mr. ALVES MOREIRA (Portugal) (translated from French): An honest review of the years which have elapsed since the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet army should enable us to assess what has been accomplished by the United Nations as also what remains to be done—and that is very considerable. A people has

lost its national freedom, and so far the Soviet Union, despite the free world's unanimity of views on the subject, has not found it possible to comply with international law. On the contrary, it has invoked the Warsaw Treaty to legitimize its aggression. The free world has tried to put a halt to the Communist advance, which has been carried out against the manifest will of the majority of the inhabitants of the conquered countries, by appealing to the Soviet Union's good faith. Nothing has been achieved, however, and everything indicates that today the threat is aimed not only at Europe but at Africa and Asia as well.

229. The "Lebensraum" colonialism imposed on the Hungarian people on the pretext of security is not of such a nature as to permit us to accept with blind trust the peaceful coexistence which the Communists invite us to share. This is an important point. As part of the policy of "peaceful coexistence", the Soviet Union—and, along with it, the entire Communist world—is calling for an intensification of trade, but it should be noted that economic solidarity has the effect of furthering peaceful international relations only to the extent that political problems are kept within manageable bounds. To maintain the contrary would be to forget that the great belligerent Powers, in 1914 and in 1939, had previously maintained commercial and financial ties such as will never be established with the Communist countries. If tension between the two blocs were relaxed, the development of trade would follow rapidly and without any particular effort on either side.

230. The Hungarian problem is one of the major sources of tension in relations with the Soviet world. If we are to speak of the spirit of Camp David as a spirit of understanding, we must begin by accepting international law, which should have the same meaning for everyone. The United Nations is often compared to a beacon, yet as the Sermon on the Mount tells us, "neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but in a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house".

231. The spirit of Camp David should not be interpreted as signifying that we should forget those in Hungary whose independence and human dignity and, in many cases, whose very lives have been taken away from them. The Charter of the United Nations clearly condemns the action of the Soviet Union, and refer-

ence to the Warsaw Treaty is irrelevant inasmuch as the first article of that Treaty specifically precludes resort to force. Nor can we recognize the validity of the appeal addressed to the Soviet Union by the Kádár Government, since this Government was established by the Soviet army. The Nagy Government, on the other hand, which was the legitimate Government of the country but was overthrown by the Soviet troops, had asked the Soviet army to withdraw from Hungary.

232. At the twelfth session of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation proposed in the Sixth Committee a definition of aggression in accordance with which a State whose armed forces, even without a declaration of war, invaded the territory of another State would be recognized as an aggressor.^{2/}

233. It was stated in the same proposal of the Soviet Union that "any revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes" could not be used as justification for aggression.^{2/} It is thus clear that, in the spirit of its own proposal, the Soviet Union is a self-styled aggressor in connexion with the Hungarian question.

234. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that no justification can be found in international law for requesting foreign assistance in suppressing an internal revolt. The Soviet Union, consequently, has no valid reason for refusing to agree to legitimate intervention by the United Nations.

235. My delegation has therefore deemed it timely and appropriate to associate itself with the sponsors of the draft resolution calling on the Soviet Union to give proof of its good faith. We are not seeking to defend one form of civilization as against another but rather to defend civilization itself, which the Soviet Union persists in denying to the Hungarian people by force.

236. This is the spiritual and moral context in which we see the problem. In our view, the United Nations must not abandon the Hungarian people, and I should like to add that my delegation's best wishes go to Sir Leslie Munro, the United Nations Representative, in his humane and courageous endeavour.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 16, annex II, section 1.

