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President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 67

Question considered by the second emergency special session of the General Assembly from 4 to 10 November 1956

1. The PRESIDENT: It will be recalled that the General Assembly decided, at its 576th meeting, that the present item should be dealt with directly in plenary meeting as a matter of priority and without reference to a Committee.
2. I would call representatives' attention to the fact that the Cuban delegation has now issued a further revision of its draft resolution [A/3357/Rev.2].
3. I call on the representative of Hungary on a point of order.
4. Mr. SIK (Hungary): We have asked to speak on a point of order for the purpose of reading out the following *communiqué* issued by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary on 18 November 1956 [A/3367]:

"During these last few days, hostile elements have been alarming public opinion and trying to create panic by circulating various provocative rumours which do not correspond to reality. Among others, they are circulating rumours that mass arrests are taking place in the country and that young people and other persons are being deported to the Soviet Union.

"In connexion with these false rumours, the Government considers it necessary to inform the population of the following:

"The defence of the interests of the working people nowadays imposes upon the authorities the vital duty of searching for and rendering harmless counter-revolutionaries, terrorists, anti-social instigators and armed bandits who appear from time to time at places of work and prevent, by means of threats and terror, the working people from resuming and continuing their work. Similarly, our authorities are instructed to render harmless the still considerable number of thieves, bandits and other common criminals who still commit outrages, prevent the restoration of law and order in the country, and threaten public order and safety.

"In order to carry out this task in full measure in the shortest possible time, our authorities and mili-

tary units charged with the maintenance of order are compelled to make arrests.

"The panic rumours about the deportation of persons arrested to the Soviet Union constitute a provocation invented by counter-revolutionary circles who are becoming more and more impotent and powerless. In reality, not one of the persons arrested has been deported from the territory of Hungary. The aim of these provocative, false rumours is to create distrust in the Government, to disturb the tranquillity of the population, and to create obstacles in production, on the one hand, and to try in such a way to undermine relations between the population and Soviet army units, on the other.

"In connexion with the arrests, it should be pointed out also that the cases of all arrested persons are being thoroughly examined. If it is established that the person concerned did not commit a capital offence and did not carry out activities dangerous to society, the person is released from prison without delay.

"If it is established in the course of investigations of the person held in custody that he has committed a capital offence, this person is handed over to the competent Hungarian prosecutor or court for the purpose of legal proceedings.

"The Government calls upon the population not to give credit to the false and panic rumours which are provocations, not to believe their propagators, and firmly to oppose them, resorting to the help of the authorities whenever necessary."

5. The Hungarian delegation considers that this declaration by our Government makes it clear that there is nothing for the General Assembly to discuss.

6. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): The statements made from this rostrum a moment ago by the gentleman who claims to represent the Government of Hungary abundantly demonstrate the complete accuracy of all our accusations.

7. Before I go further, I wish to emphasize my complete rejection of his description of the Hungarian patriots who have offered their lives for the cause of freedom as "thieves" and "common criminals" and place on record our formal protest against the use of the term. The common criminals are those who have murdered over 65,000 defenceless Hungarians in Budapest; those who are sending Hungarians into exile in Siberia and other remote parts of the Soviet Union, carrying them off as if they were cattle, not human beings. The criminals are not those who are fighting solely for the principle of self-determination, which is guaranteed by the United Nations Charter and is the reason for our Organization's existence.

8. Hungary has been transformed into a vast graveyard. There are no words to describe the acts committed in Hungary by the army of the Soviet Union; those acts have no precedent in history. A reign of terror has been established in which no one can express his thoughts

freely. Homes are being invaded by Soviet troops; men, women and children are being arrested and brutally deported from Hungary; every day hundreds of people are shot, while an outraged humanity looks to the United Nations as the only one that can put an end to the butchery. I hope that the members of this Assembly are fully aware of the high responsibility which has devolved upon them.

9. We regard it as utterly inadmissible that any State, however powerful it may be—and the Soviet Union is powerful—should violate our Charter, violate the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and contribute to the violation of a peace treaty to which it is a party.

10. We regard it as utterly inadmissible that there should be two categories of States in the United Nations: those which comply with United Nations resolutions and those which do not, those which daily make a farce of our resolutions and are repeatedly guilty of the same errors and infractions, and those which come here and steadfastly try to apply the rules of international law and morality sincerely and uprightly. That is why I am certain that the draft resolution I am about to present [A/3357/Rev.2] will be approved by a majority of Member States.

11. What has happened in Hungary? The story must be told again. Some representatives must be reminded of it lest they forget. What has taken place in Hungary is an invasion by a foreign army of over 200,000 soldiers, with 5,000 tanks, directed against an absolutely defenceless people; the slaughter of over 65,000 completely defenceless citizens, and the imprisonment of vast numbers of citizens, who have been deported to the Soviet Union simply because they were guilty of wishing to be free men and of considering themselves free men.

12. The reason for this is that the Soviet Union maintains that it has the right to prevent its "satellite" peoples from thinking freely, from expressing their opinions freely, and from having the form of government they desire. In the opinion of the Cuban delegation, this is a clear and patent violation of the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary.

13. Let us see what Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter of our Organization provide with respect to this matter. Article 55 reads as follows:

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

"(a) Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

"...

"(c) Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Article 56 reads as follows:

"All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55."

14. I ask the representatives whether what the Soviet Union is doing in Hungary does not constitute an ob-

vious violation of Article 55 of our Charter, and an even more obvious violation of Article 56, which the Soviet Union undertook to carry out to the letter when it signed the Charter.

15. In accordance with sub-paragraphs (a), (c) and (e) of article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, genocide means the killing of members of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, the infliction on a group of conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction, in whole or in part, and the forcible transfer of children of the group to another group. I would ask representatives whether the acts which have been and are being committed in Hungary, in particular the deportation of women and children to places outside Hungarian territory, do not constitute a flagrant violation of the Convention, to which the Soviet Union and Hungary are parties and which both have ratified.

16. That is not all; article 2 of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, which entered into force on 15 September 1947, reads as follows:

"1. Hungary shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of Press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting.

"2. Hungary further undertakes that the laws in force in Hungary shall not, either in their content or in their application, discriminate or entail any discrimination between persons of Hungarian nationality on the ground of their race, sex, language or religion, whether in reference to their persons, property, business, professional or financial interests, status, political or civil rights or any other matter."

17. I ask representatives whether the régime in Hungary is at present complying with the provisions of article 2 of the Treaty of Peace. Does freedom of expression exist? No. Does freedom of religious worship exist? No; the Primate of Hungary, after being unjustly imprisoned for many years by the Hungarian authorities then in power, has had to seek asylum in the hospitable legation of the United States in Budapest. Is there the slightest guarantee in Hungary of freedom to express an opinion that dissents from those imposed by the Soviet army? To those questions there is only one possible answer: no. Thus the Treaty of Peace also has been violated.

18. It has been argued by the gentleman who claims to represent the Government of Hungary that this is only propaganda to impress world public opinion. Are 65,000 dead propaganda? Are the 25,000 refugees in Austria propaganda? Is the indisputable fact, admitted by the Budapest official radio, that certain individual prisoners have been taken outside Hungarian territory, propaganda—even though now they have come here to correct that statement and say the exact opposite? No, this is not propaganda. On the contrary, it is a fact well known to world public opinion, and that is why in every city the great masses, even those of the extreme left, have risen in horrified protest against the crimes which the Soviet Union has committed and is still committing in Hungary.

19. Of course it is very easy to come here and call the present speaker a slanderer. "These are slanders", "these are unjust accusations", "this is not the truth"; but if you go through the records of the sessions of the last five years, you will see that every one of the

accusations that I have made against the conduct of the Soviet Union has been admitted by Soviet officials themselves.

20. When I accused Stalin of committing the crime of genocide, I was accused of being a slanderer, and afterwards Mr. Khrushchev in his celebrated speech admitted that Stalin had in fact committed genocide. When I said here last year [552nd meeting] that the Cardinal Primate of Poland had been unjustly imprisoned and religious freedom did not exist in Poland, a representative who still sits in this Assembly rushed to the rostrum and said indignantly that I was a slanderer, that the Cardinal had not been deprived of liberty and that there was complete religious freedom in Poland. And now we read in official statements of the Polish Government that it is only now that they have set the Cardinal Primate of Poland free, and that it is only now that a degree of religious freedom has been permitted. This shows that I have never come here to engage in calumny or to say anything that was not fully borne out by the facts.

21. This is not the first time that the Soviet Union has committed genocide, the forcible transportation of great masses of human beings. What it is doing now, in Hungary, it has done times without number, in Lithuania, in Estonia and in Latvia, in Romania, in Bulgaria, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland. It is not completely true to say, as Mr. Khrushchev said, that Stalin committed genocide only inside the Soviet Union. No, Stalin and the Soviet régime of that time committed genocide in all the satellite States, in the Baltic States, in East Germany, in all the places where they imposed their yoke by force and in disregard of the will of the people.

22. These are facts which no one can deny and no one can ignore, which everyone of us, without exception, knows to be true. And I ask whether the Soviet Union can come here and stigmatize us as slanderers when at this moment twenty more divisions of its army are once again invading Hungary, in spite of our resolutions, in spite of the universal condemnation of these acts, in spite of the fact that the entire free world has risen in protest against what constitutes a flagrant abuse of power.

23. We have presented a draft resolution which, in our opinion, covers every aspect of the Hungarian problem. We have stressed the principles of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, because Cuba was one of the States which, with Panama and India, introduced the Convention in the United Nations many years ago, and because Cuba has ratified the Convention. We believe that our draft resolution can be approved without difficulty even by States which have not ratified the Convention, because we point not only to the violation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, but also to the clear and definitive provisions of the Charter and of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. In other words, we believe that the fact that a State has not ratified the Convention on genocide in no way excuses it from voting for our draft resolution, since we refer to the Convention as a precedent which is binding only on the countries which have ratified it, although the principles embodied in the Convention are such fundamental principles of international morality that I do not believe there is any Member States here which can vote against them.

24. Our draft resolution comes to this. The General Assembly should decide, first, whether it considers it appropriate that the invading Soviet forces, which have

now been increased by 200,000 soldiers, shall continue to occupy Hungary, or whether it considers that they should withdraw immediately, in accordance with the principle of self-determination proclaimed by our Charter. Secondly, the Assembly should decide whether to accept the deportation of men, women and children from Hungarian territory to places as far away as Siberia, to die of hunger, cold and desperation, or whether the Soviet Union and the Hungarian régime must immediately cease these activities, which dishonour mankind.

25. This is what the General Assembly must decide, and since I am sure that the great majority of the Member States believe in the principles of international law, and respect the principles of civilization and morality, I am sure, I repeat, that this draft resolution will obtain a substantial majority when it is put to a vote.

26. Mr. HORVATH (Hungary): Despite the categorical protest of the Hungarian Government, the Hungarian question has several times been placed on the agenda of United Nations organs. It was discussed by the Security Council on four occasions between 28 October and 4 November, and by the second special session of the General Assembly on three occasions between 4 and 10 November. The manner and speed with which this question was put on the agenda were extremely forced.

27. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has already emphasized in three declarations that events in Hungary are to be considered exclusively as the internal affairs of Hungary. A declaration to this effect was addressed to the United Nations by the Hungarian Government on 28 October 1956 [S/3691], when the examination of the events in Hungary was first discussed in the Security Council. Following this, on 4 November, the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government declared that it considered illegal any discussion of the Hungarian question by the United Nations [A/3311]. In its latest reply, in a note of 12 November to the Secretary-General of the United Nations [A/3341], the Hungarian Government declared that the settlement of the Hungarian question fell under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian Government.

28. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter states:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter . . ."

Considering the circumstance that the events of 23 October and subsequent events, as well as the measures taken in connexion with them, fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic, the United Nations has no jurisdiction over them. The discussion of the problem in the United Nations, therefore, constitutes a grave infringement of Hungary's sovereignty and is diametrically opposed to the principles laid down in the Charter. Accordingly, in the name of the Hungarian Government, I must strongly protest against the discussion by the General Assembly of the item "The Hungarian situation" on its agenda.

29. What led up to the events of 23 October and after? As a result of the combined effort of the working class, the peasantry and the professional people, tremendous economic, political and cultural changes had taken place in Hungary during the past twelve years.

The whole face of the country had been changed. Once a backward agrarian country, Hungary had become an industrial country building socialism. Progress had been rapid, but a series of grave mistakes had been made. It can be said that in the past few months the Hungarian Government had become increasingly aware of its earlier errors and had begun to correct the most blatant of them.

30. As is well known, Matyas Rakosi, who in his capacity of State and Party leader was primarily responsible for those mistakes, had been dismissed a few months earlier. Important changes had been made to raise the living standard of the working population. Further revisions in the national economic plan were contemplated. Particularly since the summer, measures had been taken to raise wages in the lowest income groups, to revise the wage-scale of railway workers, and so on. A separate Government decree brought significant increases this September in the salaries of professional people, particularly scientific workers. Certain progress had also been made in the matter of decentralization and the abolishing of red tape in State administration and economic life. Steps had been taken to set free innocent persons convicted in earlier years, to compensate them for the wrong suffered and to reinstate them in their jobs.

31. In the eyes of the masses, however, these measures were carried through with too much delay. The measures as such, and the frank, sincere admission of past mistakes, did much to bring the democratic forces in the country into active play. At the same time, the retrogressive forces also became more active.

32. The greater activity of the working class developed into a popular movement, into mass meetings and demonstrations. Right from the start, certain elements which were hostile to the people's democratic system played a role in these activities. Their design was to utilize the people's justified democratic demands and their extensive movement to overthrow the whole system and to bring back capitalism. In this they counted on an armed support from abroad against the Hungarian People's Republic.

33. All this led up to the events of 23 October, when the peaceful rally of thousands, later swelling to tens of thousands, turned from a patriotic, democratic demonstration deserving support, into an armed movement at the instigation of the enemies of the people's democratic system. At this stage, the Nagy government was formed, which was incapable of becoming master of the situation at the high tide of events. It was unable to carry through the democratic reforms to which it had pledged itself from the start, because the mass movement was transformed into counter-revolution, into a ruthless white terror, into a hostile movement designed to overthrow the system. This was the work of reaction at home, cashing in on general discontent, and of support from abroad.

34. In the beginning, the counter-revolutionaries came forward with modest claims: the return of 200 to 300 acres of land to those from whom it had been confiscated for collaboration with the fascists, and of factories employing less than 150 workers to their original owners. A few days later, and particularly after the speech over the radio by Cardinal Mindszenty calling for the restoration of capitalism, reaction began to campaign for the return of land in full to the estate owners, and of factories to the capitalists. The white terror was raging. The Nagy government was incapable of preventing this.

35. What was more, the composition of the government was becoming more and more rightist. The circles abroad, which had for long been supporting counter-revolutionary elements inside the country, had never given up hope of restoring the detested fascist system of pre-war days in Hungary. It was the same elements which from the start manoeuvred to divert the original democratically orientated movement into counter-revolutionary channels. It is a known fact that Western cliques have been conducting for years, systematically, propaganda campaigns against the people's democratic system.

36. It is well known that the Mutual Security Act, passed in the United States in 1951, devoted \$100 million annually to the support and organization of subversive activity directed against other countries, including Hungary. Everyone will recall the hundreds of balloons sent in recent years, with the help of some Western countries, over Hungary, which carried slanderous leaflets and caused serious accidents.

37. It is clear that the manifestations of the population were used to launch a general attack against the people's democratic régime. It can hardly be called a coincidence that Ferenc Nagy, a former Prime Minister of Hungary and member of the so-called Hungarian National Council—which enjoys the moral and financial support of some American circles—turned up suddenly in Vienna in order to play his role in diverting the popular movement into the wrong channels and to bring into Hungary former Horthy army officers from Western Germany.

38. The Austrian Government had every reason eventually to expel this person from Austrian territory. When all controls on the Austro-Hungarian frontier were suspended for a few days, Hungarian fascists who had passed through the military schools in Western Germany crossed into Hungarian territory. During the last few years, these persons have been kept in readiness to be used, when a suitable occasion arose, to overthrow the people's democratic system.

39. The Western Press supplied plenty of material to show how the recruitment, training and sending to Hungary of these elements, hostile to the people's democratic system, proceeded from 23 October onwards. A correspondent of the French paper *Le Parisien Libéré* reports that he met three Hungarians in Vienna who had taken part in the counter-revolutionary uprising. All three of them had previously fought against the Vietnamese in the Foreign Legion. After the end of the Indochinese war, they settled in France. When the Hungarian counter-revolutionary uprising began, they came immediately to Hungary. The correspondent states further that he learned from these Hungarians that 300 French foreign legionaries had left France for Hungary in order to fight on the side of the counter-revolutionaries.

40. We know from the German Press that 7 Hungarians, former army officers under Horthy, who had left the country illegally and were working in the Eschweiler Bergwerke Verein plants, were suddenly sent on what was described as special leave at the end of October. Similarly, it was suggested by the directors of many other factories in Western Europe that all Hungarians employed by them should be given leave from work. It became known later that groups of such men were formed and sent to Hungary through Austria. After their arrival in the country, they were assigned to military units formed by the counter-revolutionaries to fight against the People's democratic régime.

41. Janos Derian, one of the counter-revolutionaries who was captured, said that he had fled to Austria at the beginning of October from Hungary because he wanted to avoid conscription. Former officers of the Horthy army were recruiting precisely such elements, so, immediately after arriving in Austria, such officers got in touch with him, as did also members of the United States secret service. He, and others like him, were promised arms which would arrive from Western Germany. It was suggested that they should return to Hungary to fight.

42. On 29 October, Janos Derian and others were sent across the Hungarian frontier. According to him, at that time a large number of cars and aircraft bearing the emblem of the Red Cross transported former Horthy officers to Hungary. An account given by a Hungarian witness was published on 1 November in *Wort am Sonntag* appearing in Hamburg. This is what he said about food and medical consignments for Hungary from the German Federal Republic:

"Received the first goods consignment on Saturday. A foreigner who spoke Hungarian extremely well handed over to us four trucks loaded with metal cases and said we should be very careful when opening them. Only later did we realize what he meant. The 200 cases contained hand-grenades."

43. Western reactionary circles did not abandon their base plans even after the Hungarian counter-revolution was defeated. The 10 November issue of *De Telegraaf* reports, concerning the recruitment in Holland of so-called volunteers for Hungary: "This recruitment is at present continuing, headed by Baron Hajdu, a Hungarian *émigré* living in London." According to the paper, 200 such volunteers had come forward so far in Holland. The paper stated that the main aim of the volunteers would be to support resistance in the country so as to call the attention of the United Nations to events in Hungary.

44. And now I should like to say a few words about the regrettable role played by the Radio Free Europe and Voice of America broadcasts.

45. At the time of the aforementioned events in Hungary, Radio Free Europe, which received the support of American circles, broadcast night and day and incited the Hungarian population to rise against the people's democratic system. Mr. Jorgensen, the correspondent of a Danish paper, *Westkysten*, describes the illegal headquarters set up by Radio Free Europe at the time of the events in question, in Austria, in the vicinity of the Hungarian frontier. The headquarters was made to look like a private flat and contained powerful radio equipment. The staff was concerned with preparing and distributing reports received from its agents in Hungary. Mr. Jorgensen was shown a map featuring places in Hungary from which agents—Americans, Germans and Hungarians—had sent reports during the counter-revolutionary uprising.

46. It is well known that a number of Western papers attacked these broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. The 16 November issue of the French weekly *L'Express* contains a report of its correspondent recently assigned to Budapest. It poses the question: who is responsible for the support given to fascist elements and the bloodshed in Hungary? The correspondent replies as follows:

"The responsibility of the West in what happened in Hungary should not be underestimated. The insurgents were convinced that the Western Powers—

above all, the United States—would not fail to support them."

He goes on to say that he and other Western correspondents were often asked when American paratroops and arms would arrive.

47. Edward J. Byng, in an article in the *New York World Telegram* of 17 November, said: "Well-informed diplomatic circles assert that, although the recent uprising in Hungary was a spontaneous outburst of a nation, General Gehlen's network of highly specialized agents was instrumental in its intensification."

48. Compared with the population of Hungary, counting 9,500,000 people, the number of trouble-makers was insignificant. They included people arrived in Hungary from the West who were, and are, in one way or another connected with the leading clique of the infamous Horthy system, with the estate owners, the capitalist oligarchy and the banking interests. The ranks of the trouble-makers were swelled by former Horthy army officers, the members of the dissolved fascist Arrow Cross party, trained in countries of the West, who flocked into the country in the first few days of November, when the western frontier was opened.

49. According to facts made public by the Government, on 2 November thirty aircraft and on 3 November a further seventy aircraft arrived from Austria carrying considerable quantities of ammunition and organizers of the rising. Boxes marked with a red cross were found to contain hand grenades and other equipment not used for medical purposes. In addition to the staff normally expected to accompany the consignment, between ten and twelve men were aboard the aircraft with the assignment of intensifying the disturbances.

50. When the counter-revolution gained the upper hand of the movement, a white terror broke out. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that, in the absence of law and order, released and escaped common criminals intensified the terror, committing premeditated crimes.

51. The cease-fire was already in force. Government troops and police had been given orders to refrain from using weapons against the rebels, when peaceful citizens, both leading and subordinate government officials, supporters of the people's democracy, ordinary workers, peasants and professional people were being persecuted, murdered and beaten up by counter-revolutionaries and criminals. The armed gangs which occupied the editorial building of the central Party organ *Szabad Nep* issued a separate appeal calling on the population to liquidate the members of the Working People's Party.

52. The counter-revolutionaries were working according to a well-designed plan. They organized special detachments to put distinguishing marks on the doors of homes occupied by the party functionaries and other supporters of the people's democracy, in accordance with black-lists prepared beforehand. These signs were the omens of murders and robberies to follow. This is what happened in many parts of the capital. If the men listed were not at home, their families, including the children, were beaten up and killed.

53. The counter-revolutionaries attacked the offices of the Budapest committee of the Working People's Party on 30 October, and in this many hundreds of insurgents participated. At first small arms, machine guns and hand grenades, and later guns, were used. Neighbouring houses had previously been occupied. Firing positions were taken up on the roofs of houses

nearby. The building was then placed under fire. After twenty-four hours of firing, the white flag was hoisted. The insurgents, however, continued to fire on them, killing Imre Mezö, a veteran fighter of the Hungarian labour movement. The members of the cadre defending the party premises were murdered in cold blood. An army colonel, another veteran of the movement, was murdered in the most vandalish manner; his heart was cut out. The party premises in the eighth district of Budapest were occupied on 28 October and turned into an insurgents' headquarters under the command of a former member of the Arrow Cross party. Arms and ammunition were delivered in Red Cross cars.

54. The correspondent of the French newspaper *Le Monde* reported that in the last days of October there was in effect a manhunt going on in Budapest. He tells of having seen people hanging from lamp-posts and balcony railings. The 12 November issue of *Life* contains a number of photographs of such atrocities. In Moscow Square, about thirty people were hanged head down from the trees; then petrol was poured over them, and they were set on fire. Women standing in line for bread were murdered. A young man who belonged to a counter-revolutionary gang which operated from 18 Nap Street told of how police officers were killed in a flat which was requisitioned by the gang. After being cruelly tortured, they were killed, and the heads of the dead were used as targets for shooting practice. When one member of the gang suggested that they hand in their arms under the cease-fire order, he was shot by one of them. The bodies were disposed of in trucks.

55. Hundreds of workers were imprisoned by the counter-revolutionaries. They are alive thanks to the timely arrival of the Soviet forces, who freed 300 workers held in the western railway terminal and 150 others herded together in another public building. The white terror also ranged in the provinces at Miskolc, Varpalota and other towns. Bandits hanged a party secretary and rank-and-file members. An anti-semitic pogrom took place at Mateszalka. Fascist bandits fired at houses of peaceful citizens and at night drove the inhabitants into the streets and set fire to their houses. In the town of Szeged, Gyula Kovacs, a former officer of the Ludovika army academy, who after the liberation had served a four-year sentence for counter-revolutionary activity, had himself elected vice-chairman of the revolutionary council with the help of his gangs. He distributed 4,000 pieces of arms and ammunition amongst his men. Armed gangs under his command plundered the houses of more than fifty party functionaries and economic executives. They compiled a black-list of them, including the names of workers who had risen to leading State posts, intending to murder them. Thirty-five on the list had already been rounded up and locked in prison.

56. In these circumstances, exercising its sovereign right, the Hungarian Government was compelled to call in the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty, so as to defend the people's power, the democratic order and the population itself and to put an end to further bloodshed and lawlessness. By acting in this way, the Government warded off the eventuality of Hungary's being thrown into anarchy and the outbreak of a cruel civil war which might have taken a heavy toll of the population.

57. The Treaty of Peace signed between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary in Paris on 10 February 1947 places Hungary under the obligation

of maintaining a democratic order within its boundaries. Article 4 of the Treaty stipulates that Hungary must not permit non-democratic organizations of a fascist character to exist and work in its territory. It is clear from what has been said that it was precisely the non-democratic elements mentioned in the Treaty that had raised their heads and threatened the democratic order.

58. The primary aim of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. The question arises whether the emergence of a counter-revolutionary fascist State in the centre of Europe, wedged in between the socialist and neutral States, could serve the cause of international peace and security. Quite obviously, the answer is "No". Therefore, the lamentation of some representatives that the fascist *coup d'état* in Hungary did not succeed—and that the creation of a powder magazine was thereby avoided—appears completely incomprehensible and illogical if we examine the question objectively, putting aside our prejudices and keeping in mind the interests of the whole of mankind.

59. In its programme, the Kadar government has committed itself to the justified demands of the people and immediately began to implement this programme. The main points of that programme are: the unconditional assurance of the national independence and sovereignty of our country; the defence of our people's democratic and socialist system from all attacks, the defence of our socialist conquests, and further advance along the road of socialist construction; the liquidation of fratricidal fighting and the re-establishment of order and internal peace in the country; the Government will not tolerate any persecution whatever of workers who have taken part in recent events; the establishment of close brotherly and friendly relations with all socialist countries on the basis of full equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and the foundation of our economic links on the principles of mutual advantage and mutual aid; peaceful co-operation with other States, irrespective of their social system and form of government; a rapid and considerable improvement in the living standards of the working class, in particular the building of more houses for workers; a re-examination of national economic plans and new methods of economic administration, taking into account the national peculiarities of the country; the raising of agricultural production, the abolition of agricultural delivery obligations and aid to individual working peasants; the Government will categorically end illegalities committed in the course of establishing the co-operative movement in agriculture and will ensure the strictest attention to principles of voluntariness in joining co-operatives; the consistent development of Hungarian national culture on the basis of our progressive traditions.

60. This programme incorporates the patriotic demands of the people. It has been decreed that the Kossuth emblem is to be featured again on the national flag. The Hungarian Mission to the United Nations has already informed the Secretary-General of this in a note. The Government declared 15 March, the anniversary of the Hungarian democratic revolution of 1848, again a national holiday, and the Hungarian army is again to be issued its traditional uniforms. Another measure of the Government has been the introduction of free choice of languages to be learned in schools and universities.

61. On 16 November, the Prime Minister, Mr. Kadar, announced, in the presence of a delegation from the

Central Budapest Workers Council, that his government supported the multi-party system and fair, honest general elections.

62. It is well known that the abolition of certain bad methods employed by the existing system was one of the demands voiced by the Hungarian working people, by professional people and workers on 23 October.

63. The new government has not only taken a number of measures which condemn the activities of the Rakosi-Gerö clique, but has also dismissed a number of persons who had been compromised. A few days ago, it was announced that several top-ranking Hungarian State and party leaders had been barred from Hungary's political life, among them Mr. Hegedüs, former Prime Minister; Colonel General Bata, former Minister of Home Defence; Mr. Piros, former Minister of the Interior; Mr. Hidas, former First Deputy Prime Minister; Mr. Non, former Chief Prosecutor; Mr. Berei, former head of the State Planning Office.

64. In order to improve the financial position of the working people, the Government has raised wages by 10 per cent. The 4-per-cent tax levied on childless couples and single people is being abolished, as is the obligatory sale to the State by the peasantry of agricultural produce, which was introduced some years ago and which represented a heavy burden on the peasantry.

65. The Government has taken measures to dissolve the political police as a means of consolidating legality in the country and avoiding, once and for all, the mistakes committed in this respect in the past.

66. Another sign that life is again becoming normal is the fact that many people who had fled from the white terror—with whose methods they were very familiar from the days of Horthy—are returning to Hungary, to their work and their homes, in order to help to restore the country.

67. Another indication of the return to normal is the visit to Hungary on Thursday last of a Czechoslovak Government delegation, which held discussions with the Hungarian Government.

68. While the Hungarian Government is making every effort to meet the just demands of the Hungarian people as rapidly as possible, the Press and radio of some countries are inundating the world with false assertions, downright lies and tendentious misrepresentations, in order to slander and undermine the Hungarian Government and thereby hinder and obstruct the Hungarian people's efforts to restore complete peace and order, for which they long so much, and to get down to their peaceful work of construction. Hundreds of journalists and photo-reporters entered the country in the last days of October, when the western frontier was open. A large number of them are still reporting to their newspapers from the scene, and the Hungarian working people and their Government do not have the impression that these reports are objective.

69. The latest reports being circulated concern alleged deportations to the Soviet Union, which, as I shall show later, are completely groundless. Rumours undermining the prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic are being spread by those who would like these rumours to be true. Their idea is this: if the rumours are not true, let us at least spread them, just in case someone does swallow them, especially people who by no stretch of the imagination could be called well-intentioned towards the Hungarian people.

70. I should like to quote a few further instances of how Press reports have misrepresented what has happened in Hungary during the last three weeks; some of these misrepresentations might be intentional, and others might be due to lack of information. Since I, myself, left Budapest on 10 November, allow me to comment on the Press reports in the light of what actually happened.

71. A picture published on page 11 of the London *Daily Telegraph* of 12 November is a poignant example of how certain foreign newspapers deliberately distort the facts. The picture shows a view of Budapest, with the Elizabeth bridge, blown up by the Nazis during the Second World War, in the foreground and a caption implying that the bridge had been destroyed as a result of recent events. The Western Press carries tendentious news of colossal destruction in Budapest, some claiming that the town suffered more heavily during the recent events than during the Second World War. The facts, however, show that most districts of the capital were not damaged at all.

72. A favourite and recurring theme in the newspapers concerned the temporary hold-up of Red Cross consignments destined for Hungary. There were, however, good reasons justifying this step. Certainly without the knowledge of the International Red Cross organization, arms were smuggled into the country in one of the consignments. I do not believe that any detailed explanation is required here of the fact that, until we had taken the requisite precautions to prevent similar occurrences, the consignments had to be delayed. As is well known, no obstacles are now being placed in their way.

73. Some Western circles have also utilized the United Nations to heighten tension in Hungary. It is extremely regrettable that a number of representatives have made political propaganda speeches which have further aggravated the situation. It is not worthy of representatives of States to use the sufferings of other nations to further their own political ends. Many representatives have posed as the true friends of the Hungarian people, but anyone who really wishes the Hungarian people well considers the real interests of the population, the minimum loss of life and the least suffering, and law and order in the country so that the people's justified demands may be met with the least delay. The sooner law and order are restored, the sooner, among other things, can negotiations be started with the Soviet Union Government on the withdrawal of its troops. Unfortunately, the aforementioned representatives have not tried to extinguish the fire, but have added new fuel to it.

74. The method by which the Cuban delegation has submitted its draft resolution is irresponsible and unworthy of a delegation to the United Nations. A draft resolution has been concocted on the basis of entirely unfounded Press and radio reports. In its draft resolution, the Cuban delegation raises the question of alleged deportations with extreme sharpness.

75. Allow me in this connexion to refer the Assembly to the latest Government statement, made on 18 November [A/3367].

76. It is clear from this that the Cuban delegation is abusing the prestige of the United Nations as the universal Organization serving peaceful relations among peoples. The United Nations must not permit this to happen if it wishes, as we do, that people should look up to this Organization as a body which acts in the real interests of individual countries and not as a forum

used for propaganda to cheat and mislead well-meaning people.

77. What Hungary needs now is time to set its house in order. This is not the time to poison the atmosphere, to cause passions to run high, to send observers to the country, but to return to normal as soon as possible. Hungary is anxious to enter into good relations with other peoples and countries, and is glad to receive help from wherever it comes. This will mean that damage will be repaired, homes will soon be made livable, broken windows panes will be replaced, and the wounds of the casualties will heal quickly.

78. The Hungarian people and the Hungarian Government are grateful for the sympathy and readiness to help demonstrated by millions of ordinary people the world over. They express their thanks to the Soviet Union, the peoples' democracies and the Governments and people of other countries for their donations.

79. The Hungarian Government is master of the situation. With the support of the people, it is overcoming the difficulties and eradicating the mistakes inherited from the Rakosi-Gerö clique. It appeals for the help of the United Nations, this great international Organization, to bring about a situation in which those who like to fish in troubled waters will be frustrated in their sinister work. The United Nations should not allow the normalization of life in Hungary to be handicapped and salt to be thrown into open wounds.

80. In conclusion, please allow me to say one more thing. On the day the Hungarian delegation arrived in New York, it was invited by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who expressed the wish, *en route* to Cairo, to meet the Hungarian Government representative in Rome, to discuss the problem of United Nations assistance with him. He mentioned, by the way, the possibility that he might make a one-day call in Budapest on his return from Cairo to meet the Hungarian Government representative there. In response to his request, the Hungarian Government decided to send its representative to Rome for discussions. Now, not only the Press but even some United Nations circles are making it appear as if the Hungarian Government had acted counter to the Secretary-General's wishes by complying with his proposal for a meeting in Rome. My Government deeply regrets that, in this already over-charged atmosphere, facts which actually throw a positive light on the Hungarian Government are being used against it.

81. Mr. SHEPILOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation opposed the inclusion of the item on the situation in Hungary in the agenda of the General Assembly. We still consider that this question is one within the domestic jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic. There had already, as you know, been attempts, at the second emergency special session of the General Assembly, to make use of the United Nations for the purpose of interference in Hungary's internal affairs. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Hungarian People's Republic protested against such interference. In his telegram of 12 November 1956 to the Secretary-General [A/3341], Mr. Istvan Sebes, the Hungarian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, wrote:

"The Hungarian Government most emphatically states that the settlement of the situation which has arisen in Hungary lies exclusively within the internal legal competence of the Hungarian State. Therefore any resolution of the General Assembly relating to

the internal political situation in Hungary constitutes an interference in Hungarian internal affairs and is in contradiction with the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter."

82. The persistent endeavour to keep the question of the situation in Hungary on the General Assembly's agenda is certainly not explained by any concern for the interests of the Hungarian people, but by the intention of certain groups, on the one hand to distract people's attention from the aggressive actions of the United Kingdom, France and Israel in Egypt and, on the other hand, to encourage the members of the reactionary underground in Hungary by promising them the support of the United Nations.

83. As for the draft resolution submitted by the Cuban delegation—it reeks of provocation. It contains slanderous inventions, alleging that the Government of the Soviet Union is forcibly deporting Hungarian "prisoners" to places outside Hungary. It must be said that even in the worst periods of the "cold war" it would have been difficult to find a document which ignored the basic requirements in the way of the substantiation of charges made to such an extent as this one does.

84. In an effort to give their slanderous assertions an appearance of probability, the authors of the Cuban draft resolution unjustifiably referred, yesterday and the day before (they have not done so today) to mythical reports from the "official Budapest radio". An investigation has, however, shown that no such reports were put out by the Budapest radio. It is only natural, therefore, that the representative of Cuba should no longer, today, have referred to that source. As another source of information, the draft resolution—I am thinking of the text which was brought out a few days ago [A/3357], before the draft was brought up to date—speaks of reports from "the Press throughout the world". In fact, however, the term "Press throughout the world" refers to those newspapers which, obediently carrying out the orders of reactionary circles, make up all kinds of stories about the situation in Hungary. But today the representative of Cuba, speaking from this platform, was compelled to withdraw his reference to this source, too, for the "Press throughout the world" gives no authenticated facts of such a kind.

85. On what grounds, then, did the Cuban representative base his provocative allegations? On none whatever. He ignored the law of evidence and employed slanderous insinuation instead of arguments.

86. The reference in the revised draft resolution [A/3357/Rev.2] to alleged violations in Hungary of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was made with the object of giving this provocative document an appearance of legal validity. It is obvious, however, that this Convention, which condemns acts committed with the intention of destroying people solely because they belong to a certain national, ethnic, racial or religious group, has no connexion whatever with the situation in Hungary.

87. If the Cuban delegation were seriously concerned with the prevention of genocide, it should take an interest in the situation in those countries where this monstrous practice does in fact obtain.

88. I might refer, for instance, to those incidents in Kenya about which we all know. According to a Reuter's report, the Church Missionary Society stated, on 19 June 1955, that the authorities in Kenya had arrested and detained over 500,000 negroes. The American

writer, John Gunther, speaking about an operation with the expressive title, "Anvil", which was carried out by the British authorities in Kenya against the Kikuyu tribe, described it as one of the most effective manhunts in history. A whole army of gaolers, some 14,300 men, is maintained to look after the gaols and concentration camps in Kenya, in which many thousands of innocent people, including women and children, are languishing.

89. I should also like to recall certain facts about Algeria, whose people are fighting manfully for their freedom in spite of brutal repression. On 6 April 1956, Mr. Edouard Depreux, leader of the socialist group in the French National Assembly, made public a terrible figure: he revealed that, according to official information, since the beginning of the struggle in Algeria French troops had wiped out 48,000 Algerians. *The Times of India* rightly observed in that connexion that if we agree that the figures given by the French Government are obviously an underestimate, then the slaughter must be regarded as reaching virtually the proportions of a massacre.

90. These are the activities against which the Cuban delegation should raise its voice if it really wants to combat genocide, actual genocide and not mythical genocide, as it has done, much to its dishonour.

91. As to the wild invention about the deportation of certain "Hungarian prisoners", including women and children, to places outside Hungary, it was, as you know, categorically denied in Budapest, among others by the Budapest radio to which the Cuban delegation made so rash a reference in its draft resolution. On 18 November, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic published an official *communiqué* [A/3367] stating that not a single arrested person had been deported from Hungarian territory.

92. If the Hungarian Government officially states that not a single Hungarian has been deported, if the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic has given us an assurance from this very platform today, and if the Hungarian radio has issued an official statement, then we may well ask what are the facts on which the Cuban delegation seeks to base its provocative fabrications?

93. Thus the myth about the dispatch of Hungarian citizens to the Soviet Union has been exploded. Nevertheless, the Cuban delegation presumes to drag before the General Assembly some foul newspaper story dug up from the rubbish-heap of exposed lies.

94. The representative of the Hungarian People's Republic has given his solemn word here today about these unworthy insinuations. He has given a detailed account of the so-called "Hungarian question". There is, therefore, no point in our discussing the Cuban delegation's draft resolution, for it is based on slanders.

95. However, since the General Assembly has decided to postpone the general debate and to embark at once on a discussion of the draft resolution submitted by the Cuban delegation, the Soviet delegation feels compelled, for its part, to give an objective appraisal of the situation in Hungary, so far as we understand what is happening there.

96. During recent weeks, the powerful propaganda machinery which is at the disposal of the reactionary forces has swamped the world with monstrous misinformation about events in Hungary. By deceiving millions of people, the organizers of this campaign are hoping to make political profit and to poison the atmosphere surrounding the USSR.

97. That was the origin, for instance, of the monstrous lie that Soviet troops had destroyed a children's hospital in Budapest and killed hundreds of children there. This lie was given intensive publicity by the Press of the whole capitalist world. The French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, for instance, published, under hysterical headlines, a fictitious "radiogram" from Budapest declaring that Soviet tanks had crushed sick children and the nurses who had tried to protect them.

98. On 11 November, the United Press reported that the children's hospital in Budapest had been completely destroyed and that one correspondent—I am quoting what it says in the paper—said that he had later seen 300 children's bodies carried out from the ruins of the building. This slander was seized upon and repeated by many American newspapers. For example, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Washington Post* published a report by a special correspondent of the North American Newspaper Alliance whose dishonesty went to such lengths that he stated that he had seen the bodies of the little children—about 300—lined up on the ground outside the remains of the hospital.

99. This malicious campaign of slander about the children's hospital raged for several days and brought to mind some of Goebbels' most refined tricks. The purpose of this campaign was to besmirch the name of the Soviet Union, but it was naturally and inevitably doomed to failure.

100. On 13 November, the American newspapers were forced to publish a joint denial, sent from Budapest through Vienna by the correspondents of three reliable news agencies—the Associated Press, United Press and Reuters. They reported that a check had shown that the children's hospital was still standing and that none of the 300 or more children had been injured and that all the hospital's services were functioning normally.

101. Now that the myth of the "atrocities" committed by the Soviet army has been exploded, a new and extravagant story has been circulated to the effect that the Soviet High Command is deporting thousands or tens of thousands of Hungarian women and children from Hungary. This time too the slanderers have been caught in the act. But what do they care? They are again getting down to their dirty work and very likely will circulate some new lie tomorrow.

102. Today certain newspapers and radio stations are not ashamed to report that twenty-one Soviet army divisions are moving into Hungary. Not without reason is it said that if you throw enough mud some will stick.

103. Why are those who control the reactionary propaganda machine so busy at the present time? Because they have received orders to cast aspersions on the Soviet soldiers who responded to an appeal from Hungary for assistance at a time when that country was about to be engulfed in fascist terror, and who helped the Hungarian people to avert the most terrible catastrophe—the re-establishment of a fascist-Horthyist State, a springboard of aggression and a hotbed of war, in the very centre of Europe.

104. The purpose of the attempts to whip up anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hysteria is to assist the dark forces of reaction in their fight against democratic forces in all countries. Despite all the efforts of reactionary propaganda to distort the real picture, however, truth will prevail.

105. What has really happened in Hungary, according to the information available to the Soviet Union?

106. The facts show that the former leaders of Hungary were responsible for grave mistakes and deviations, both in general political matters and in their economic policies. These mistakes, and the economic difficulties that arose in Hungary during the period of the reconstruction of the national economy, caused justified discontent among a section of the population, which demanded that these shortcomings and mistakes be eliminated. These demands were endorsed by many of Hungary's leading figures.

107. The action of the popular masses who, on 23 October, came out in protest against the grave mistakes and errors committed by the former leaders of Hungary, was quite justified. However, reactionary fascist elements who were endeavouring to undermine and overthrow the popular democratic order soon tried to turn this healthy movement to their own ends. As early as 23 October, during a demonstration in Budapest, attended by a large number of well-intentioned workers, the leaders of the counter-revolutionary underground brought armed gangs which had been previously assembled out into the open. They provoked mass disturbances in Budapest, which later developed into a rising of anti-popular forces.

108. Desirous of bringing this rising to an end as quickly as possible, the Hungarian Government requested the Government of the Soviet Union to agree to the use of Soviet military units, stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty, in helping the Hungarian authorities responsible for maintaining order and tranquillity in Budapest. The telegram received by the Council of Ministers of the USSR from the Prime Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic on 24 October 1956 stated:

"On behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, I request the Government of the Soviet Union to send Soviet troops to Budapest to put an end to the disturbances that have taken place in Budapest, restore order quickly and create conditions favourable to peaceful and constructive work."

109. This request reflected the desire of the Hungarian people to have order quickly restored in their country. Even Imre Nagy, who later gave way to the reactionary forces by yielding ground on certain principles of the socialist State, stated on 25 October that the participation of Soviet troops in the struggle against counter-revolutionary forces was necessary to the vital interests of the socialist order.

110. The Soviet Union could not, of course, refuse to respond to the request of a friendly State for help. In a few days, however, realizing that the continued presence of Soviet military units in Budapest might lead to a further deterioration of the situation, the USSR Government, in agreement with the Hungarian Government, ordered the withdrawal of its troops from the Hungarian capital.

111. What happened then? After Soviet troops had withdrawn from Budapest, the reactionary forces cast aside their masks and launched a brutal campaign of reprisal against the democratic leaders of Hungary, against honest Hungarian patriots. During those dark days for Hungary, the Fascists hanged honest patriots from lampposts along the streets of Budapest. They broke into hospitals and shot the wounded out of hand. They destroyed factories, and set fire to theatres and museums. After the rioters had set fire to the National

Museum building in Budapest, they used automatic rifles and machine-guns to shoot firemen and soldiers who tried to save the museum's art treasures. As in the accursed days of Hitler, the streets of Budapest were aglow with the sinister light of bonfires, on which burnt the paraffin-soaked bodies of Hungarian patriots. Nearby—again as in Hitler's time—there was a bonfire of books, the immortal works of the progressive writers and thinkers of mankind.

112. Thus those counter-revolutionary forces whose object was to overthrow the popular democratic order in Hungary were coming increasingly to the forefront. These forces were trying to wipe out the achievements of the socialist revolution. They raided nationalized enterprises and State shops, and disrupted transport and communications. As each day passed, they grew bolder; Imre Nagy's Government, which had lost control of the situation, was pushed by them further and further along the path of complicity with the rioters. Former Horthyist and police officers became increasingly active.

113. The true nature of the counter-revolution was revealed to all during the white terror. Counter-revolutionary gangs, well-organized and armed, brutally murdered hundreds of workers, peasants, intellectuals and progressives who had fallen into their hands.

114. I have many documents in my possession that reveal the atrocities that characterized this White Guard fascist terror. As these documents have not been published, however, I shall refrain from quoting any of these facts, so that I may not be suspected of making biased statements. I shall refer only to facts which were published in the newspapers of capitalist countries, and moreover, in newspapers which it would be hard to suspect of Communist sympathies.

115. Thus, in a report published on 31 October, the Associated Press stated that a hunt was being conducted in the Hungarian capital for "members of the secret police", and that 130 of them, who had been captured on Tuesday, 30 October, in an assault on the Budapest Communist Party headquarters, had been hanged by their heels and beaten to death. This distorted version, indicating that the members of the Hungarian Workers' Party who were the victims of this monstrous lynching party were "agents of the secret police" does not condone the actions of the fascist murderers. It only adds to their immorality the despicable feature of cowardice before the verdict of world public opinion.

116. The special correspondent of the West German newspaper *Die Welt* reported from Budapest that hundreds of Hungarian patriots had been shot, hanged or drowned. He specifically mentioned the fact that the fascist rioters, having captured forty Hungarian patriots, immured them alive in an underground gallery, from which the tapping of the doomed people could long be heard. *Vorwärts*, the newspaper of the West German Social Democratic Party, also confirmed that during the reign of terror by counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary there were mass murders of innocent victims. The *Vorwärts* article emphasized that the terrorists had killed not only Communists but also members of their families—women and children.

117. The special correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* in turn reported from Budapest that many innocent people had fallen victim to the rebels.

118. Who was immediately responsible for organizing all these crimes? The workers? The peasants? The intellectuals? No. Those responsible for all these crimes

were the representatives of the former upper class of exploiters. *The New York Times*, analysing the class composition of the rebels, stated quite openly that they belonged to the remnants of the overthrown classes—rich people impoverished by the Communists, former landowners and rich peasants, persecuted clergymen and the like.

119. Remnants of fascist groups that had been crushed during the Second World War and had taken refuge for the time being in Western Germany were sent across the frontier to assist them. Thus, according to an Italian report, during the night of 30 October units of Hungarian fascist *émigrés*, who had formerly served in Horthy's army, entered Hungarian territory through Austria from Western Germany. They were armed with American weapons. These are the elements who are now represented as the champions of freedom and democracy!

120. A so-called "Hungarian Committee" was established in Vienna to help the rioters. Otto Hapsburg, the sons of Horthy and Gömbös—Hitler's puppets in Hungary—and other representatives of the dark forces of reaction crawled forth from their holes to encourage those who were organizing the counter-revolutionary *putsch*. In the words of the Austrian newspaper, *Salzburger Volksblatt*, the seed sown by the *émigrés* living in the West, who had for many years been tempting Hungary with the vision of liberation by the West, was now producing a harvest of blood.

121. The fearful phantom of the fascist beasts thus appeared over the peaceful fields of Hungary. The lives of millions of Hungarians, their fundamental civic rights, their homes, property and security were threatened.

122. The government of Imre Nagy not only proved itself incapable of repelling the attack by reactionary forces, but under their pressure gradually eliminated from its midst the representatives of the nation's democratic forces. Finally, the Nagy government fell to pieces, and yielded to the forces of reaction which were trying to establish a fascist dictatorship in the country. Chaos enveloped Hungary.

123. Faced by this difficult situation, that part of the working class which had at first failed to understand what was happening, and in one way or another had succumbed to the provocative appeals of those who had fomented the rising, began to take a more sober view of events. The national and democratic forces in Hungary began to organize resistance to fascism. Honest statesmen left the Nagy government, convinced that it was only a screen for the forces of fascist reaction that were beginning to dominate the country. Janos Kadar, a Deputy Prime Minister in the Nagy government, formed a new Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. This government set itself the task of preserving the democratic achievements of the Hungarian people, and defending the popular democratic order. This would have been an impossible task without the defeat of the reactionary fascist gangs, which sought to restore the old Horthyist fascist régime.

124. The new government applied to the Soviet Union for assistance in beating off the attack by the forces of fascism and in restoring order and normal life in the country. Let me admit openly that this was not an easy problem for the Soviet Government to deal with. We fully realized the difficulties which inevitably arise when the armies of one country are being used in

another. The Soviet Government, however, could not remain indifferent to the fate of friendly Hungary.

125. It is common knowledge that the Soviet people had sacrificed the lives of millions of their sons in the struggle for the liberation of Europe, including Hungary, from fascist tyranny. Now the threat of enslavement by fascist reaction was again hanging over the Hungarian people. History would never have forgiven the Hungarian workers and the Soviet people, who had made enormous sacrifices for the liberation of Hungary from fascist oppression, if now, twelve years after the collapse of the Hitlerite hordes in the Second World War, the Hungarian and Soviet people had retreated in the face of a counter-revolutionary *putsch* and permitted the re-establishment of a breeding ground for fascism in the centre of Europe.

126. The Soviet people could not but carry out their duty towards the Hungarian People's Republic, the more so as the Peace Treaty with Hungary, which was signed, let us remember also by the United States and the United Kingdom, not only provides for the dissolution of all organizations of a fascist type on Hungarian territory, but imposes the obligation on Hungary not to permit in future the existence or activities of such organizations.

127. Lastly, we could not overlook the fact that Hungary is a neighbour of the Soviet Union and that the USSR is linked with Hungary by the Warsaw Treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance which unites a group of States. A victory of reactionary forces in Hungary would have converted that country into a new jumping-off ground for an aggressive war not only against the Soviet Union but also against the other countries of Eastern Europe. We are convinced that no democratic government, linked by ties of friendship with a neighbouring country, would have been able to disregard an appeal for assistance such as we received from Hungary.

128. With the help of units of the Soviet army, the Hungarian revolutionary forces did not require long to put down the rebels. In the execution of the democratic programme it has proclaimed, the Government of Hungary is now guiding the life of the country back to normal.

129. In the course of the second emergency special session of the General Assembly, and at this eleventh session too, certain speakers on this rostrum indulged in slander of the Soviet army. They showed no originality in doing so. During the last few weeks, the mass of newspaper readers and radio listeners have been inundated with a flood of lies and monstrous fabrications concerning the events in Hungary. With unsurpassed cynicism, the most serious and sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the Horthyist and fascist conspirators in those tragic days in Hungary were ascribed to the soldiers of the Soviet army, who, in disregard of their own safety, unselfishly did everything to curb and put down those same fascist conspirators and criminals.

130. I do not consider it necessary here to defend the Soviet army and to speak of its moral standards or its principles. It requires no such defence. Everybody knows that when the armoured hordes of fascist barbarians were overrunning Europe, sowing death and destruction, and when it seemed as if civilization which had taken thousands of years to create would be trampled under foot and reduced to ashes, it was the Soviet army that destroyed the main forces of the Hitlerite *Wehrmacht*, thus saving the world from the threat of

fascist enslavement which had been hanging over it. In those unprecedented battles, Soviet soldiers displayed before the whole world not only their heroism but also their high moral principles. Centuries will pass, but a grateful humanity will always honour and praise this achievement of the Soviet army. That is why no lies or slanderous insinuations can touch the Soviet army.

131. I should now like to turn to another aspect of the question under review.

132. We have factual information demonstrating convincingly that the events which occurred in Hungary would have taken on quite a different character, not involving any bloodshed, if the action of counter-revolutionary forces inside the country had not been backed from the very outset by foreign instigators who had long been preparing a fascist *putsch* against the people's democratic régime in Hungary. These activities of foreign subversive centres are not exactly a secret. They are carried out, not by any private groups or organizations, but by State agencies subordinate to the highest government organs and financed out of the national budget.

133. Thus it is significant that, by a decision of the United States Senate, a document was last year included in the *Congressional Record* providing a detailed plan for subversive action against the socialist States. That plan provided, *inter alia*, for the preparation of specialized personnel "for leading resistance operations, for propaganda, subversion, penetration" in those countries. David Sarnoff, the author of the plan, wrote as follows:

"We need a network of schools and universities devoted to training *cadres* for the cold war. The objective is not education in a generic sense, but specific preparation for the intellectual, technical, intelligence and similar requirements of the ideological-psychological war . . . A sort of West Point . . . of political warfare might be established."

134. For a long time, many Western agencies have been using all means of propaganda to publicize appeals for the overthrow of the existing political system in the democratic countries; they are setting up special "centres" on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria, from which planned subversive activities against the Eastern European States are being carried on, including the dispatch of spies and diversionist groups to the territories of those States.

135. It is no accident that, since the middle of 1955, the interference of ruling circles of the United States in the domestic affairs of Hungary has been noticeably intensified. Messages from leading official personalities of the United States to the Hungarian people containing appeals for the overthrow of the legally constituted authority; the adoption, on 16 April 1956, of a resolution by the House of Representatives openly calling for the so-called "liberation" of the peoples' democracies; systematic subversive broadcasts by the radio stations of certain Western countries; the mass dissemination of slanderous leaflets by means of balloons; open support for the fascist dregs among the Hungarian emigration; the dispatch of spies and diversionists into Hungary—all this, as has now become plain, is intended to aid the anti-popular conspiracy prepared as an underground movement.

136. You are perfectly aware that the subversive activity of the United States against the countries of Eastern Europe has been given legal sanction by the United States Congress and, what is more, has been

raised to the status of an official policy. You will remember the heated debates here, in the Assembly, when the United States first adopted an Act hitherto unprecedented in political practice enabling the Government to spend \$100 million on subversive activities. The Act openly says that the money is intended "for any selected persons who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania" and also the German Democratic Republic and other countries, "either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes".

137. It should be noted that at the time the United States representatives attempted to show from this rostrum that we had misunderstood this Act, that the appropriations were not intended for subversive work, but for charitable assistance to refugees. The Act, however, from which I have just been quoting, speaks for itself; it tells us what its authors had in mind, namely, the financing of persons chosen by the United States intelligence service, who were living in the territory of socialist States, and their use for subversive work by any methods, including the creation, as it says in the Act, of "elements of the military forces" from their ranks.

138. Since that time, similar Acts have been passed in the United States every year, and hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured out to sustain subversive activities. Under Act No. 726, of 18 July 1956, a further appropriation of \$100 million for such activities was approved for the financial year 1956-1957. In addition, the Legislature was authorized to allocate further sums from certain other funds for subversive activities.

139. During the last few years, a large number of subversive groups financed from abroad have been discovered in the Hungarian People's Republic. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has, in this connexion, repeatedly protested against the gross interference of certain Western States in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

140. The counter-revolutionary *putsch* in Hungary had thus been prepared beforehand systematically and carefully, and not without the active participation of foreign elements. The preparations were, of course, secret, but from time to time some of the initiated gave away the secret. Thus, in an article published in the *Daily Mirror* on 8 November, the well-known American columnist, Drew Pearson, quoted statements from a conversation he had had with Bela Fabian, one of the leaders abroad of the Hungarian reactionary emigrants, who said: "The Hungarian people will rise up . . . With a little help from you Hungary will burst into flames . . . Your balloons have helped."

141. It should be borne in mind that, on the eve of the bloody incidents in Hungary, Bela Varga, the leader of the Hungarian emigration centre in the United States, said in New York that underground groups in Hungary were about to start a rebellion. Varga "predicted" that in a week or two Imre Nagy would return to power and Cardinal Mindszenty would be released from prison.

142. Even some American newspapers, commenting on the failure of the *putsch* in Hungary, now have to admit that certain reactionary circles must bear a heavy responsibility for starting the bloodshed in Hungary. For instance, the *New York World Telegram and Sun*, in a leading article appropriately headed "On our conscience", blamed the American instigators for hav-

ing encouraged what the leading article called "false hopes" among the Hungarian reactionary underground. American propaganda, said the newspaper, however well intentioned, had led the Hungarians to believe that the Yanks were coming.

143. The conspirators who fled from Hungary after the failure of the counter-revolutionary *putsch*, in statements just published, said that, in taking up arms, they had firmly believed that they would receive military assistance. Just listen to what one of these who participated in the *putsch* told the special correspondent of the *Daily News* upon fleeing to Austria. He said that the mighty America had pushed them into taking such action. Complaining that at the decisive moment the United States had failed to send its armed forces to assist the rebels, he said that the United States had lost its best army at Budapest.

144. The *Christian Science Monitor* published a leading article on 12 November under the heading "Hungarian rebels reported misled by Western propaganda". The article stated that: "Foremost in the thinking of Hungarian insurgents who have reached this country is bitter disappointment in the West." According to the newspaper, the conspirators had been given far-reaching promises and were convinced that they could "count not only on words of sympathy, but on hard and fast political and, if necessary, military deeds" (I stress the word "military").

145. Now that the fascist adventure has failed, those who are in no small measure responsible for the bloodshed in Hungary hypocritically shed tears over the sufferings of the Hungarian people. They presume to preach to those who helped the Hungarian people to defend their democratic achievements and to save their national independence. This is really being too pharisaical!

146. It is being proposed here that the United Nations should intervene in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian State. At a time when order is being restored in Hungary and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has already started carrying out the comprehensive, constructive programme it has proclaimed, we are in effect being told that we should rekindle the struggle against the people's democratic order in Hungary. That is the only interpretation that can be placed on the irresponsible appeals for the dispatch of a United Nations "police force" to Hungary. Those who sponsor such proposal apparently do not understand that such measures, far from strengthening peace, can serve only to endanger it. Those who are genuinely interested in Hungary's rapid recovery from its harrowing ordeal and the speedy healing of the wounds inflicted upon it by the fascist rebels should not interfere now in the return to normal public life taking place in that country.

147. What does Hungary now need most of all? We feel that it needs peace and tranquillity, intensive work to organize and develop its economic life, the restoration of normal administrative and social activities. Can this be achieved by the incitement implicit in the course of action taken by certain circles and reflected both in the Cuban delegation's draft resolution and in some of the speeches made from this rostrum during the past few weeks? No, such a course is obviously designed not to help Hungary but to disrupt its social and economic life.

148. The Hungarian people now require material aid. The General Assembly has expressed its views on this subject. The Soviet Union and other socialist States

have already provided Hungary with assistance on a large scale. Suffice it to say that 700 wagon-loads of foodstuffs, building material and equipment are being sent daily into Hungary from the Soviet Union. As is known, many other countries are also helping Hungary.

149. The Soviet delegation believes that the main thing to do now is to refrain from stirring up passions over the so-called "Hungarian question", but rather to make every effort to help to restore order, peace and tranquillity in Hungary as soon as possible. The Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Government is instituting constructive measures on a broad scale. That is the most important pledge that the people's democracy of Hungary, together with the other socialist States, will develop relations of business and friendship with all countries and proceed along the road to peace and progress.

150. With regard to the Soviet Union's relations with the Hungarian People's Republic, the basic principles governing relations between socialist States are well known. United by common ideals, the socialist States base their relations on full equality, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. Far from excluding close fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance among socialist States in all fields, it actually promotes these objectives. These principles were restated in the declaration of the USSR Government of 30 October 1956. The Soviet Government is determined to give full effect to the principles set forth in that declaration.

151. The question of the Soviet troops in Hungary will also be settled in accordance with that declaration. By agreement with the Hungarian Government, the Soviet troops will be promptly withdrawn from Budapest once normal conditions are restored in the Hungarian capital. At the same time the Soviet Government will begin negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, as a party to the Warsaw Treaty, on the question of maintaining Soviet troops on Hungarian territory.

152. The Soviet Union certainly does not advocate the stationing of troops on foreign soil. We agree with the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, who, a few days ago, reiterated his opposition to military pacts both in Asia and in Europe, to the stationing of troops on foreign soil, and to agreements permitting the maintenance of military bases on foreign soil. A comprehensive, effective programme for the reduction of armed forces, the complete removal within a fixed time limit of all air and naval bases on foreign soil, to be followed by general disarmament, was proposed on 17 November in the statement made by the Soviet Government on disarmament and the lessening of international tension.

153. The Soviet delegation proposes that the draft resolution presented by the Cuban delegation should be rejected as a slanderous fabrication designed to poison the international atmosphere. The peoples of the world will not forgive us if we follow the lead of those who are seeking, by means of political speculation concerning the so-called Hungarian question, to divert the attention of the United Nations from pressing international problems requiring immediate solution, the most important being the problem resulting from the aggression committed by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, as the situation there is still fraught with grave danger.

154. At this important juncture, when certain quarters are striving to revive the passions of the "cold war" throughout the world and to heighten international tension, it is incumbent upon each one of us to make every effort to promote the strengthening of peace and international co-operation. The high mission of the United Nations makes that imperative. The So-

viet Union has always been and remains the champion of peace and co-operation among States in all fields. We shall firmly and consistently avail ourselves of every opportunity to strengthen the cause of peace and security among nations day by day.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.