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**President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).**

**AGENDA ITEM 5**

**The situation in Hungary (*continued*)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Representatives will remember that the General Assembly, at its 564th meeting, on 4 November, adopted a resolution [1004 (*ES-II*)] on the situation in Hungary. It was also decided at that meeting that the delegations which were on the list of speakers would have an opportunity of explaining their votes at a future meeting.

2. First, I recognize the representative of Hungary on a point of order.

3. Mr. SZABO (Hungary): On behalf of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, I wish to declare that the recent events in Hungary must be considered as internal affairs of my country, and therefore I have to protest categorically against the consideration of the item called "The situation in Hungary" by the General Assembly. I refer the Assembly to the declaration of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic of 28 October 1956 contained in document S/3691, stating that the events which had recently taken place in Hungary and the measures taken in the course of those events were exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic and consequently did not fall within the jurisdiction of the United Nations. In connexion with this, let me refer to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter.

4. The appeals sent by Mr. Nagy to the Secretary-General contained in documents A/3251, S/3726 and S/3731, have been declared invalid by the new government of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Mr. Janos Kadar. Therefore those appeals cannot be regarded as official. This declaration of the Hungarian Government, which has just been distributed among the members of this Assembly, unfortunately three days later than it was sent by the Hungarian Government to the Secretary-General, reads as follows:

"The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary declares that Imre Nagy's requests to the United Nations to have the Hungarian question discussed in the United Nations have no legal force and cannot be considered as requests emanating from Hungary as a State. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government objects categorically to any discussion of the said question either by the Security Council or by the General As-

sembly because that question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic. (*Signed*): Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary; Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs." [A/3311.]

5. Finally, I wish to inform the President, the Secretary-General, and the representatives, that, according to the latest information I have just received from Budapest, the restoration of order and calm is almost finished, not only in Budapest but also in the rest of the country. The normal life in the country is starting again, the workers are resuming their jobs; the shops and stores are open; transportation is functioning; education in the schools has begun today, and, with the active participation of the people, the repairing of damage and the work of reconstruction has started.

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair has taken note of the statement made by the representative of Hungary, but, as representatives know, the Assembly agreed to include this item in the agenda and as a result a resolution has been passed on the subject. The debate will therefore continue.

7. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): There are no words in any language to describe the sorry spectacle we have just been offered by the so-called representative of Hungary, who occupied this rostrum a few moments ago. A young man comes here to give his blessings to the murder of over 65,000 of his fellow countrymen, and tells us that nothing has happened in Hungary.

8. I should like to record my protest and complete disagreement with his statements and to declare that, in the eyes of the Government of Cuba, he represents neither the people nor the Government of Hungary.

9. For obvious reasons, the Government of Cuba did not maintain diplomatic relations with the Government of Hungary. However, in time, the Government of Cuba came to regard it as a *de facto* government. Now, however, I am expressly instructed by my Government to state that it does not accept this new government even as a *de facto* government, that it does not recognize its existence and that it hopes that all the Governments which represent the free peoples of the world will follow our example and not grant recognition of any kind, explicit or implicit, to a government which has been formed solely through the armed intervention of Soviet troops.

10. The last time this subject was discussed in the General Assembly [564th meeting], the debate was conducted according to a somewhat unusual procedure: the Assembly decided, at the proposal of the representative of the Philippines, to close the debate and proceed immediately to the vote, with the result that those who, like ourselves, were on the list of speakers, were prevented from taking the floor and presenting our amendments, so that our statement really become explanations

of our votes. My delegation had intended to submit various amendments to the draft resolution before the Assembly.

11. The Government of Cuba considers that what has been done by the Soviet forces in Hungary is a flagrant violation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which the Soviet Union and Hungary have not only signed but ratified. In our view, the situation is covered by article II of the Convention, which mentions the killing of members of a group, for it cannot be ignored or denied that over 65,000 Hungarians have been massacred by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, which had no right whatsoever to intervene in what were certainly the internal affairs of Hungary.

12. This opinion of the Government of Cuba is shared by many jurists and experts in international law, and it also has the approval—which is, in our view, most important—of Pope Pius XII, who has made an appeal to the world from Rome stating clearly and unequivocally that what has occurred in Hungary is a flagrant violation of the Convention on genocide.

13. It is clear from official sources that over 65,000 people have been killed, and even more wounded, in Budapest and elsewhere in Hungary. A report published in *The New York Times* of 3 November under the headline "Soviet brutality in Budapest told" makes it clear that the Soviet army was not attacking Hungarian troops or military personnel, but civilians, doctors, nurses and other persons who had nothing whatever to do with the fighting. Dr. Katona, the medical director of the Istvan Korhaz hospital, in Budapest, is quoted as saying:

"Modern history has no equal to the Soviet barbarity here. They burned twenty ambulances coming to the aid of the wounded. They have killed or wounded half our personnel . . . [A young woman] asked a secret police truck for a lift home because she was carrying a heavy sack of food. She was shot . . . [A] seventy-two-year-old man was shot because he helped a woman carry bread and potatoes through a gate."

14. In a statement published in *The New York Times* on 29 October, Monsignor Bela Varga, former President of the Hungarian Parliament and now President of the Hungarian National Council, said that the bloodshed committed by Soviet troops in Hungary constituted genocide. The venerable Hungarian leader is absolutely right.

15. Article II of the Convention on genocide says that genocide means also the destruction in part of a racial or religious group. This notion of partial destruction makes the Convention a valuable instrument, particularly in cases where an attempt is made to deprive a nation of an *élite* which promotes unity among the other sections of the population and is an inspiration to them. This is a case of genocide applied to a nation. When a man receives a blow on the head, his whole body is paralysed. That is exactly what the Soviet Union has been doing to the captive peoples of Europe in recent years. The peoples concerned have been calling our attention in vain to this kind of Soviet genocide.

16. Despite our civilized conscience, we take our decisions only under the emotional impact of human suffering. The Hungarian blood which has been shed cries out to us so loudly and compellingly that we cannot refuse to act.

17. Fifty-four countries—the last being Iran and Argentina—have ratified the Convention on genocide, which is the international guarantee of the survival of the Hungarian people and of other oppressed peoples and minority groups throughout the world. It is a guarantee to which the Soviet Union and its satellites have subscribed; we are therefore entitled to ask the Soviet Union the question that was asked of Cain, "Where is Abel, thy brother?"

18. But the grievous events in Hungary, this crime of genocide, are the customary tactics of the Soviet Union. Such tactics are commonly used in the Soviet Union itself, and this is no unsupported statement on our part. In the speech in which he accused Stalin, Mr. Khrushchev said that Stalin had committed the crime of genocide against the Tartars in the Crimea, the Germans of the Volga, the Kalmucks and other Caucasian peoples. So, when I say here that in Hungary the Soviet Union has violated the Convention on genocide, I am not telling representatives anything new. All I am saying is that the Soviet Union is now doing in Hungary what Stalin repeatedly did in the Soviet Union.

19. I wonder whether Mr. Khrushchev can be accused of slander, as I was, when, at a previous session of the General Assembly, I accused Stalin of being the greatest criminal in history.

20. Under the Charter, there can be no doubt at all that the consideration of this question lies within the competence of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is a case of interference by a foreign Power in the internal affairs of Hungary.

21. When the representative—or the alleged representative—of Hungary read out the telegram from the so-called Budapest government, and when he spoke of internal affairs, I hoped that he would raise his voice in protest against the action of the Soviet troops in Hungary, for this massacre by the Soviet troops, which is still continuing, is precisely the most flagrant case of interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. The entire free world has been horrified by the acts the Soviet Union has committed.

22. The simple-minded people who are still to be found in the free world thought that the change of policy of the Moscow Government after the disappearance of the Stalinist leaders was a genuine one. They believed that the smiles and flattery the Soviet leaders bestowed were sincere, and that a radical change had taken place in the policy of the Soviet Union. It is clear to us who know them well that the change was only a change of tactics, not of purposes. They continued to maintain an iron imperialism, dominating an enormous number of countries and oppressing them in defiance of all reason or justice.

23. The peoples of the Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—and of Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Outer Mongolia, Eastern Germany, North Korea, North Viet-Nam and China, remain beneath the yoke of the Soviet Union; that, as I have said before, is the most extraordinary example of imperialism and colonialism in modern times or in the annals of mankind. And yet, to our astonishment, representatives of the Soviet Union and its satellites come here and castigate other nations for their imperialism and past colonialism, when the acts of the other nations are past history, whereas those of the Soviet Union are being perpetrated even now. At the present time, the only imperialist and colonialist Power is the Soviet Union, which in Europe alone,

against all principles of reason and justice, dominates over 96 million people. This is an undeniable truth.

24. What can we do in the case of Hungary? The voice of the Hungarian radio is still imploring the free world for help, even for medical supplies, which the Soviet Union refuses to the wretched victims of its attacks and depredations; the radio of free Hungary is begging all the peace-loving nations to come to Hungary's aid, and I would emphasize that if the United Nations does nothing for the cruelly persecuted Hungarian people, it will most certainly lose much of its prestige and authority, for it will then be said that the United Nations does not challenge the Soviet Union when it infringes the clear and unequivocal terms of the Charter.

25. Now that a resolution on this matter has been adopted [*resolution 1004 (ES-II)*] and is in force, we must consider the next steps, which must necessarily lead to the refusal of recognition of the Hungarian Government, and to the exclusion of the self-styled representative of Hungary, who represents no one but the butchers of the Hungarian people. We must denounce before the whole world the Soviet Union's violation of the Convention on genocide. We must again insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary. The United Nations must take efforts to secure the organization of free elections in Hungary, so that the Hungarian people can decide their own future, as they are entitled to do in accordance with the categorical provisions of the Charter. We, as free peoples, must oppose this invasion, which is contrary to the rule of law and to international law, carried out by the bloodthirsty troops of the Soviet Union. If we do not help the Hungarian people in this way, if we do not prove up to the hilt that we utterly reject this action by the Soviet Union, the United Nations will have failed in its duty.

26. I hope that all Member States, with the exception of the Soviet Union and its satellites, will agree to take the appropriate and logical steps to help the Hungarian people, who are the victims of an act of aggression without precedent in history.

27. Let me repeat what I said in the Security Council, that the Latin American States voted in another case to defend the rights of Egypt, as we were convinced that the clear and unequivocal provisions of the Charter had been violated. We should not like the Assembly to be divided, and use one set of standards and sanctions in one case and another in the case of Hungary, merely because the Soviet Union is involved. The Cuban delegation will take the same stand in all cases, for all Member States should comply with the provisions of the Charter.

28. As long as this is not done, as long as we have among us a State like the Soviet Union, which makes a mockery of all our decisions, which does not comply with any of the provisions of the Charter, which does not respect human rights, which commits such unprecedented acts of aggression as it has committed in Hungary, the United Nations will not have enough authority to safeguard the peace of the world. If we stand firm in both cases, and call upon the Soviet Union to fulfil its obligations as we did in the case of the United Kingdom, France and Israel, I am certain that the United Nations will have sufficient authority to command the respect and admiration of all men of good will throughout the world.

29. I therefore call upon the General Assembly to take steps to prevent the consummation of this abomi-

nable attack on the sovereignty and freedom of the Hungarian people, who are worthy of a better fate and have won the admiration of all right-thinking people by the gallantry with which they have fought for their freedom.

30. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): I should like to raise a point of order in connexion with the statement made a few minutes ago by a gentleman purporting to speak on behalf of the present Government of Hungary. I do not think I am mistaken if I say that, a couple of days ago, that same gentleman spoke in the Security Council on behalf of another government. This being so, I think it would be appropriate to ask whether the Secretary-General is in a position to give us information concerning the credentials of the gentleman who spoke here as a representative of Hungary.

31. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The point raised by the representative of Denmark will be brought before the Credentials Committee at today's meeting.

32. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): Last Sunday, 4 November, because of the adjournment of the debate, I had no opportunity to explain the vote of my delegation, and I should like to do it now.

33. The Polish Government recognizes and supports the right of every nation to decide its own fate, and the right of every nation to regulate its international relations on the basis of sovereignty and equality, as well as the right of all nations to solve their own affairs through their own efforts and by themselves.

34. From the very beginning of the recent events in Hungary, the people of Poland have taken a sympathetic position towards those elements in Hungary which base their stand on socialism and democracy. The people of Poland immediately organized the dispatch of food and medicines to their brothers, the people of Hungary.

35. On 24 October, the then Hungarian Government called the armed forces of the Soviet Union to Budapest. My Government does not pass judgement on the merits of that decision. Later, and again upon the request of the Hungarian Government, Soviet troops evacuated Budapest.

36. As the result of the new situation created by the emergence of elements hostile to the prevailing social system and using terrorist methods, and due to the fact that the Hungarian Government had lost control of the developments, a new government was formed. That government, basing its action on the necessity to defend the constitutionally guaranteed social system, again called on the Soviet forces for help. The new government declared that one of its first endeavours would be the settlement of the question of the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops, in agreement with the USSR.

37. Therefore the Polish Government considers that one should not interfere with the Hungarian Government in its task and its endeavours to regulate, through negotiations which it has announced, the problems connected with the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops in Hungary.

38. For these reasons, the Polish delegation voted against the draft resolution presented by the United States. I should like to add that if, on 4 November, the draft resolution had been voted paragraph by paragraph, my delegation would have supported several parts, such as, for instance, the first, second and fifth paragraphs of the preamble, and paragraphs 7 and 8

of the operative part, which request help for Hungary by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

39. Mr. TSIANG (China): The sentiments of the Chinese people with regard to the crisis in Hungary have found expression in a resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly on 6 November. That resolution contains three points. In the first place, it condemns the aggression of the Soviet Union against Hungary. In the second place, it demands the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the dispatch of an international police force to maintain peace and order in that war-torn country. And, in the third place, it asks for international guarantees of Hungary's independence and freedom. I shall soon transmit the official text of that resolution to the President of this Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

40. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the United States on 4 November. In voting for it, we regretted that we could not do more. We were certain that we could not do less, because at bottom its terms were dictated to us by the principles of our Charter and by our individual human consciences.

41. What does that resolution do? In the first place, it asks the Soviet armed forces to stop shooting and killing the people of Hungary. Could we have done less? Could we have pretended that there was no shooting and no killing, or could we have justified or excused that massacre of the innocent people of Hungary? No. We could not have done less.

42. In the second place, it asks for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Again I ask, could we have done less? I do not think so. Given what we insisted upon in connexion with the crisis in the Middle East, at least, by the same standards, we should not and could not have done less.

43. In the third place, the resolution affirms the right of the Hungarian people to have a government responsive to the wishes and desires of the Hungarian people. Could we have done less? We who remember the right of self-determination in our Charter—we could not have done less.

44. Then, finally, the resolution asks the Secretary-General to investigate and report again. In regard to that point, likewise, we could not have done less.

45. I voted whole-heartedly for that resolution, but I wish it had contained some other clauses. For example, I wish it had mentioned Cardinal Mindszenty. When the representative of the United States, Mr. Lodge, informed the Security Council [754th meeting] and then, later, the General Assembly [564th meeting], that the United States legation in Budapest had given asylum to His Eminence, my immediate reaction was that the United States legation in this matter was, in fact, morally acting on behalf of all civilized mankind, and I wish that our resolution could have reflected that sentiment. Although Cardinal Mindszenty has found asylum, the fate of the other leaders of Hungarian freedom is to be dreaded. I wish our resolution had spoken out for humane treatment for those heroic strugglers for freedom.

46. As it stood, the resolution was a good resolution. It was worthy of the great country that sponsored it. It was worthy of those who voted for it.

47. In that vote, I noticed that there were 54 votes in favour, 8 against and 15 abstentions.

48. The negative votes were cast by the Soviet Union and its satellites. That was to be expected; it is in line with the atrocities that have been committed in Hungary.

49. I was sorry and disappointed to see so many abstentions. If I am not mistaken, there was not a single Arab vote in favour of the resolution, and several Asian delegations—delegations which, ordinarily, are in the forefront as regards all matters concerning human rights and self-determination—found it necessary to abstain from the vote on that important occasion.

50. I wonder whether these delegations of Asia and Africa mean to tell us that the principles of the Charter are good only for Asia and Africa, and not for Europe. Is our support for these great principles to be limited to particular regions and particular conflicts? In a measure, I understand the Arab abstentions. I suspect that the Arab delegations were labouring under the diplomatic necessity of keeping the Soviet Union's support during the first emergency special session of the General Assembly. I do not, however, think that that consideration justified the abstentions, and I would say that even as a piece of diplomacy the move was not shrewd.

51. I should not like to be frank on this point. I am convinced that the crisis in Hungary is more serious than the crisis in the Middle East. I should also like to say that the solution in Hungary is infinitely more difficult than the solution in the Middle East. Let us have no illusions. It is important that we in the General Assembly, and the world in general, should understand the deep meaning of these tragic events in Hungary.

52. In the first place, the events in Hungary have revealed the reality and the nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism. During the last three decades, Soviet propagandists have continuously told the peoples of Asia and Africa that capitalism is inseparable from imperialism and colonialism, that at some stage capitalism inevitably develops into imperialism. These same propagandists have told the peoples of Asia and Africa that Communism, by its very nature and definition, could never be imperialist or colonialist. The events in Hungary tell us that the latest, as well as the darkest, chapter in the dark history of European colonialism and imperialism is constituted by the Soviet imperialism and colonialism in Hungary. If people required further evidence on this point, the events in Hungary have furnished the final and indisputable evidence. Hereafter, no one could have any legitimate reason for doubting the reality and the nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism.

53. In the second place, Soviet propagandists in recent years have preached the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. The events in Hungary have shown us the real meaning of the Soviet conception of coexistence. Here, the Soviet Union finds it impossible to coexist with an independent and neutral Hungary. In the Soviet interpretation of coexistence, there is no room for Hungarian independence and Hungarian neutrality.

54. These events have taught us another lesson. In recent years, there have been a number of thinkers and writers, both here in the United States and in other parts of the world, who have wanted the world to accept the *fait accompli*, who have wanted the world to write off the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe and Asia. They have tried to persuade us that the world must simply stomach the tyrannies within the Iron Curtain. They have said that the people in those countries—unhappy though they may be, dissatisfied though they may be—have, after all, accepted the existing régimes.

<sup>1</sup> The text was subsequently reproduced as document A/3318.

The events which have occurred in Hungary in the last two weeks have demonstrated the falsity of that view of the enslaved and captive peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia. We find that, after ten years of indoctrination and brainwashing, the Hungarian people have retained the usual, the common human love for freedom and for country.

55. These, I think, are the deeper meanings of these tragic events in Hungary. All the world is indignant. The public Press and radio of all countries have sought words to express their sense of anger, disappointment and astonishment at the brutality of Soviet actions in Hungary.

56. In my opinion, one of the best expressions of our common sentiments in these grave days is to be found in an editorial published in a great newspaper, *The New York Times*, on 5 November 1956. This editorial is entitled "We accuse", and I think that it is worthy of being read out in full to this Assembly.

"We accuse the Soviet Government of murder. We accuse it of the foulest treachery and the basest deceit known to man. We accuse it of having committed so monstrous a crime against the Hungarian people yesterday that its infamy can never be forgiven or forgotten.

"Lenin wrote in 1900: 'The Czarist Government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends it to suppress other peoples rising against their slavery (as was done in 1849 when Russian troops put down the revolution in Hungary).' How apt these words sound today when we substitute 'Soviet' for 'Czarist', and 1956 for 1849.

"Hatred and pity, mourning and admiration, these are our emotions today: hatred for the men and the system which did not hesitate to shed new rivers of innocent Hungarian blood to reimpose slavery; pity for the Soviet soldiers, duped into thinking they were fighting 'Fascists' when they killed defenseless or nearly defenseless men, women and children; mourning and admiration for the heroic Hungarian people, who feared not even death to strike for freedom.

"Gone now are the last illusions. Moscow now stands self-exposed. The torrent of Soviet bullets yesterday did not kill only Hungary's freedom and Hungary's martyrs. Those bullets killed first of all the picture of a reformed, penitent Russia seeking to repudiate Stalinism and practice coexistence. Could Stalin have acted more barbarously than did his successors yesterday? Can we have any doubt now of what awaits us if we ever relax our vigilance and permit ourselves to become prey to Soviet might, as was Hungary yesterday?

"The day of infamy is ended. The foul deed is done. The most heroic are dead. But the cause of freedom lives and is stronger than ever, nurtured by the blood of those who fell martyred in freedom's cause. The Hungarian people will never forget. We shall not forget. And out of hatred and tears is born the resolve to carry forward the struggle till freedom is triumphant."

57. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): I should like to explain why the Bulgarian delegation voted against the inclusion of the so-called question "The situation in Hungary" in the agenda of the emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and also why we voted against the draft resolution proposed by the United States.

58. The Bulgarian delegation considers that a great noise has been raised over the "situation in Hungary" with the only aim of diverting the attention of world public opinion from the brazen and unprovoked imperialist attack on the Egyptian people. The aggressors want to hide behind a new smoke-screen, to turn the attention of the people of the world to Europe, while they go ahead with their plundering of the Arab peoples.

59. The course of events in the Near and Middle East during the past few days has shown this. The Press in the countries of the aggressors and in the countries of their supporters, by means of sensational and slanderous writing against the Soviet Union, the Hungarian People's Republic and other peoples' democracies, is concealing the landing of the British-French aggressors, which is spreading, in Egypt. The landing started just a few hours after we had voted for a second resolution [999 (ES-I)] insisting that within twelve hours the aggressors should stop their armed attacks on the peace-loving Egyptian people.

60. In reply to this decision of the General Assembly, the British-French aggressors launched landing operations on Egyptian territory. We were very much surprised that, instead of our being called on 4 November to a meeting to deal with the situation created in the Middle East after the expiration of the twelve-hour time-limit set by the Assembly, we were called to another meeting, for which there were no serious grounds.

61. Both at the meetings of the special session of the General Assembly and at a number of Security Council meetings, we listened to all sorts of slanderous "explanations" of the developments which had taken place in Hungary during the past few days. When one hears these speeches and compares them to the actual situation in Hungary, one is bound to be surprised that it is possible for some to stress the opposite, untrue side of these developments. And indeed, it is not very difficult to see the truth about the events in Hungary, even if one reads the American newspapers, even if one sees the photographs printed in the American Press, or even if one follows the television commentaries in the United States.

62. With careful study, these information media alone will show that the Soviet army units are legitimately in Hungary under the defensive Warsaw Pact, that the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic sent an appeal for the Soviet army to support it in the struggle against the imperialist agents and provocateurs, that anti-people's elements, open Fascists, Nazis, Horthy supporters, criminals, robbers released from prison, engaged in acts of vandalism in the course of days. They slew and hanged innocent people in the streets, broke shop windows and looted stores, broke into offices, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest, and destroyed files, piled heaps of progressive books and burnt them, as Hitlerites had done twenty years ago. They destroyed the treasury of Hungarian culture. For example, they burned down the well-known Budapest National Museum. A few days ago, I saw a television programme which showed rioting gangsters destroying one of the most beautiful statues of St. Gellert in Buda and the monument erected in honour of the heroic Soviet army which had liberated from the Nazis not only the Hungarian people, but also all peoples.

63. In this state of affairs, it is clear who has caused the bloodshed in Hungary. It is clear that the bloodshed has been caused by the Hungarian and foreign Fascists. The Soviet army units were sent to help the Hungarian

people to cope with the foreign agents, sent by their masters, who were coming over from their centres in West Germany. The Soviet Union and the allies assumed the obligation, under article 4 of the Peace Treaty with Hungary, not to allow the revival of fascism in any form, because fascism is a danger to international peace and co-operation.

64. Those who lost millions of people in the struggle against fascism, those whose brothers, fathers and relatives perished under the fascist oppression, were obliged, when the Hungarian Government appealed to them, to help the people against the rising fascist elements, instigated by interested circles in some countries. Information is available that a large number of the agents of the imperialists in Hungary had entered the country during the previous few days from the western borders of Hungary. Documents, facts and considerable material show who was at the bottom of this rioting and of this dire plot against the Hungarian people.

65. I am not going to speak about the hundreds of millions of dollars which the imperialist circles in some countries spend on subversive activities. I do not intend to emphasize again what were the purposes of the Christmas and other appeals and messages sent to Hungary and other peoples' democracies.

66. I should like to read an excerpt from an article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, which was published on 29 October of this year. This article points out very clearly who is behind the instigators of this rioting, where the centre is of those who committed the acts of vandalism in Hungary. This article reads as follows:

"The full twenty-nine transmitter battery of Radio Free Europe, which is supported by American contributions to Crusade for Freedom"—we know what is meant by "Crusade for Freedom"—"is now in around-the-clock operation to Eastern Europe. The Radio Free Europe staffs in New York and Munich are working on a twenty-four hour a day emergency basis.

"Radio Free Europe, which transmits news and other programmes daily into Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland from West Germany and Portugal, is one of the two chief operations of the Free Europe Committee, which has New York headquarters at 110 West 57th Street. The other programme is the Free Europe Press, a programme in which small newspapers and other material are printed, attached to balloons, and floated into Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. More than 280 million pieces of material have been dropped by the high altitude balloons."

67. Bearing all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation declares once more that there are no grounds for condemning the Soviet Union for what has happened in Hungary. But there are grounds to condemn the ruling circles in other countries which have attempted to shift the responsibility from themselves to the Soviet Union. With false and alarming information, they are trying to make use of the General Assembly of the United Nations for their own purposes.

68. Having all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation voted against the draft resolution of the United States. That draft envisaged interference in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Bulgarian delegation declares again that the General Assembly has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary, which is a free and independent country. Today, we have before us a definite declaration of the Hungarian Government [A/3311], in which it states that it

"objects categorically to any discussion of the said question either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly because that question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic".

69. The Bulgarian delegation fully supports the declaration of the Hungarian Government and considers that the so-called question of the situation in Hungary must be dropped immediately from the agenda of the emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

70. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): It was with a feeling of great emotion that my delegation supported the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation on the Hungarian situation. My Government views with the deepest concern and anxiety the evil actions that the Soviet Government is perpetrating in Hungary, with the ruthless repression, by means of brutal military force, of the noble and glorious efforts of the Hungarian people to regain their independence and liberty and to form their own government.

71. Once again we have seen and are seeing what certain slogans, so piously voiced by Soviet leaders and with which they conduct their foreign policy, really mean to them and what their purpose is. The slogans might sound like celestial music to certain faraway listeners, but the way they are practised in the home of an unfortunate neighbour of the USSR is before the eyes of the world to see. All that mankind has achieved in civilized behaviour through centuries of struggle and evolution, all the most fundamental principles of international law which were painfully evolved, are at this moment being trampled once more by Soviet armed might, this time upon the soil of heroic Hungary, in a clear-cut case of violent foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a country.

72. Last Sunday, 4 November, with its vote on the United States draft resolution, this Assembly expressed its protest against and revulsion at the misdeeds now being committed in Hungary by the Soviet Government in implementation of what it probably considers quite an attractive form of "coexistence". Let us, even at this late hour, and despite the rosy picture of the situation in Hungary described by a previous speaker, continue our efforts to help the Hungarian people to assert their fundamental rights and to try to reduce their tremendous sufferings. We have for them the mandate of the outraged conscience of the free world.

73. The history of mankind has proved that moral principles and forces eventually prevail. The monolithic Soviet empire has within it the seeds which will bring about its own disintegration. As the tragic events of these last few weeks have unmistakably shown, such seeds are already germinating. Although the Soviet leaders obviously think otherwise, the rivers of blood which are flowing in Hungary on account of the merciless bombing and shooting of the defenceless and patriotic citizens will not stop the final triumph of those natural forces.

74. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*translated from French*): The statement just made by the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic and the telegram from the Hungarian Government to the Secretary-General [A/3311] are of major significance. In its telegram, the Hungarian Government strongly objects to the consideration of the Hungarian question either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly as it is a matter solely within the jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic. These statements need no

comment. However, as a draft resolution was presented and a vote was taken, I should like to explain my delegation's position in the matter.

75. As a result of the anti-popular and imperialistic policy of the Horthy régime, the Hungarian fascist army fought in the Second World War on the side of the Hitlerite armies bent upon enslaving the peoples of Europe. It fought against the anti-fascist coalition in which the great Powers played a decisive role.

76. Eleven years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, relatively too short a period in which to change the line of thinking of a group of dangerous men, having regard to their earlier pretensions. They are precisely the vengeful men, abetted by foreign reaction, who have embarked upon an adventure prejudicial to the interests of the Hungarian people.

77. During those eleven years, the Hungarian people have achieved marked successes in the democratic development of the country. Many mistakes have been made during that process. The forces of reaction have taken advantage of those mistakes to wipe out the democratic gains made by the Hungarian people. The activities of the reactionary elements in Hungary have obviously long been enjoying foreign support. Former officers in Horthy's fascist army have been carefully trained in Western Germany and elsewhere to fight the system of people's democracy in Hungary. We know why balloons equipped with so-called meteorological equipment flew over Hungarian territory. I might say, by the way, that similar so-called weather balloons have also been sent over Albania. If the authorities which sent them aloft had done so for genuinely meteorological reasons, we could have provided them with the meteorological information they desired, immediately and without cost.

78. What results have been achieved by the fascist reactionary movement organized in Hungary? The reactionary forces destroyed factories and other works built by the labour of the Hungarian people. They attacked State buildings and social organizations. Worse still, these reactionary elements spread terror by killing honest men. The streets of Budapest and other Hungarian cities offer the appalling spectacle of the corpses of men who were slaughtered, shot or hanged.

79. The forces of reaction were further encouraged in these fascist activities when the Horthy officers crossed the border. As a result of this tragic situation, the country's life was paralysed.

80. Such a situation could obviously not be tolerated. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic took the necessary action and, with a view to ending the situation as soon as possible, requested the assistance of the Soviet army units which were in Hungary pursuant to the Warsaw Pact. That lawful government of Hungary was precisely the one which presented the Hungarian people at the time of the signature of the Warsaw Pact.

81. This emergency special session of the General Assembly is, in fact, a manoeuvre to mask the situation in Egypt arising from the Franco-British aggression. The real object in convening this emergency special session of the General Assembly was to put an end to the hostile attacks carried out by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against the Egyptian people.

82. The latter are in a tragic situation. The aggressors have used the techniques of modern warfare. Jet aircraft have bombed and strafed the population. The Suez Canal, vitally important, particularly to the peoples

of Europe and Asia, has been blocked by those who claim to be acting in order to safeguard freedom of navigation. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly have been rejected. The United Kingdom and France have adopted delaying tactics while at the same time they continue their armed attack in Egypt. It must be noted with regret that at its [755th meeting] of 5 November 1956, the Security Council declined to consider the draft resolution proposed by the Government of the Soviet Union. The United Kingdom and France have promised to cease fire but, according to the telegram sent to the Secretary-General yesterday and to the latest news on the radio, British and French armed forces are continuing their hostile operations and are firing upon civilians as well as soldiers in Port Said.

83. A cease-fire order is said to have been given. A cease-fire, while representing substantial progress, cannot contribute to the settlement that is desired unless accompanied by the withdrawal of the aggressor forces. We have already heard statements which make it clear that the armed forces of the aggressors do not in the least intend to withdraw. Israel, for instance, has stated that it has not the slightest intention of withdrawing from the Sinai peninsula.

84. Egypt must be granted its lawful right to a free and independent life in its own territory. The General Assembly must not merely pore over the map. It should adopt such specific measures as may be required for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East and in the world.

85. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): Our delegation is glad to have this opportunity of explaining to the Assembly the reasons why, and the feelings with which, we voted for the resolution about the situation in Hungary which the Assembly adopted last Sunday, 4 November, on the proposal of the representative of the United States.

86. One of our principal reasons for voting for the resolution was that we wanted to bear testimony, by so doing, to the deep indignation and the intense grief which we in Ireland feel at the violent repression of the rights and liberties of the Hungarian people by the armed forces of the Soviet Union. What has happened in Hungary in the last five or six days is surely one of the blackest chapters in the history of our times. That the world should be forced to witness such a spectacle at this stage in the history of human progress is a reproach to our civilization and a challenge to all the values which this Organization exists to preserve.

87. Even as late as last Saturday, 3 November, the picture of events in Hungary was still confused. Even then, there seemed to some to be still a slight possibility that the Soviet Union would agree to withdraw its troops from Hungary and that the Hungarian people might be free again to have a government of its own choice. We now know that that was merely wishful thinking. Whatever doubts we may have had in interpreting the previous developments, however, none of us can be under the slightest misapprehension or illusion now as to the significance of what has taken place since Sunday. The Soviet Union has claimed that it intervened in Hungary in response to the desire of the workers of that country to defeat a counter-revolution of landlords and capitalists. By what right or title does the Soviet Union claim to speak or act for the workers of Hungary or, indeed, for any other section of the Hungarian nation? Surely there must be few people in the world so gullible as to be deceived by so hollow and cynical a pretext.

88. The conclusions to be drawn from recent events in Hungary are quite unmistakable, and it is well, I think, that we in this Assembly should state them plainly so that the people of Hungary may know that we do not misjudge or misunderstand them but that, on the contrary, we honour them and sympathize with them, and feel for them deeply in all the horror and tragedy of their plight. The conclusions we draw—and they are all either stated or implied in the Assembly's resolution—are that the domination of Hungary by the Soviet Union is an outrage to the national pride of the Hungarian people and utterly abhorrent to their sense of national dignity and their spirit of independence; that the totalitarian régime imposed on Hungary by the Soviet Union had become so hateful to the people, so repugnant to their love of liberty and their religious and political traditions, that a widespread popular revolt embracing all sections of the community, and prepared to face any sacrifice rather than continue to suffer an intolerable tyranny, arose to put an end to it; and that the Soviet Union has now used its armed forces on Hungarian soil to overthrow the government set up by this popular movement and to set up a puppet régime of its own, contrary to the wishes of the Hungarian people and in violation of the rights of self-determination and political independence guaranteed to Hungary by the Charter.

89. As, for the moment, we are merely explaining our votes on the resolution of 4 November, it would scarcely be in order, I expect, to suggest any new step at this stage. I hope, however, that we shall not simply lie back and leave the resolution of 4 November where it is, but that we shall continue to use the moral authority of the United Nations, which during the past week has proved itself a potent and constructive factor in another context, to assert the indefeasible rights of the Hungarian nation and to safeguard the principles of the Charter.

90. Whatever it may be possible to do, however, let us not yield to a feeling of despair. As we in Ireland know, the sense of nationhood, the urge to national self-determination, never dies. It is handed on from generation to generation, fortified by the example of its heroes and inspired by the memory of its martyrs.

91. In our times, we have seen historic nations lose their freedom and independence only to regain them triumphantly. We are profoundly confident that the gallant Hungarian nation, which has won the admiration of the world by its heroism, will rise again to enjoy the national freedom and independence which are its natural right.

92. But if the ideals of freedom and self-determination are to retain their moral force and continue to inspire free men and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, they must be preserved from the advocacy of false and treacherous friends. As the representative of China recalled in his speech this morning, among the Members of the United Nations which have in the past held themselves out as champions of the right of national self-determination is the Soviet Union. It has been diligent in asserting the right of subject peoples to political independence and in dispensing its benedictions to nations struggling to be free.

93. I speak of the professions of the Soviet Union in the past. I cannot say what its professions on this matter will be in future, or what effect they are likely to have on those to whom they are addressed. I know that for us in Ireland—and I venture to think that for the peoples of many other of the smaller nations represented here—any mention in the future of national

independence or anti-colonialism or the right of self-determination by any spokesman of the Soviet Union will always evoke in our minds a single name, a name on which the courage and endurance of a very gallant people have shed a great and undying glory, the name of Hungary.

94. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): As the representative of Cuba stated earlier today, the debate on this item at the previous [564th] meeting of this session was suspended in order to permit of the adoption of the draft resolution before the Assembly; we too, therefore, are here today to explain the position of our Government in this matter.

95. If, at that time, it had been possible to present amendments to the draft which subsequently became General Assembly resolution 1004 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956, we should certainly have associated ourselves with those who wished to qualify the scourge which, according to all available information, is being visited upon the people of Hungary, as the heinous crime of genocide.

96. Our purpose in meeting here at this time is to conclude the general debate which was suspended, in order to rally to the support of a people deserving of admiration and, from this world forum which is the voice of the conscience of mankind, sustain them in their tribulations along the new *via dolorosa* of their destiny.

97. I do not know whether the resolution adopted by the General Assembly will gain the same measure of acceptance as other resolutions have sometimes gained or failed to gain. I do not know whether, in this case of violation of the principles of the Charter, our resolution will meet with more response. The only response consistent with the position of the United Nations, the response that we try to elicit in questions such as this, is a response based on human rights. But this much I can say on behalf of my delegation: our message and our wishes go out at this time to the people of Hungary in the tremendous trial to which they are subjected at this moment of their historic destiny.

98. On 4 November, after the Security Council had been unable to consider and to solve the problem, we fulfilled the duty we had undertaken by examining the matter and adopting a resolution. Having heard some of the statements made this morning and having taken note of the points of view expressed from this rostrum by other delegations when we started to consider this question, we find that, with respect to both the political action directed from outside and the violation of fundamental human rights which has accompanied it, the only objection to our consideration of this item is based on the principle of domestic jurisdiction under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

99. As on previous occasions when dealing with respect for or, as in the present case, the violation of fundamental and sacred human rights, my Government cannot accept that objection. We maintain that international jurisdiction is unlimited when it is a matter of preserving and observing human rights. That is what we have maintained on numerous occasions, whether in the case of Hungary or of any other part of the world. We say that, since the establishment of the Charter, human rights, which were ultimately to be embodied in an international covenant binding upon and present in the life and destiny of mankind, cannot be disregarded, nor can they be outside the scope of an international forum such as the General Assembly of the United Nations, whose only and immutable law is



the Charter, the principles and purposes of which are the sacred text of the new law on earth.

100. How can an objection based on the ground of domestic jurisdiction be validly raised against the consideration of a clear case of violation of national sovereignty, of human rights enshrined in the Charter, of fundamental rights sacred to man in every part of the world? I would recall that the men who met at San Francisco, while the flames of a war fought to free the world were still blazing, wrote, in the preamble of the United Nations Charter, that the peoples of the United Nations were determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

101. How can it be said that the representatives of all the nations of the free and freedom-loving world who met at San Francisco proclaimed those rights and principles in the preamble of the Charter, only to include in Article 2, paragraph 7, a provision which would completely repudiate the basic principle upon which the United Nations was built? We cannot speak of domestic jurisdiction when this international covenant, this international law which is the United Nations Charter, has given universal jurisdiction to the observance of human rights. We cannot believe that paragraph 7 of Article 2 was included in the next breath in order to provide a stealthy means of violating those same human rights and exposing the dignity of the human person to every possible arbitrary act.

102. We followed the debate in the Security Council on this question, and we voted in favour of the draft resolution adopted by the General Assembly. We should have preferred the observers mentioned in paragraph 5 of the resolution to be appointed and given their terms of reference by the General Assembly itself, although we have nothing against the provision that the Secretary-General should be empowered to appoint them. All in all, however, we consider that the United Nations has in that resolution reaffirmed with respect to the Hungarian problem those principles of human rights set forth in the Charter.

103. A few days ago, we were concerned with another case of protecting human and national rights, when we were considering the ultimatum sent by two nations to Egypt and the military action which was to follow. At that time, we expressed our disapproval of any act of force committed by a nation seeking to place itself outside, above and against the United Nations Charter by taking upon itself the right to police the world. Having upon that occasion supported those principles whose disregard would mean a return to the ancient ways which have been abolished for all time, we have all the more reason today, in view of what has happened, to say that we have voted in favour of that draft resolution because the destiny of the Hungarian people is so dramatically at stake.

104. One thing is clear in the world of today. No arbitrary act, however powerful, can destroy man's freedom, the essence of his life. No deployment of heavy steel tanks, filing by like monsters, will succeed in crushing the destiny of a people and the rights of man. No reference to domestic jurisdiction, which has so frequently been invoked, will prevent the General Assembly, the voice of the conscience of mankind, from taking action. No force, however great, can prevail over the destiny of the world and the conscience of man. There is something stronger and greater than the combined military power of all the empires on earth. It is a small

and fragile thing known as human rights, exposed for centuries to the danger of being trampled under foot, the danger of arbitrary action; that simple thing which says: "My dignity requires me to live with all the prerogatives of the human person". Those rights, proclaimed in the Charter and on the basis of which the United Nations was established, are the new moral values, the new power, the new empire which finally have raised their torch in the name of justice and freedom to illuminate for all time the path of future generations.

105. I do not know what fate is in store for the resolution which the General Assembly has adopted. I do know that I must say here what I said on a previous occasion on behalf of my delegation and my Government. And so I say that we could not protest in the case of Suez and remain silent in that of Hungary; that we cannot use two different standards for the appraisal of arbitrary acts; we can use only the standard set by the Charter, which has made this General Assembly the true custodian of the destiny and rights of mankind.

106. I wanted to express my delegation's views in connexion with the resolution which we supported, and at the same time to express our solidarity and our hope to the new martyrs of our times.

107. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): My delegation voted against the resolution of 4 November 1956 on the situation in Hungary. Under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, the United Nations is not authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. The resolution represents interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. It violates the terms of the Charter. That is why it could have no effect.

108. It is true that the resolution referred to the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. But an essential provision of that Treaty, article 4, categorically prohibits the activity of fascist organizations in Hungary. Recent events in Hungary have shown that fascist elements had touched off a rebellion against the Hungarian State. The sequence of events in Hungary has confirmed the Romanian Government's opinion that there actually was a fascist rebellion. It was directed against the essential features of the structure of the Hungarian State as established by the Constitution, and went so far as to abolish all legality. Fascist elements created anarchy and with outrageous violence attacked the institutions of the State and the fundamental human rights on which the democratic Hungarian régime was founded. Elements which in the past supported the terror of Horthy rose out of the shadows of the past and engaged in the systematic slaughter of Hungarian patriots, in opposition to the representatives of the democratic power.

109. It was in these tragic circumstances, which threatened to transform a glorious country into a vast holocaust, that the Hungarian Government appealed to the Soviet troops, under the terms of the Warsaw Pact, to help it put an end to the serious danger confronting the country.

110. Obviously, a rebellion of such magnitude could not have broken out without large-scale assistance from outside, and the facts confirm that. It should be noted that the representatives who want a discussion of events in Hungary by the United Nations have not uttered a single word of criticism concerning the slaughter and criminal violations of the freedom and rights of the Hungarian people. It is perfectly clear that the Nagy

government was both unable and unwilling to halt those excesses.

111. Consequently, the Romanian Government took the view that a very serious situation had arisen in Hungary, but that it was a matter essentially within the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Government. The Romanian Government welcomed the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, the only lawful government representing the people's democracy, the form of government chosen by the Hungarian people.

112. The Romanian Government is convinced that, on the basis of the programme announced by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, accepted and supported by the Hungarian people, the situation in Hungary will receive a natural solution in keeping with the organic structure of the Hungarian State.

113. Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that the rebellion of anti-democratic elements has been overcome and that life in democratic Hungary is resuming its normal course. United Nations debate of events in Hungary can only serve the interests of the fascist anti-democratic elements, the interest of the groups which are trying to generate international tension and to disturb the peace.

114. In conclusion, the Romanian delegation considers that the United Nations, which is founded on the principle of non-intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, is not competent to discuss the item entitled "The situation in Hungary". We are convinced that, by discontinuing discussion of the item, we shall make the only valid contribution to a sound and rapid solution of this internal matter concerning the Hungarian people.

115. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): At our previous [564th] meeting, when it was urgently necessary that the General Assembly should come to a vote as quickly as possible, the three Benelux delegations decided not to take up the time of the meeting by making separate statements, and the representative of Belgium then spoke for all of us. Now that there is a little more time, I should like to add a few words to what he then said—not because I have any new ideas to propound, but because I feel it my duty to testify from this rostrum to the horror and the indignation felt by my countrymen at the barbarous action of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

116. On 4 November, all the democratic political parties in the Netherlands—that is, all the parties with the exception of the Communist party—published a statement which I should like to read to the Assembly. It reads as follows:

"In a strong feeling of brotherhood, all mankind has suffered with the people of Hungary struggling for its liberty and independence. The Russian treason in Hungary threatens to destroy the freedom for which the Hungarian people has fought so hard.

"In strong indignation, and deeply hurt in its most sacred feelings, mankind protests against the murderous attack on the brave Hungarian people, which is almost powerless and defenceless against the ruthless aggressor.

"In this tragic hour, the Netherlands political parties, upholding the right of freedom, jointly call on the Netherlands people unanimously to give expression to their loathing for the Communist violence."

117. On 5 November, at the request of the Netherlands Government, all the flags in the Netherlands were flown at half-mast.

118. The next day, the Prime Minister announced in the States General that medical and other civilian aid was being dispatched to the Hungarian frontier, and that it had been decided to admit and to provide homes in the Netherlands for 1,000 Hungarian refugees.

119. Those are the feelings and the deeds of the people of the Netherlands in this matter so far.

120. May I add that, when I was last in Budapest, I remember there stood on the high left bank of the Danube a huge statue, a statue of Saint Gellert, which held in its outstretched arm the cross over the city of Budapest. I do not know whether that statue still stands, but I do know that what it symbolizes—faith, liberty, justice and human dignity—will win out in the end over Soviet terrorism.

121. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): Because of the closure of the debate at the last meeting at which the Assembly dealt with this item, I had no opportunity to state the views of my delegation. I need hardly emphasize, however, the great concern with which Yugoslav public opinion and the Yugoslav Government have been viewing the recent tragic events in Hungary.

122. The reasons for our interest and our concern are many. Hungary is a neighbouring country, and our relations with this neighbour have played a considerable, if not always happy, role in our history. We also have a natural interest in the developments that are taking place in Eastern Europe, and especially in the efforts that are being made to establish relations between the countries of that region on the basis of independence, sovereign equality and friendly co-operation.

123. The trends that have been coming to the fore in Eastern Europe of late are known, although they are not always fully understood. The basic feature is a striving towards an increasing measure of democracy on the social foundations that were laid as a result of the last and, may I add, irreversible changes that occurred in those countries in the aftermath of the Second World War. These trends have not always developed in the same manner in the different countries. Where these trends have been allowed to run their course without outside impediment, they have been developing in a more or less smooth and generally orderly manner. Where, on the contrary, attempts have been made to retard them or to divert them into channels which reflect a wholly unrealistic tendency to put the clock back and establish the pre-Second World War social and political patterns, the result has been strife and turmoil. That is what has happened in Hungary.

124. It might be useful at this point to try to retrace the course of these happenings, as they are frequently distorted and befogged. The genuine and legitimate strivings of the Hungarian people to develop their national life in accordance with the historic and social conditions of the country and to achieve a growing measure of democracy and independence met neither with a prompt nor a ready response. Changes long overdue were still delayed. A state of increasing tension was thus brought about.

125. When the Nagy government came to power, matters were rapidly getting out of hand. A state of chaos and anarchy was becoming the dominant feature of this fluid and more confused situation, which was being abundantly exploited from various sides. Demands were put which no government could possibly meet overnight.

Violence not only against those who bore responsibility for the injustices of the former régime, but also against numberless innocent citizens, was rampant. It was becoming increasingly obvious that there was little or nothing that the Nagy government could do to cope with the situation. This unfortunate situation was made even worse by various forms of interference from outside with the more or less openly avowed purpose of restoring the pre-war régime and at the same time changing the basic relationship of forces in Europe.

126. Conditions in Hungary were thus deteriorating to a degree which precluded any possibility of orderly democratic development in Hungary itself, but constituted a potential danger to peace. That deterioration reached its climax some days ago when a state of almost complete chaos and anarchy gripped the country. Amid the rapidly worsening situation, a split occurred in the Nagy government, and a new government was formed. This new government has defined its programme along the main lines of the strivings which caused the Hungarian people to rise to arms on 23 October 1956. This shows how powerful and profoundly anchored those strivings are. No one can any longer afford to ignore them, as they clearly provide the only possible basis for a normal political life in Hungary.

127. However, this is not the whole picture. There is the question of the involvement of Soviet troops in the internal affairs of Hungary. There can be no doubt as to where my Government stands with regard to such an involvement. We have always opposed the intervention of foreign armed forces in the internal affairs of a country, as it is contrary to the fundamental principles upon which the entire foreign policy of my country rests. We still hope, in view of the declaration of the Soviet Union of 30 October 1956, that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn.

128. Yugoslavia has always strongly advocated the line of strict non-interference in Hungary's internal affairs and of full respect for its sovereign rights. All we wish is that the people of Hungary should enjoy the freedom and the independence to which they are fully entitled, and that they should advance along the paths of democracy and social progress in accordance with the best interests of the Hungarian nation. It is our fervent hope that conditions will be soon established in which this will become possible.

129. The less interference, from whatever source, there is in their internal affairs, the better it will be for the Hungarian people and for the peace of the world. The Hungarian people are surely mature enough to settle their own problems in accordance with their interests and their wishes.

130. The United States draft resolution, taken as a whole, did not seem to us to indicate a course which might lead to an improvement of the situation in Hungary, and my delegation, therefore, abstained in the vote thereon. I wish to add, however, that there are

several paragraphs in that draft resolution for which I would have cast an affirmative vote, had a vote been taken on them.

131. Mr. JARRING (Sweden): May I briefly state the reasons why the Swedish delegation voted for the resolution adopted by the emergency special session of the General Assembly in the matter before us.

132. The Swedish delegation finds it natural and necessary that world opinion, represented by the General Assembly of the United Nations, should have been given an opportunity to express itself on what has happened and is now happening in Hungary, one of those States which only a year ago was admitted to this Organization. This new Member State, like all other Member States, is entitled to insist on the implementation by the other Members of a principle embodied in the Charter: the principle of developing "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". This Member State can also point to the fact that all Members have accepted principles and instituted methods to ensure that "armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest".

133. The Swedish people, like so many other peoples in the world, has breathlessly followed the drama now unfolding in Hungary. We have been torn between hope and fear when witnessing the fight of the anonymous mass of the Hungarian people against foreign domination. This has been a truly democratic revolution. It has been carried out by thousands of heroes under unknown leaders. It is doubly tragic to witness how this fight for freedom is being suppressed by foreign armed forces.

134. All States that have pledged themselves to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States have reason to protest with indignation against the act of violence now being committed in Hungary. The State committing this act of violence officially declared its adherence only a few days ago to the principle that the stationing of troops on the territory of another country required the consent of that other State. In Hungary, foreign troops, contrary to this principle, have not only been maintained there but have been brutally used to suppress a popular rising.

135. Those responsible for the intervention in Hungary have drawn upon themselves a heavy burden of guilt. May they not add to it by ignoring the opinion that has been expressed by this forum of nations.

136. Finally, let me say that we of the Swedish delegation have noted with regret that quite a few States which on other occasions have stressed emphatically the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States have seen no reason, when voting on this resolution, to demonstrate this attitude of theirs with regard to the recent events in Hungary.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*