

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

ELEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



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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 (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY (A/3592)

1. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Special Committee.

2. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark) (Chairman, Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary): I wish to thank the President for permitting me to say a few words before the conclusion of this debate. I promise to be rather brief. I shall make only a few general observations on the debate which has taken place so far.

3. First, and above all, I wish to thank my four colleagues on the Special Committee for the excellent spirit of co-operation which has characterized our work during these many months. I also wish to thank the members of the secretariat of the Special Committee for their magnificent assistance.

4. I should like to stress the important fact that the Special Committee's report [A/3592] is a unanimous one. That, in my opinion, is a highly noteworthy fact when one considers that the five members of the Committee came from five different parts of the world, from countries with very different economic and social conditions and cultural and political traditions. Nevertheless, I can say that we very easily arrived at unanimous conclusions from our investigations.

5. I would state immediately, in as categorical a fashion as possible, that there is absolutely no foundation for the contention, made by the Soviet Union representative, the representative of Hungary and the representatives of other communist countries or peoples' democracies, that our report is not the result of our own evaluation of the developments in Hungary and is not

an expression of our own personal, honest convictions, but, on the contrary, is the result of some kind of pressure from certain Governments, particularly the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom.

6. There is, of course, not one word of truth in that kind of allegation. After listening very carefully to the speeches made by the communist representatives, I deem it warranted to say here that they have not succeeded in proving that any part of our report is not correct. They have not even tried to prove it. They have indulged mainly in general remarks about slander, fabrication, and so on and so forth. Through such a procedure they have, in my opinion, neither surprised anybody nor convinced anybody.

7. After the many speeches approving our report, I do not propose to go into many details, but I wish to stress the following points.

8. In the first place, it has, for good reasons, not been denied that the Soviet Union used its military force to crush the national uprising in Hungary.

9. Secondly, it cannot be denied that, but for this military action by the Soviet Union, it would not have been possible for Mr. Kadar to establish his régime.

10. Thirdly, it has been alleged that the Soviet Union acted on the invitation of the Hungarian Government. But we have had no information whatsoever as to who invited the Soviet Government to take military action. However, whether it is Mr. Kadar himself or Mr. Marosan who claims to have the honour, as I understand it, neither of them acted on behalf of any legal government at the moment in question. They acted merely in their personal capacity.

11. Fourthly, I wish to stress that it has not been denied that it was General Serov, the head of the political police of the Soviet Union, who personally, in the midst of the negotiations on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary, appeared and arrested the Hungarian delegation that had been invited officially by the Soviet authorities as representatives of the legal Imre Nagy government.

12. Fifthly, it is an established fact—whatever has been said by the communist representatives here—that a great number of Hungarians were deported. We have not been able, however, in the Committee to find out how many were deported nor, during the discussions here, have we had any information about the number of deportees and as to how many of them have not so far been returned to their homeland.

13. Finally, I wish only to say the following. The Soviet Union and the Kadar Communists—and I emphasise "the Kadar Communists"—may rejoice if they wish to in the fact that they, thanks to the war machine of the Soviet Union, were able to win the war against the national democratic liberation movement in Hungary. They may rejoice in that; but, in winning this victory, they lost at the same time the

confidence of the vast majority of the Hungarian people and, may I add, of many thousands upon thousands of men and women throughout the world. If the Soviet Union wishes to win back the confidence which it has lost—and which it needs—and the confidence which is needed for real international co-operation in the future, then, I venture to say, quite modestly, that the Soviet Union ought to take these aspects which I have mentioned here into serious consideration.

14. My concluding words are: I sincerely hope that the Soviet Union will act accordingly.

15. Mr. ESIN (Turkey): The tragic events which have taken place in Hungary during the past year following the heroic fight of the Hungarian people to regain their freedom are still vivid in our memories. The continued efforts of the United Nations through the Security Council and through the General Assembly aimed at putting an end to foreign armed intervention in Hungary as well as to healing the wounds of the valiant people of that country are well known to all and have been amply commented upon by many speakers who have preceded me.

16. It is most unfortunate that none of these efforts have been successful so far. It is equally disappointing that, while in other cases of armed intervention the recommendations of the Assembly have been complied with, in the case of Hungary the decisions of the same Assembly have been entirely disregarded. Therefore, the situation in Hungary, as a problem facing all humanity, still remains the main concern of public opinion all over the world. However, the difficulties encountered so far in the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations should not discourage us from seeking new methods of approach and from persevering in our endeavours in conformity with the Principles and Purposes of the Charter.

17. At the outset, I wish to express the regret of my delegation at seeing that, in a moment when the General Assembly is dealing with the great tragedy of the Hungarian people, when every one of us is faced with a grave responsibility, some attempts have been made to divert our discussion from its real object. In fact, allegations have been put forward to the effect that the convocation of this resumed session was motivated by a desire to rekindle the embers of the "cold war" or to indulge in propaganda warfare. I cannot bring myself to believe that any one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] before the General Assembly, or any one of the speakers who have raised their voices over the fate of the people of Hungary, could have acted from motives other than to place on the record of history our sorrow and frustration, while continuing our efforts to bring about any possible improvement in the situation.

18. My delegation equally regrets that one delegation, the Greek delegation, has seen fit to introduce into this debate the question of Cyprus and to use the debate on Hungary as a means of furthering its own well-known propaganda about that distant island. I am not going to use my right of reply, as my delegation considers that any attempt to divert the Assembly from its solemn duties in the issue before us can only be qualified as highly regrettable.

19. The report of the Special Committee [A/3592] now stands before the Assembly. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation and admiration to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Andersen of Denmark, to Mr. Shann of Australia, the Rapporteur of

the Committee, to Mr. Gunewardene of Ceylon, to Mr. Slim of Tunisia and to Mr. Rodriguez Fabregat of Uruguay, for their outstanding contribution to the work of the United Nations in bringing forth this important and weighty document.

20. The conscientiousness and meticulous and honest care which the members of the Special Committee have shown in the execution of the mission entrusted to them is worthy of our highest praise. Impartial opinion all over the world has recognized and affirmed the objective character of this report, which is considered by many as a unique example of the work of our Organization. The unanimity of the members of the Committee in their findings, and their universality in representing the five continents and as many forms of culture and civilization, enhances the importance and the meaning of this report.

21. The report of the Special Committee has furnished undeniable proof that the events of Hungary were the result of a spontaneous national uprising caused by long-standing grievances. The report also has confirmed a fact already known to the General Assembly, through official communications of the Hungarian Government of that time, namely, that the intervention of the Soviet forces took place against the will of the Hungarian Government.

22. The draft resolution presented by the thirty-seven Powers is based on the findings of this report. At the same time, this draft resolution aims at putting into effect constructive recommendations and measures for improving the present situation in Hungary.

23. The selection of such an eminent personality as our President, His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon, to act as special representative of the General Assembly on the Hungarian problem should in itself be considered as an auspicious decision worthy of the wisdom which the Assembly has been able to show in dealing with delicate and vital problems. Indeed, his high qualities of statesmanship and wide experience give us confidence and hope that he will succeed in the fulfilment of this difficult endeavour. Prince Wan's well-known devotion to the United Nations and to the ideals embodied in its Charter encourages us to hope that he will accede to this request.

24. In conclusion, my delegation recommends the adoption of the draft resolution which Turkey has the honour to co-sponsor with thirty-six other Powers. We have co-sponsored this draft resolution as one which objectively endorses the findings of the Special Committee and which endeavours to alleviate as far as possible the plight of the Hungarian people. We hope that the adoption of this resolution will constitute an important step forward in the efforts of the General Assembly and that it will ultimately be recognized as such by each and every Member of this Organization.

25. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): I welcome this opportunity to address the General Assembly at this time and to renew relations with many colleagues with whom I have had the privilege of working in the past on matters of great moment to the peace of the world.

26. The position which my Government now takes on the matter before the Assembly is consistent with the position which it has heretofore expressed on this issue and on all other questions involving the integrity of individual nations and their relations to each other in the modern world. This position has been based on

the conceptions which animated the countries which participated in the now historic conference at Bandung in April 1955.

27. I should like to endorse the sentiments expressed by the President at the first of the resumed meetings of this session [669th meeting] when he stated that the world looked to the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations so that they might live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and that the Assembly must seek a solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

28. I should like also to join with other delegations in expressing the appreciation of my Government to the members of the Special Committee for their industriousness and for the service which they have rendered in the preparation of their report. We cannot concur in any imputations that the members of the Committee were influenced or motivated by external pressures of any character. We believe that they carried out their functions in accordance with the traditions of the United Nations and in order to achieve its basic objectives.

29. We must take note of the fact that the Committee laboured under a handicap in preparing its report and that, despite its efforts to carry on an objective investigation and to obtain the views of all parties concerned, it was unable to achieve this goal. The report would undoubtedly have achieved its purposes to a far greater extent if it had been possible for this Committee to carry on its activities within Hungary.

30. As the representative of my Government stated at the meeting of the Assembly of 10 January 1957 [636th meeting], the co-operation of the Governments of Hungary and the Soviet Union were, of course, essential in order that the Special Committee might be able to make on-the-spot observations in Hungary. We would then have avoided the situation concerning which we expressed apprehension, namely, that information obtained from individuals or groups outside Hungary might be considered to be biased and one-sided.

31. Having said this, however, we must nevertheless recognize that the data available indicate that the people of Hungary were engaged in what appears to have been a national rising in the fall of 1956, whose aim was to achieve changes in their political system in the direction of a liberalization and democratization. Every nation, including the people of Hungary, is entitled to exercise and enjoy its fundamental human rights freely, without the intervention or interference of any other nation. These principles are among those which were so eloquently expressed by the Asian-African Conference, a conference significant above all because it represented the first full expression of their independent existence by so many nations which had theretofore been deprived of the privileges of national independence.

32. I should like to quote some of the principles laid down in the Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted at that conference. The first is: "Respect for fundamental human rights and for the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations." The second is: "Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations." The fourth is: "Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country." The fifth is: "Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity

with the Charter of the United Nations." The seventh is: "Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country."

33. Of special significance in assessing the proposed draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] and in arriving at an ultimate solution in this matter is the eighth principle laid down in the Declaration, namely: "Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations."

34. The same basic conceptions also animated the joint statement by the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India and Indonesia issued at New Delhi on 14 November 1956 and later agreed to by the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Prime Ministers had the following to say about the situation in Hungary:

"The Prime Ministers consider it the inalienable right of every country to shape for itself its own destiny, free from all external pressures. They are of the opinion that the Soviet forces should be withdrawn from Hungary speedily and that the Hungarian people should be left free to decide their own future without external intervention from any quarter"—and I should like to stress the word "any".

"The Prime Ministers have watched with interest and appreciation the new forces towards democratization at work in the countries of East Europe. They welcome the peaceful changes brought about in Poland. Unfortunately, the process of change in Hungary was accompanied by violence which not only led to misery and destruction, but also came in the way of that very process. This process of democratization and liberalization of these régimes is in keeping with the national sentiments of the peoples concerned and will result in suitable and progressive governments, which are friendly to their neighbours. The Prime Ministers hope that, after the terrible strife through which Hungary has passed, the necessary changes will be brought about peacefully and in accordance with the wishes of the people."

35. The representatives of a number of nations that have sponsored the draft resolution have recognized that the Assembly cannot enforce compliance with its resolutions. They have nevertheless urged that condemnatory language be adopted because they believe that the force of world opinion may induce compliance. I think, however, that other nations are entitled to form their own judgements as to the most effective means of ensuring a wider measure of democratization for the people of Hungary. It is our considered opinion that the lessening of international tensions, the more vigorous pursuit of peaceful methods of settling disputes and the intensification of efforts to bring the nations and peoples of the world together in a friendly fashion will be far more fruitful in the attaining of what we all profess as our objective.

36. Once it is recognized, as we believe it must be, that a solution can come only by the process of agreement, would it not defeat our purposes to use the language of condemnation which can only result in stiffening the attitudes of the participants? Would it not be more fruitful to seek to create a climate in which it would be possible for the nations involved to co-operate to achieve these particular ends? Co-opera-

tion cannot be achieved through condemnation and accusation.

37. In conclusion, I should like to point out that the basic question before us is how, in the light of the principles I have set forth, we can achieve the objective of helping the people of Hungary to exercise their universally recognized rights. Can we do this by a process of condemnation? Will the people of Hungary be enabled to achieve this objective because we have chosen to attack or criticize one or another nation? As we have indicated, in our opinion the answer must be in the negative. The solution must be based on the eighth principle adopted in the Declaration at the Asian-African Conference, that is, a solution based not on condemnation, but resulting from negotiation; not one which is based on charges and countercharges, but one which results from conciliation; not by acts which will stiffen the attitudes of the parties involved, but by seeking through peaceful means to convince all parties that they should adhere to the aforementioned principles and to adhere to the principles of the Charter.

38. It is our view that the adoption of the draft resolution before us can have no other result than to intensify the "cold war", whereas we believe that it is not the intention of the sponsors to use the forum of the United Nations for this purpose. Instead of alleviating the suffering of the people of Hungary, the extension of the "cold war" in this forum can have only the opposite effect.

39. The position of my Government on all matters involving the right of peoples to freedom and independence has always been uniform and unambiguous. Whenever an issue of the self-determination of nations or the independence of peoples has arisen, we have made it clear that there can be no exceptions to the fundamental conceptions which guided us in our struggle for freedom, and in our assistance to other peoples in achieving their freedom.

40. I should therefore like to endorse the eloquent sentiments expressed by the representative of Greece when he stated [671st meeting] his expectation that all the nations evincing their interest in the struggles of the Hungarian people would demonstrate an equal interest in the fate and destiny of other peoples striving for freedom and independence. There is no more room in the world of today for the application of a double standard in determining whether a given movement for independence will be vigorously espoused. The aspirations for freedom of all peoples are entitled to support, and should not be rejected on the basis of the relationship of a given issue to the balance of forces in world politics.

41. Since we believe that the draft resolution before us will not open the way to negotiation, conciliation, or other peaceful settlement which will enable the people of Hungary to exercise their universally recognized rights, the Indonesian delegation is not able to formulate a definite judgement on the question before us and consequently finds itself in no position to take a positive stand on the resolution.

42. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR associates itself with those delegations which have declared the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question in the United Nations to be inadmissible and illegal. Those responsible for placing this question on the agenda, and particularly the United States delegation, are using

the rostrum of the General Assembly for the purpose of justifying their criminal policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States Members of the United Nations and of subversive activity against the socialist countries.

43. By such discussions, the United States and the countries supporting it seek to complicate the international situation and to revive and intensify the "cold war". The United States and its partners in the West are doing this in order to divert the attention of world public opinion from their unwillingness to reach an agreement on such important matters as disarmament and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, in order to cover up the crimes of the colonial Powers against the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries and in order to justify their imperialist policy in the Near and Middle East and other parts of the world.

44. By keeping the so-called Hungarian question on the agenda, the United States delegation is seeking once again to activate the counter-revolutionary forces in their struggle against the Hungarian people. Mr. Lodge openly said so in an interview on 8 September. By keeping the Hungarian intervention issue alive, he said, "we will help all the forces that are working in the long pull for liberation". Everybody is well aware of what Mr. Lodge means by what he calls liberation.

45. The United Nations should firmly dissociate itself from these designs of the ruling circles in the United States, for it is called upon under the Charter to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights, to promote economic and social advancement, etc. The United Nations has no right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Member States, as Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter makes clear, and therefore it should not engage in the consideration of the so-called Hungarian question. The suppression of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary is a domestic affair of the Hungarian people and cannot be discussed here.

46. At the present time the General Assembly, illegally convened at the request of the United States delegation, is being compelled, in violation of the provisions of the Charter, to consider the report of the so-called Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592]. That Committee, illegally set up under pressure from the United States, is a political tool of the United States Department of State designed to stir up a campaign of slander against the socialist countries, in particular the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. Acting at the behest of reactionary circles in the United States, it has assembled a mass of vile insinuations and vicious slander from all kinds of political outcasts and traitors to the Hungarian people.

47. There can be no question but that the publication of such slanderous documents as the report of the Special Committee does enormous harm to the prestige of the United Nations.

48. The report itself shows us that the methods by which the Committee gathered and collated its so-called information are inadmissible and tendentious. Who gave the Committee what it passes off as information? The answer is perfectly clear. The information was given by three traitors to the Hungarian people, namely, Anna Kethly, Bela Kiraly and Jozsef Kovago, and by a group of unknown persons recommended by

those enemies of the Hungarian people and selected in accordance with the instructions of the Chairman and Rapporteur of the so-called Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary. As stated in the report, "a decision as to the hearing of these persons was reached after obtaining from them further information regarding themselves and the testimony which they could offer". [A/3592, para. 8.] It is perfectly clear that under such a process of screening, the "witnesses" selected were bound to be persons close to the heart of Mr. Andersen, the Chairman of the Committee, who during the Second World War had actively collaborated with the Nazis and was guilty of heinous crimes against his people.

49. The Committee saw fit to listen to Bela Kiraly, who had once been convicted by a Hungarian court of espionage on behalf of a foreign Power. Kiraly served on the general staff of Horthy's army, took part in the war against the forces of the anti-Nazi coalition and, for his services to Nazi Germany, was awarded the Iron Cross by Hitler. When the Szalasi dictatorship was established in Hungary, Kiraly became one of the most trusted lieutenants of that inveterate fascist. After the defeat of Hitler, Kiraly, like so many other fascists, went into the service of other anti-Hungarian bodies. For several days during the counter-revolutionary *putsch*, Kiraly, in his capacity as a foreign intelligence agent, acted as one of the military leaders of the armed fascist bands. After the collapse of the counter-revolutionary uprising, Kiraly was sent to the United States by that country's intelligence agents.

50. The report also refers to the slanderous statements of that traitor to the working class, Anna Kethly. Her memoirs, written when she was sixty-one, show what kind of a person she is. In those memoirs she admits that in her political life she was closely associated with the Social-Democrats, known betrayers of the working class, and with the Horthy parliament; that hers was a role closely connected with the activities carried on by the Social-Democratic leaders in the interests of saving and preserving the "old order" which they served.

51. How the information was prepared and how the so-called witnesses were groomed for the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary is made clear by the statement given by Janos Nagy to representatives of the Press. Janos Nagy, who fled from Hungary and has now gone back there, took part in the counter-revolutionary uprising as a member of the so-called Strasbourg Council, a counter-revolutionary *émigré* organization. He relates that at Vienna one Pasztor, who was in the employ of the fascist *émigré* organization "Turul" and who had been given the special task of gathering so-called information for the United Nations, summoned Hungarian refugees and demanded that they should give testimony that they had been fighting for freedom, that Hungarian workers had fought against the Soviet forces, that those forces had deported Hungarian youths, and so on. In return for such testimony, Pasztor gave the starved refugees a meal ticket and a barracks pass. Another individual who engaged in similar activity at Vienna was a man who went by the name of "Oroszlan".

52. In Paris, where Janos Nagy went on instructions from Bela Kiraly, information was being collected by the so-called "Paris Office" and "Strasbourg Office". Gecser, the head of the "Strasbourg Office", promised the refugees that in return for the required

information they would be given financial assistance by a special United Nations staff in Paris.

53. In the presence of Janos Nagy, the "Strasbourg Office" groomed two of the so-called witnesses who were to go to New York to give testimony before the Special Committee. Those two witnesses, Pomas and Berec, were members of the Council. They were coached for a long time, and Kiraly and Kovago taught them what to say and how to say it. In particular it was emphasized that Pomas and Berec should speak of a mass uprising of the people against socialism, against the Party and against the Hungarian Government and such like cock-and-bull stories.

54. Janos Nagy was also invited to give "testimony," and was promised \$10,000 to undertake the mission. The man who tried to persuade him was the United States intelligence agent Pisky, a son-in-law of Ferenc Nagy. When Janos Nagy refused, Pisky quickly found other impoverished individuals who agreed for the sum of sixty marks a day to go wherever they might be asked and give any kind of testimony desired.

55. This is how, according to an eye-witness, the information and the testimony for the Special Committee were concocted. In a word, we may say that all possible kinds of pro-fascist elements were brought together under the aegis of the United Nations to furnish slanderous "information" against the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

56. It is no accident that the authors of the report should have completely ignored the many documents and materials published by the lawful government of the Hungarian People's Republic and should have used instead counter-revolutionary leaflets, newspapers, radio broadcasts and similar sources of false information. Basing itself on the hand-picked false testimony of traitors to the Hungarian people and the slanderous information furnished by the countries of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, which had organized and directed the counter-revolution in Hungary, the so-called Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, working along the lines laid down by the United States delegation to the United Nations, put together a voluminous document in which the whole course and background of the events in Hungary are deliberately distorted.

57. We have no intention of arguing with slanderers and forgers about the merits of their fabrications. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR rejects the so-called report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary *in toto*.

58. In the interests of establishing the truth, and basing ourselves on irrefutable facts, we shall touch briefly upon certain matters connected with the events which occurred in Hungary during the autumn of last year.

59. As is now well known, the United States has long been engaging in subversive activities against the countries of the socialist camp. Every year the United States Government allocates more than \$100 million for subversive and espionage activities against the socialist countries. Furthermore, the United States Government employs the most diverse means to this end, including, for instance, the services of private groups and *émigré* organizations, the dissemination of anti-government leaflets, financial assistance to various *émigré* bodies, the provision of arms, and the setting up and training of armed groups of bandits to fight against the socialist countries. A great deal has already

been said in the United Nations about these subversive activities of the United States, and I shall therefore not dwell on them any longer.

60. During the Hungarian incidents, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America were largely instrumental in carrying out the plans of the Western reactionaries. For years, Radio Free Europe had been fanning the flames of revolt in Hungary and during the counter-revolutionary events it incited the rebels to action against the people's democratic régime. Radio Free Europe, which is financed by the United States and takes its orders from the State Department, is responsible for the carnage in Hungary. This United States radio station in fact directed and organized the attacks which finally took the form of counter-revolution. It gave specific military orders to the counter-revolutionary groups, and the orders were carried out. Let me give you a few examples.

61. When the Imre Nagy government asked for a cease-fire, Radio Free Europe immediately called on the rebels to break the truce. As a result of these orders and of unlawful interference on the part of certain foreign legations, the truce was in fact broken. On the day following the appeal by Radio Free Europe, the assault began on the municipal committee of the Party and other organizations, and Communists and other persons holding democratic views were attacked.

62. This Assembly has already been told how Radio Free Europe brought about the appointment of Maleter as Minister of Defence and how it urged Hungary to denounce the Warsaw Treaty. Participants in the counter-revolutionary revolt have frankly stated, as was reported in *Newsweek* on 12 November 1956, that the Western radio told them where to go and what to ask for.

63. Judge for yourselves, in the light of these facts, what value can be attached to the assertions of the authors of the report that the United States and the other Western Powers had nothing to do with the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. The report sets out to convince the reader that what took place in Hungary was "a spontaneous nationalist uprising" and that it was not planned in advance by pro-fascist elements within the country and foreign agents. There is now abundant material to disprove this contention. For example, Allen Dulles, the head of the United States intelligence service, stated that he had known about the preparations for the uprising in Hungary. The United States news agency, United Press, reported in October 1956 that, on 23 October, a fully trained secret army had come up out of the cellars of the Hungarian capital. It is legitimate to ask: Who trained and armed this army? It is already a proven fact that this was done by Western reactionaries led by those of the United States.

64. Who directed the counter-revolution within the country? The White Book, "The Counter-revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary", and other material published by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, give biographical data on the leaders of the so-called "revolutionary organs". They were spies and diversionaries, enemies of the people and common criminals freed from jail, former Horthyist officers and other pro-fascist elements. The counter-revolutionary forces inside Hungary acted in accordance with prearranged plans and in close co-operation with the foreign agents of the United States, West Germany and a number of other Western countries. They overthrew the State organs of power

of the Hungarian People's Republic, broke up the headquarters of the Communist Party, created an atmosphere of bloody terror, made bonfires of books and newspapers, wrecked cultural monuments, and attempted to restore the old Horthyist order in the country and to return to power the landlords and capitalists.

65. It is indisputable that the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary could not have been so active without foreign aid in the form of armaments and armed forces. Arms and armed groups of bandits from West Germany and a number of other Western countries crossed into Hungary during the events of October and November 1956. Many groups and shipments of arms were brought in with the assistance of United States and West German espionage organizations.

66. An important part in all this was played by a veteran United States agent, General Donovan, who, according to the *Washington Daily News*, returned to Washington from Hungary at the end of November; the paper reports that during his stay in Austria he crossed the Hungarian frontier on numerous occasions. In Washington, Donovan told representatives of the Press that the best way of helping the Hungarian counter-revolutionary forces was to give arms to those who were still fighting. When he was asked whether the United States should help prolong the fighting, he replied: "Of course". And, as later information and this discussion show, the United States is continuing its criminal activities against the Hungarian people.

67. The United States representative, Mr. Lodge, who, as has been pointed out here, is linked with the counter-revolutionary activity in Hungary, has had the temerity to make remarks about respect for human rights. But instead of weeping over the failure of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary, would it not be better for Mr. Lodge to concern himself with happenings in his own country and see what is going on in Little Rock and other towns in the United States where rabid racists are meting out violence to the Negro population?

68. Other self-styled friends of liberty have spoken here, notably the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Noble, and the representative of France, Mr. Georges-Picot. Can anyone really believe that these gentlemen are the defenders of national freedom and independence, when everyone well remembers that they are the representatives of countries which drenched the soil of Egypt in blood and which are now using armed force to suppress the peoples of Oman, Cyprus and Algiers who are fighting for their independence? Mr. Georges-Picot can rest assured that the peoples of the world will not forget that the hands of the French colonizers are stained with the blood of more than 30,000 Algerians who were fighting for their freedom. He has deplored the fact that imperialist circles in the West have not been able to break down the united front presented by the socialist countries in the defence of the socialist gains of their people or to detach the peoples' democracies from the Soviet Union.

69. We know that there are those who dream of the day when the socialist countries will be disunited and the bourgeois system can be imposed on them one by one. But this will never happen, for the men and women of the peoples' democracies are well aware who are their friends and who their enemies.

70. In their dark days, the Hungarian people turned for help, through their Government, to their faithful

friend, the Soviet Union, and with its assistance they defended their socialist conquests and put an end to the crimes of the counter-revolutionaries both within and outside the country; today they are once again occupied in peaceful constructive labour for the welfare of the workers. The people of Hungary fully support their Government's domestic and foreign policy and they have already done much to repair the consequences of the counter-revolutionary revolt. No machinations of foreign reactionaries can lure the Hungarian people from their chosen path, the path of socialist construction.

71. Numerous assemblies and meetings are being held in Hungary at which the working people of the country demand that the United Nations should put an end to the offensive agitation in connexion with the so-called Hungarian question and to the attempts of the Western Powers to intervene in Hungary's domestic affairs. The United Nations should heed the voice of the Hungarian people and take the so-called Hungarian question off its agenda; it should condemn the subversive activities of the United States and the other Western Powers against the peoples of those countries which are building socialism.

72. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will vote against the draft resolution before the Assembly [A/3658 and Add.1]. It is needless to say that the authors of this draft resolution have done their best to incorporate in it all the slanderous allegations invented by the United States propaganda machine. The draft resolution contains lies about deportations and about the violation of human rights in Hungary. Its authors have even managed to drag in the 1949 Geneva Conventions, undeterred by the absurdity of such a reference. This draft resolution is at variance with the United Nations Charter; it sanctions intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States and advocates an international policy hostile to the interests of international peace and security.

73. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of France on a point of order.

74. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (*translated from French*): I simply wish to reserve the right to reply at the end of this discussion.

75. Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): It was my proud privilege to serve on the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary as the representative of Ceylon. As a signatory to that report, I do not think it is necessary for me to comment on it. The report speaks for itself.

76. I should like, however, to take this opportunity of joining my colleagues in expressing our sincere thanks and appreciation to the distinguished Foreign Ministers and leaders of delegations who have so generously paid tribute to our humble efforts. We have the satisfaction of having done a duty according to our conscience.

77. The purpose of my intervention at this late stage of the debate is to place before the Assembly the viewpoint of my Government on the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] before us. We do not for a moment condone the act of any great Power in imposing its will on a weaker State. My Prime Minister, addressing the General Assembly last year [590th meeting], gave full expression to this point of view. He was one of the signatories to a joint *communiqué* issued by the Prime Ministers of the Colombo Powers who had met in New Delhi last year to discuss the world situation.

As regards the Hungarian situation, the joint *communiqué* stated:

"The Prime Ministers have watched with deep distress the tragic events in Hungary. The large scale violence used on all sides has resulted in the killing of thousands of people and has brought misery and destruction to that country. They regret that the Soviet forces which had been withdrawn in accordance with the policy laid down in the statement issued by the Government of the USSR on 30 October were re-introduced into Budapest a few days later. The Prime Ministers consider it the inalienable right of every country to shape for itself its own destiny, free from all external pressures. They are of the opinion that the Soviet forces should be withdrawn from Hungary speedily and that the Hungarian people should be left free to decide their own future without external intervention from any quarter."

78. My Government subscribes to the view that the events which took place in Hungary in October and November 1956 constituted a spontaneous national uprising. We still view with concern the continuing plight of the Hungarian people. In a constructive approach to the solution of this question, we call upon the USSR and Hungary to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people and to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian peoples' enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedom. We hope that the two Governments concerned will ensure the return to Hungary of those Hungarian citizens who have been deported to the USSR.

79. The Government of Ceylon appreciates the work done by the Special Committee, but recognizes that the report may not be complete owing to lack of assistance from the USSR and Hungarian Governments. In my Prime Minister's address to the General Assembly last year, he appealed to the Government of Hungary "not to oppose the recommendations of this Assembly that some impartial observers go there to observe the situation and to discover the truth or otherwise of the charges that have been made on the one side and equally vehemently repudiated on the other". [590th meeting, para. 31.] It is unfortunate that this appeal was not heeded by the authorities concerned.

80. The Government of Ceylon, conscious of the international situation, is motivated by the desire to work for peace and international understanding. It is in this context that my Government suggests the following changes in the draft resolution: In the last sentence of the preamble, in place of the phrase "failed to co-operate in any way with", substitute the words "failed to assist". In operative paragraph 2, add the proviso "but recognizes that the report may not be complete owing to lack of assistance from the USSR and the Hungarian Governments". If this proviso is not acceptable, my Government would prefer the substitution of the word "accepts" for "endorses".

81. In the earlier part of this session, a resolution [1131 (XI)] was adopted condemning the USSR for its actions in Hungary. We voted for that resolution. My Government considers, however, that no useful purpose will be served by attempting to repeat such a resolution, which may not improve the situation but rather tend to aggravate it. Mutual recrimination and angry words will not help us in any way. It is in this spirit that the Government of Ceylon believes that a repetition of condemnation would not be of any

avail and might even tend to hinder the emergence of the climate necessary for a speedy solution.

82. The practical step suggested in operative paragraph 9 of the draft resolution is the appointment of our President as the special representative of the General Assembly to take such steps as he deems necessary to achieve the objectives of this Assembly in regard to Hungary. My Government does not favour this step.

83. We have great admiration and respect for Prince Wan Waithayakon, for his mature experience, sagacity, tact and diplomatic skill. But, in spite of the creation of a Special Committee by the express wish of an overwhelming majority of this Assembly, the Governments of the USSR and Hungary failed to afford it any assistance. My Government does not want the President of the Assembly to be placed in the same situation as the Special Committee.

84. An invitation has already been extended to the Secretary-General by the Hungarian Government [A/3414], and the acceptance of this invitation would, in the view of my Government, enable this Organization to pursue, in a practical and constructive manner, the objectives of the United Nations in regard to the question of Hungary. We have great respect for the Secretary-General's ability, skill and tact, and we are sure that these qualities of his could be used to advantage in the solution of this problem. My Government therefore feels that the Secretary-General may well be asked to report in due course on how far the requests made in operative paragraph 8 have been complied with.

85. Those are the views of my Government on the draft resolution before the Assembly. I trust that they will be given due consideration.

86. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): This debate, which has been going on for a week now, does one thing for certain: it reopens and irritates wounds which had slowly and painfully begun to heal. In listening to what has been said here so far, we have been persuaded once again that the aim of the whole discussion is to introduce a permanent irritant into international relations. Therefore, irrespective of legal reasons, we have been from the beginning and are now opposed to the reopening of the Hungarian debate.

87. Poland, probably more than any other country, sympathized with the Hungarians in their tragedy. We have repeatedly given proof of this. We have spoken about it from this very rostrum. We are in favour of helping the Hungarian people in every possible way. We feel strongly, however, that the debate which we are witnessing here cannot and will not be of any assistance to them. On the contrary, it cannot but aggravate the international situation by contributing to tension among nations, and this can only bring harm to Hungary and to the entire world.

88. We believe that the Hungarian people will by themselves succeed in overcoming their difficulties, in correcting the mistakes of the past and in recovering from their recent tragedy. This task would be much easier to fulfil under conditions of an international *détente*, co-operation among all nations and mutual trust. The present meetings of the Assembly certainly are doing nothing to contribute to the fulfilment of these conditions, particularly since so many words which have been pronounced here do not correspond to deeds.

89. I wish to draw the Assembly's attention to one striking example. The draft resolution presented to

the Assembly mentions the fact that several previous resolutions have not been implemented, but it omits any mention of one United Nations resolution which, unfortunately, has so far remained only a paper resolution. I have in mind resolution 1007 (ES-II) adopted by the second emergency special session of the Assembly on 9 November 1956. This resolution was supported by sixty-seven delegations, including that of Poland. The resolution refers to the suffering to which the Hungarian people are subjected, states that humanitarian duties can be fulfilled most effectively through international co-operation, and resolves: "to undertake on a large-scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, food-stuffs and clothes". It calls upon all Member States "to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action" and requests the Secretary-General "to undertake immediately the necessary measures". So much for the resolution.

90. The Secretary-General fulfilled his task. A special economic mission investigated the situation in Hungary and made practical suggestions, and an agreement with the International Red Cross was signed. That is where the matter rested, and that is where it still rests. All the reports—and we have studied them carefully—show that, apart from contributions to refugees, only a few countries have offered some small sums of money or other donations for humanitarian relief. Thus, the noble proposal of the Austrian representative, supported by sixty-seven nations, remains merely a piece of paper, and no amount of paper work or words will help the Hungarians. I must add that, unfortunately, it so happens that those Governments whose representatives speak the most and the loudest about assistance to Hungary have contributed nothing or almost nothing to United Nations relief activities in Hungary.

91. I wish to remind the Assembly of the existence of this unfulfilled pledge, and I urge the Assembly to take all possible steps to implement the resolution. In that way, the week we have now spent in fruitless debate could at least be partially justified.

92. At previous meetings of this session, the Polish delegation made its opinion on the Special Committee quite clear, stating that that Committee was created in violation of the Charter. This original sin has quite obviously biased the Committee's work. The fact that it has never been recognized by the parties concerned limited its activities to one-sided investigations, to the mere registration of more or less reliable facts and gossip.

93. I shall not limit myself to empty statements. I should like to give the Assembly an example of what I mean, in a case where I can speak on the basis of first-hand information. In the chapter pertaining to deportation, we read:

"According to witnesses, some of the deportees who were sent to the prison at Stryj were told by the guards that a large number of Polish prisoners had recently passed through the prison, and one witness stated that he had seen the words 'Poznan 1956' carved on a bench in one of the cells." [A/3592, para. 732.]

94. The implication is clear: Poles were deported to the Soviet Union after the Poznan events. I should like to state most emphatically that there is not a shadow of truth in this irresponsible and highly misleading piece of hearsay. This groundless rumour has been given credit by being incorporated in an official

United Nations document. How could a thing like that have happened? Simply because somebody said something to somebody else. How many more tales like this have found their way into the report? We do not know. But we do know for certain that a United Nations report should definitely not contain such stories.

5. In the prevailing circumstances, no debate pertaining to the situation in Hungary could have achieved anything or helped anybody. In short, it should not have taken place at all. It poisons the political atmosphere, contributes to international tension and hampers co-operation among nations, in much the same way as the fallout created by test explosions of atomic weapons poisons the air around us, creates disease and endangers the health of future generations.

6. The fate of the Hungarian nation fills us with deep concern. We shall support in future, as we have supported in the past, all efforts aimed at the stabilization of conditions in Hungary and the application of principles of equality, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty and non-interference in domestic matters in relations among nations. We believe that the Hungarian nation, given peace and practical assistance, will be able to stabilize and rebuild its economy, to correct past errors and to proceed on its way towards socialism in accordance with specific conditions existing in that country. All of us, all of the United Nations, can help the Hungarians—not by indulging in biased discussions and mutual accusations, but, on the contrary, by honest attempts to understand each other, by furthering international co-operation and mutual confidence.

7. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): On 10 January 1957, when the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, decided [*resolution 1132 (XI)*] to establish a Special Committee of five members to investigate the situation in Hungary, to collect evidence and to receive information, the Assembly was then, as it is now, performing a primary duty assigned to it by the Charter.

8. At the end of October 1956, when violence broke out in Hungary, when an unarmed population who took part in peaceful demonstrations to express their long-suppressed hardships and grievances were mowed down by machine-gun fire from security police forces, and when the reaction against this unusually harsh suppression began to develop and then was quelled by the intervention of the armed forces of Hungary's powerful neighbour, the world knew that something serious was taking place.

9. At the time when the United Nations was first seized of the grave situation, although complete evidence and facts were not available, due to the sealing off of Hungary's frontiers from the free world and due also to a censorship and the control of means of communication, many of us were even then able to form an opinion—which since then has been confirmed—regarding the unjustified acts of suppression and injustice against an innocent people who wished only to be free and to shape their own destiny. However, since some members of this Organization insisted—perhaps legitimately—on having more complete and objective information about what actually took place in Hungary before forming an opinion, the logical step which the General Assembly took was to establish the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary whose membership, drawn from the four corners of the world, fully satisfied the requirements of impartiality and objectivity in the performance of the important task entrusted to it by the Organization.

100. In spite of the great obstacles and difficulties encountered by the Committee in discharging its functions, in spite of the complete absence of co-operation on the part of those who should have been most concerned, in spite of the fact that access to Hungary was barred by a Government which, if it were a truly representative government, should have thrown the doors of its country wide open so that the sufferings of its own people might be shared and alleviated by the rest of the world—in spite of all these impediments, the Committee did its work conscientiously and efficiently. It checked and rechecked every allegation, every piece of evidence, every testimony.

101. The result of its labours meets our expectations. The conclusions which it has drawn from its scrupulous scrutiny of facts and evidence—considering the possible strong reactions as well as personal attacks from certain quarters, which subsequently materialized—exemplify a moral courage and strength which reflect honour and credit on this Organization as well as on the nations which its members represent. These conclusions are now exposed before us, before the world. They are clear-cut, glaring and tragic, like deep wounds—the wounds inflicted upon the Hungarian nation.

102. The problem before us now is how to heal these wounds which have vitally affected the body and mind of the Hungarian nation, as well as the fabric of our profound "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".

103. The lives which were lost in the struggle for freedom cannot be restored, but the millions of Hungarians who still live and who still yearn for freedom can and must be spared further misery and destruction. Furthermore, if their own Government has become so powerless to be unable to lift them out of their present plight, as appears to be the case, then it is for this Organization—indeed, for all of us who believe in the ideals of the United Nations—to work towards that purpose. It is for us to raise our voices and direct our minds to deprecate any attempt on the life and liberty of Hungary—or of any nation, for that matter—and to express in no uncertain terms our firm belief that neither the pretext of maintaining a certain social order nor the defence of certain social order or strategic interests, much less the argument of one-sided treaty obligations, can justify an armed intervention to crush the freedom of a nation.

104. In so doing, most, if not all, of us know that we are by no means abetting the "cold war"; neither did those Hungarians who fought to gain freedom at the risk of their lives. For these, as for the millions who are now existing in grim misery, it was not a "cold" war, but war pure and simple which was brought upon them by an external cause. Therefore, if we have to make our voices heard, it is because we feel that it is our duty to do so, a duty of conscience.

105. On the positive side, it is also our duty, under the Charter and under the unwritten law of humanity, to try our utmost to persuade the world, or to persuade those who erred, be they great or small, mighty or weak, that their enlightened self-interests will be better served not by persisting in their errors, but by recognizing them and, as gracefully as possible, correcting them. Only those who are courageous enough and far-sighted enough to do this, and particularly to heed the injunctions of the world Organization, can win our respect and esteem; while those who, although they

may be physically and materially powerful, are in fact morally feeble because they are unable to turn back from their erroneous task, are bound ultimately to succumb to the fatal consequences of their own mistakes.

106. This, we must in all fairness recognize as the fundamental difference between the grave problems with which the world and this Assembly have been recently faced. On the one hand, the efforts of the United Nations have led to recognition of and compliance with the authority of the Organization; on the other hand, we have defiance.

107. In spite of this, my delegation is one of those which does not despair about the outcome of the recent human tragedy in Hungary. However little we may be able to do in this Assembly, will not be completely lost. On the contrary, the words which have been uttered in this hall—some with passion, others with indignation and sorrow—may, in good time, have some effect upon those who are responsible for the tragedy. As believers in the unity of human nature and in its fundamental goodness, we can never be persuaded to believe that the events in Hungary last October failed to cause at least some ripples in their hearts and minds.

108. On the contrary, we are thoroughly convinced that these miseries have indeed created perplexities and even doubts in the wisdom of their actions. Signs are already beginning to show and perhaps will continue to show that significant changes may well be in progress. Whether these changes will be for the better or for the worse to some extent depends upon us. If we can unite our voices and resolutely demand that no more human life, nor the freedom of nations shall ever again be trampled upon, then it is not impossible that the echoes of our voice and the moral weight which it carries may stir a sense of remorse over past action and guide even the most recalcitrant on the path of future redress.

109. These being our feelings and hopes, we find that this body should be resourceful enough to make fresh attempts and efforts, and, since the draft resolution of the thirty-seven nations [A/3658 and Add.1] responds to our view and tends to achieve the same purpose, my delegation will join the great majority of delegations in this Assembly in supporting it.

110. Mr. CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (*translated from French*): The report of the Special Committee [A/3592] that has been submitted to us, and the speeches made here in the last few days, which we have followed with the greatest attention, have both moved and troubled us. The case of Hungary, because of the very principles involved, concerns us deeply; and I feel that some statement of our views on the subject is called for.

111. There are two specific reasons for my speaking: the first is that, as our Prime Minister, His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma recently said: "Our relations with foreign countries are based on the double principle of the maintenance of peace through neutrality and respect for the *Pancha sila* and peaceful coexistence." One of the most important of the five principles of the *Pancha sila* is non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. This principle, affirmed in the Charter and re-emphasized at the Bandung Conference, is one of the essential pillars of international order and constitutes the strongest guarantee of the independence of small States.

112. We all know that there is a strong temptation for the big States that possess great material power to

exercise more or less direct pressure on weaker States to bring their policies into line with their own. These pressures take the most diverse forms, but in our opinion armed intervention is the most inadmissible.

113. We believe that any armed intervention in the internal affairs of a State is a direct violation of sovereignty and independence. It is vital for small States like ours, which have long common frontiers with numerous countries, which are so dependent on the rest of the world, and which consequently are vulnerable to any form of pressure, to adopt an insistent position on this point, if we do not want sovereignty and independence to become a myth. We know only too well how much assistance, support and succour we need.

114. Our duty as an independent State is all the clearer: in a case where the principle of non-intervention is involved, we must take up an unambiguous position, and firmly denounce anything that seems to us to be a violation of this principle.

115. The second reason why we are speaking today is that we have recently been seized of an official United Nations document on the Hungarian crisis. The report of the Special Committee was prepared by an organ legally set up and invested with powers of enquiry by the Assembly. In addition, the presence of that organ, side by side with representatives of countries that we consider to be our good friends, of a representative of an Asian country as little suspect of intolerance as Ceylon, brings us an additional guarantee that the unanimous conclusion of the Committee reflects the thinking of those trained in the school of Buddhist moderation.

116. In this report, therefore, we have a document with all the necessary guarantees of impartiality, one that can enable us to understand the tragic events in Hungary.

117. We must bow to the weight of the evidence. The conclusions of the report leave no doubt as to the point that concerns us most nearly. The action of the Soviet troops in Hungary constitutes a clear and unmistakable intervention in the internal affairs of another State.

118. This conclusion is the more alarming inasmuch as, for several years, the Soviet Union has been constantly proclaiming itself the most vigilant defender of the same principles of non-interference and non-intervention. Soviet leaders have been multiplying statements testifying to their attachment to these principles which have become one of the major themes of the ideological campaign. Unfortunately, the events in Hungary throw a disturbing light on these statements and justify the greatest caution in evaluating the true meaning of that campaign.

119. We need not concern ourselves with the legal, philosophical, and moral considerations which a study of the report has suggested to our colleagues. Previous speakers have already done so here with great skill. We shall confine ourselves to the specific problem of Soviet intervention, and deal with it, not in a spirit of sterile polemics, but because we, a small State, with the whole world to know the anguish and alarm it has gripped us in the face of the dangerous precedent created by this intervention. In doing so, we believe we are voicing the sentiments of all the weaker States for which respect for international law, the Charter and treaties are an essential condition of their existence as sovereign and independent States.

120. Let us now come to the facts. The Government of the USSR is trying to justify its intervention

Hungary by declaring that its troops went into action at the Hungarian Government's request in order to repress disturbances caused by fascist organizations, and that its action was therefore in conformity with the provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty. We need not deal with the affirmation that the Hungarian Government asked for the intervention of Soviet troops. The report has already settled this point. We shall confine ourselves to examining the justification which the representative of the Soviet Union is trying to find in the Peace Treaty of 1947.

21. On 10 September last, in his statement before the General Assembly, the representative of the Soviet Union said:

"And yet, from this very rostrum, we now hear that by crushing the fascist revolt and punishing in accordance with the laws of the country, the rebels whose hands are red with the blood of hundreds of innocent people, the Hungarian Government is violating the provisions of the Peace Treaty with Hungary. It would be difficult to imagine a more absurd and ridiculous accusation.

"Yet those who now speak in defence of the fascist bullies who committed monstrous crimes are in effect, whether they like it or not, justifying their bloody crimes. At the same time these persons act as if they are ignorant of the existence of article 4 of the Peace Treaty [*with Hungary*], which states that:

"Hungary, which in accordance with the Armistice Agreement, has taken measures for dissolving all organizations of a fascist type on Hungarian territory, whether political, military or para-military, as well as other organizations conducting propaganda, including revisionist propaganda hostile to the United Nations, shall not permit in future the existence and activities of organizations of that nature which have as their aim denial to the people of their democratic rights." [670th meeting, paras. 145 and 146.]

After this statement, the Soviet representative went on to draw the following surprising conclusion.

"The text of this article makes it quite clear that, by taking resolute measures to crush the counter-revolutionary rebellion and to prevent any similar fascist activities in the future, the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Government, far from violating the Peace Treaty with Hungary, acted in strict compliance with the provisions of that instrument . . ." [Ibid., para. 147.]

22. It would appear from these words that the representative of the Soviet Union thinks it correct and even logical that, once Hungary had given certain undertakings, it was for the Soviet Union to intervene in order to see that they were respected. In other words, once Hungary had undertaken in the Treaty of Peace not to tolerate the existence of fascist organizations, it was normal that the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone, without the least previous consultation with the signatories of the Treaty of Peace, should intervene militarily in order to force the Hungarian Government to carry out its commitments. The Soviet Union has made itself the sole judge of the evolution of Hungarian internal policy.

23. This reasoning is dangerous, to say the least, since it leads to a negation of collective security and the guarantees against aggression that are one of the bases of the United Nations and of the Charter. This point seems to me very important, and I should like,

in the same connexion, to quote an article of *Pravda* of 23 November 1956, that is mentioned in paragraph 105 of the report:

"A socialist State could not remain an indifferent observer of the bloody reign of fascist reaction in People's Democratic Hungary . . . We regard our help to the Hungarian working class in its struggle against the intrigues of counter-revolution as our international duty."

124. This article, if it reflects the thinking of the Soviet leaders, is disturbing, because it suggests—and the speeches of the representatives of the peoples' democracies which we have heard here in the last few days can only confirm this impression—that the concept of proletarian solidarity is considered as a principle of positive law, of international law, sufficient in itself to justify outside military intervention. Are we therefore to conclude that every time the Soviet Union considers that the interests of the working class of any country are endangered, the possibility of an intervention by Soviet troops is not excluded?

125. This recalls strange echoes that we thought forever buried in history. Has the Holy Alliance of sovereigns, brought into being by the czarist régime, been replaced under the Soviet régime by the Holy Alliance of the proletarians? If so, the very foundations of international peace and order would be threatened.

126. Having said this, I am convinced that the Soviet Union, like other States, realizes full well that the interest of the whole international community is to arrive at a formula for genuine peaceful coexistence. This peaceful coexistence, which embodies the hopes of all mankind, cannot develop in an international atmosphere so tense, so poisoned with suspicion and distrust, as that with which we are now familiar, as a result in particular of the Hungarian crisis.

127. Some degree of confidence must be re-established, and therefore it is in the general interest, of the Soviet Union as well as of other States, to find a formula that will lead to an easing of tension, both for the Hungarian people, who have suffered so much, and for the other peoples of the world. There is of course no question of renouncing any principles. What we now desire in this tragic affair is that wounds should be healed and that the foreign intervention should cease.

128. To bring this about, we feel it is important first of all that contacts should be made. Hence we support without reservation the designation of a special representative with broad powers of mediation. The choice of the President of this Assembly, His Royal Highness, Prince Wan Waithayakon, to carry out this important and very delicate mission, could not be a better or a wiser one. His appointment would please us greatly, not only because he represents a State with which we are united by the closest and most fraternal bonds of friendship, but also because no one better than he, in this Assembly, has gained our esteem and respect through his high ideals, the resoluteness of his judgement, and his wisdom.

129. We place great hopes in this mission, and we sincerely trust that the Soviet Union, in a spirit of true co-operation, will realize that it is in the interest of the peace of the world to support this effort at conciliation.

130. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): It was originally not the intention of the Austrian delegation to participate in the debate. We took note of the impressive report

of the Special Committee. The report speaks for itself. We do not believe that anything constructive could be added by the Austrian delegation.

131. We have also had the opportunity to hear the statements of the Hungarian representative. These statements contained passages referring directly to Austria. In particular, Mr. Mod asserted [673rd meeting] that, during the counter-revolution, Western imperialistic circles had sent fascist groups and arms *en masse*, under cover of the Red Cross, from Austria into Hungary. The Austrian delegation has already had the opportunity twice—on 22 November and 4 December 1956 [589th and 608th meetings]—to repudiate emphatically such allegations before the General Assembly. I wish to state again that these assertions in no way correspond to the facts.

132. As early as 25 October, two days after the outbreak of the revolution in Hungary, the Austrian Government took special measures along the Austrian-Hungarian frontier to tighten the control of border traffic. Two days later, on 27 October, measures were taken along the Western Austrian border to prevent the entry of stateless persons, particularly Hungarian emigrants, of whom it could be assumed that their coming into Austria might somehow be connected with events in Hungary.

133. On 28 October, the security measures along the Austro-Hungarian border were considerably strengthened by the establishment of a closed zone. That very same day, the diplomatic representatives of the four great Powers, as well as the Hungarian Minister in Vienna, were informed that this was being done to protect the independence of Austria and to safeguard its neutrality. As is mentioned in paragraph 143 of the report of the Special Committee, notice of this step was given to the Hungarian Government by the Austrian Legation in Budapest on 3 November. That this had not been done earlier was due to the fact that communications between the Austrian Government and the Austrian Legation in Budapest were temporarily disrupted by the rebellion.

134. The Hungarian representative has stated that the transport of persons and arms is supposed to have occurred under the cover of the Red Cross. In this connexion I should like to refer to my intervention before the General Assembly on 4 December 1956, in which I emphasized that such allegations were without foundation. It is noteworthy that the Kadar government, on 21 and 23 November, still evaluated Austrian Red Cross assistance in a different manner. At that time gratitude was expressed in two verbal notes addressed to the Austrian Legation in Budapest in the name of the Hungarian Government and of the Hungarian Red Cross for the help rendered by the Austrian Red Cross.

135. The Hungarian representative has further asserted that Hungarian politicians in exile reached Hungary through Austria during the revolution. The Austrian attitude with regard to this assertion is clearly demonstrated in the case of Ferenc Nagy, who arrived unexpectedly in Vienna on 30 October at 9 p.m. Already at the airport, an official had told him that he could not stay in Austria, and during his three hours' presence in Vienna he was accompanied by two Austrian officials. During those three hours he had no opportunity to give any instructions by telephone, a fact which was incidentally confirmed by the Bulgarian representative in his statement of 11 September [672nd meeting].

136. To sum up, I wish to state again that the accusations made by the Hungarian representative with regard to Austria are without any foundation.

137. As to the draft resolution which is before the General Assembly [4/3658 and Add.1], the Austrian delegation wishes to stress in particular one idea contained in paragraph 8 of the operative part. The Austrian Government is of the opinion that responsible persons in Budapest could best prove their good will by granting immediately a general amnesty to all those imprisoned and sentenced in connexion with the events of last year in Hungary. We hope with confidence that for humanitarian reasons such an appeal will not remain unheeded.

138. The Austrian delegation therefore suggests the following amendment to paragraph 8: to insert, after the words "repressive measures against the Hungarian people", the words: "and as an immediate proof of their good-will grant a general amnesty to all those imprisoned and sentenced in connexion with the events of last year in Hungary."

139. Mr. ESKELEND (Denmark): Obviously, there is no reason for me, especially at this late stage of the debate, to make any long statement on the Hungarian question. We whole-heartedly and unreservedly endorse the report of the Special Committee. When, a year ago, we first viewed the tragic events in Hungary, there was no doubt in our minds as to the essential facts that what was happening was indeed a spontaneous uprising of the Hungarian people against foreign oppression, that the goal of that uprising was solely to gain and to retain national freedom and independence, that in the minds of those who fought and died there was no trace of a wish to reinstitute any part of a social and economic order long since abandoned by the Hungarian people, and finally that this fight by the Hungarian people, its farmers and workers, its soldiers and intellectuals, led by the government of Imre Nagy, whose legality as representing the people and nation of Hungary was undisputed and indisputable, was being crushed by armed intervention from abroad.

140. These were, to our minds, the outstanding and essential facts of those days. Today they all stand as facts in the history of mankind. They have been proved beyond any possible doubt by the report of the Special Committee. Whatever artificial and cunning endeavours are made to reconstruct the history of the Hungarian popular uprising to mean, or as seeking to achieve, something different, they are bound to shipwreck on the hard facts now seen clearly by the whole world.

141. Our sympathy then went out to the gallant Hungarian people in their fight for the inalienable right of all peoples to decide for themselves, in freedom and in the exercise of their independence and sovereignty their own destiny. Today, from all parts of the world this same sympathy is being voiced by all peoples and governments able to express freely what they think and feel. My delegation will of course cast its vote in favour of the draft resolution introduced by thirty-seven delegations.

142. Mr. KING (Liberia): The policy of my Government in international affairs and towards the United Nations has been stated by the Chief Executive of my country on more than one occasion. It has been emphasized from this rostrum again and again by the leader of our delegation to the annual sessions of the General Assembly. My country's abhorrence of the use of force for the settlement of disputes, national or international

and its support for the use of all the machineries established under international law for the settlement of disputes, have been repeatedly stated from this dais by members of my country's delegations. Its adherence to the rule of law in a free society has always been exemplified in its votes cast in this Assembly when questions touching the violation of human rights and other world problems of moment have come before us. Its support of the purposes, aims and objectives of the United Nations, solemnly affirmed in the Charter, was strongly indicated when its delegation's vote was counted among the majority of Member States condemning the armed aggression in Korea, which has led to the artificial division of the Korean nation and people; when it voted along with other Member States for the withdrawal of the British, French and Israel troops from Egyptian territory last year, notwithstanding the warm and close ties of friendship existing between those countries and mine; when it voted in favour of the setting up of the Special Committee on Hungary, whose elucidating and valuable report is now before us for our consideration.

143. My Government voted in favour of the setting up of the United Nations Commission which was to be dispatched to the Union of South Africa on the still pending problems of race conflict and the *apartheid* policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa. Its regret for the attitude of, and subsequent position taken by, the Government of the Union of South Africa in invoking Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, and flatly refusing admittance on its territory to a Commission which had been duly set up by the United Nations, was clearly expressed and stated. In spite of the fact that this United Nations South African Commission was refused admittance on the territory of South Africa and therefore was compelled to conduct the investigation out of the territory, taking depositions of witnesses, and reviewing documentary evidence both official and private, relevant to its inquiry, this Assembly itself became seized of the report and, by an overwhelming majority of votes, retained the question on its agenda for consecutive sessions.

144. Today we have before us the report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, which was established under General Assembly resolution 1132 (XI) of 10 January 1957 to investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, to take testimony, collect evidence and receive information, as appropriate. The report is a most valuable documentation of the events which happened in Hungary last fall, which events have been called by some a revolution for freedom and by others a counter-revolutionary *putsch*. Various assessments and appraisals have been made by outstanding world leaders and Governments upon the merits of the report, the conclusions arrived at and its germaneness to the inquiry authorized.

145. Permit me to quote from the remarks made by the Chairman of my delegation at the debates held at the convening of the present eleventh session in October last. Speaking on right and justice, Mr. Cooper said:

"The human race never seems to profit from its past mistakes. The untold sufferings and miseries of past wars appear not to have affected our false sense of values. Right might be forever on the scaffold and wrong on the throne, but unless that scaffold governs our future, man will not be saved from the horrors and destruction of war. My Government therefore

strongly disapproves of the resort to force or violence in the settlement of any dispute, national or international—for it is immoral to effect just ends by unjust means.

"Moreover, we strongly believe in the spirit of the law; we believe that the law should be applied fairly and impartially to all, despite race, creed or origin: as it is in human affairs, so should it be in international affairs. We therefore hold and believe that treaties and international agreements should be considered as sacred, binding and inviolable. They should not be unilaterally abrogated by any nation, great or small, whenever the agreements no longer seem to harmonize with the nation's political ambitions or national aspirations. Trust and confidence are the keystones of all moral obligations; when these are shattered, man sinks to the status of the brute."
[590th meeting, paras. 144 and 145.]

146. My Government is one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution presented to the General Assembly [A/3658 and Add.1].

147. When the Special Committee on the problem of Hungary was established, it was the belief of my delegation that the Government of Hungary and all other interested parties would recognize the appointment of the Committee, admit the members thereof on their territories and facilitate the Committee's work in carrying out the mandate received from the Assembly. There was hope—though faint, I must say—that the Hungarian Government would submit its side of the question to the Committee. The opportunity thus afforded to the Hungarian Government to present its side might have lent a different aspect to the picture which is now presented to us in the report of the Special Committee.

148. The refusal of Hungary to recognize the right of the General Assembly to institute an investigation on its territory would seem, in my opinion, to remove all basis for the attacks which have been made on the members of the Special Committee with respect to bias, as well as for the criticisms belittling the report and the conclusions arrived at on the ground that they are based on *ex parte* evidence.

149. However, my delegation's approach to the question is to endeavour to reason with and, if possible, to persuade both the Hungarian Government and the Government of the USSR to recognize what I consider to be the objectivity of the approach of the United Nations in the "cold war" which has been going on for a considerable time.

150. The Secretary-General, on the occasion of the presentation of the Brazilian murals to the United Nations by the Brazilian Mission, made in his acceptance remarks what I consider to be a very cogent and significant statement regarding the labours of the United Nations. May I be permitted to quote the relevant portion of his remarks:

"By their nature and tradition, murals have always been a medium giving wide scope to the artist to portray in scene or allegory themes of significance in the life of his times. Mr. Portinari has chosen to depict his themes of 'war' and 'peace' in terms of human suffering and desolation and human gladness and rejoicing.

"We do well to be thus reminded that all our labours in this building have for their ultimate aim the security and enrichment of the lives of individual men, women and children. The 'peoples of the United Nations' have in the Charter made their choice be-

tween war and peace; these murals illustrate for us the meaning of that choice."

On looking at these murals, which cannot be avoided on entering and going from this shrine which is emblematical of man's trust in moral force, can anyone not be impressed by the deep, penetrating and saddening significance of the words of our Secretary-General?

151. It is evident that, while rules are necessary for a free society, they have to be translated into action by human beings. The provisions of the Charter in the field of human rights therefore must be translated into real and positive action; they must be made a living and vital reality by Governments of Member States in dealing with human beings. Such a field must be separated from power politics, for it transcends race, creed or colour.

152. It is in the light of these considerations that my Government has instructed its delegation to support the draft resolution which has been presented. My delegation joins in the appeals which have been so ardently made by the representatives of Member States who have preceded me requesting that both the Government of the USSR and the Government of Hungary view the action which this body undoubtedly will take as a desire on the part of the representatives of the peoples of the world, both in Hungary—of which I have no doubt—and outside Hungary, to restore normal conditions in international affairs and bring about happy relations between peoples. My delegation joins in the hope expressed by the great world statesman and scholar, now leader of the Indian people, only a few weeks ago. Mr. Nehru said:

"I hope the Hungarian Government will also work towards normalizing the conditions there and lessening, to some extent, the burdens that exist on many people who are imprisoned, and the rest."

153. Finally, my delegation heartily welcomes and endorses the suggested nomination of our President as the Assembly's special representative. We doubt whether an abler person could be found for such an important and delicate mission. His statesmanlike qualities, his love for humanity in general, his dedication to the cause of United Nations, his keen perception of right and justice, the great confidence which he enjoys and the high esteem in which he is held by all his fellow representatives and their respective Governments make him well suited for the special mission with which he will no doubt be charged. We do sincerely hope that Prince Wan's mission will prove beneficial to world order and that the desires of the peoples of the world for the restoration of normal conditions and good neighbourliness will be neither frustrated nor impeded.

154. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): In the twelve years of the United Nations' existence, some of the problems resulting from the rivalries and disagreements inherent in international coexistence have frequently assumed the proportions of ancient tragedy. The protagonists have been reduced to the depths of despair while the chorus has dilated on the fate that seems to govern the destinies of peoples and Governments in this atomic age.

155. A few years ago it was the Korean question which, like the problem of disarmament, invariably found its way on to the agenda of our annual sessions and led to the grim unfolding of all the features of a tragedy.

156. The same process occurred later with the problems, of the Near East and Eastern Europe, the final

act being the aggression committed against the peoples of Egypt and Hungary. We are still profoundly affected by events in Algeria and Cyprus, which are resulting in loss of life and the destruction of economic wealth, while the sense of justice and brotherhood is declining in nations which have always upheld the noblest human ideals.

157. When we consider these events in the context of time and place, we find that the Hungarian drama embodies many, if not all, of the characteristic features of the problems with which the United Nations has sought to wrestle in its twelve years of life.

158. The root of these problems is always the same: the desire of the powerful to dominate the weak and keep them in economic servitude and political subjection.

159. Mention must also be made of the apparently unshakable resolve of certain great Powers to suppress the slightest stirrings of liberty, resorting for that purpose to the harsh repression which is filling the contemporary political stage with the ghosts of millions of martyrs, new Christs with sad and gentle eyes, to use the language of the poet, Arthur Rimbaud.

160. Hungary epitomizes the fearful drama of the present time; a drama in which the representatives of the under-developed countries are playing the part of the chorus with its commentaries and lamentations.

161. Following its heartening success last year in securing the evacuation of Egyptian territory by the armed forces of the aggressor States, our Organization has been obliged to note the refusal of one of its most powerful Members—the Soviet Union—to comply with its decisions.

162. Far from complying with the resolutions of the General Assembly, one of its Members is continuing, with an impunity it owes to its power, to impose its own will, for the sake of its own interests, upon a people who are not Russian and do not wish to be Russian, because they are Hungarian first and last.

163. It would be a mistake to regard the Hungarian rebellion as a domestic matter, as an attempt by the people to replace the prevailing socialist system by an opposing system. In our opinion, what is happening in Hungary is precisely what happened in Poland. Two States, which have both played a prominent part in the history of Europe and which are famous for their cultural achievements and national exploits, are defending their historical identity and are trying to free themselves from foreign subjugation.

164. This is not the first time that these countries have fought to preserve their independence, nor is it the first time that they have opposed Russian expansionism. Today they are fighting against the Soviet Union as they formerly fought against the czars of Petrograd and the emperors of Vienna. In the case of Hungary as in the case of Poland, it is not a question of choosing one or the other of the economic and social systems existing in the contemporary world; it is merely a question of preventing foreign interference in the nation's domestic life. It is a typically nationalist and genuinely anti-interventionist struggle.

165. In reality, the events in Budapest last autumn were aimed solely at ousting the intruder from the country. In short, it was a struggle to recover a political independence which had been temporarily lost, a struggle which has its historical counterparts in the struggles of Flanders against Spain, of Spain against

France, of France against Nazi Germany, and of the Stalinist USSR to avoid subjugation to the swastika.

166. If we weigh up the results of all these kindred struggles, we shall see that the temporary defeat suffered by the Hungarian people is not irreparable. We are led to this conclusion by a study of what Gomulka's Poland and Tito's Yugoslavia have achieved as a result of similar efforts. Economic and social matters apart, these countries have recovered or preserved their independence from the Soviet Union.

167. Without forcing the argument, it follows that it would be a mistake to pose the problem of Hungary in capitalist or socialist terms. If we were to persist in considering the Hungarian-Soviet conflict in this light, we would fall into another error which would also be interventionist.

168. What really concerns us is to find an effective means of convincing the Soviet Union that it has a moral obligation to respect the principles laid down in the Charter: the principle of the self-determination of peoples and of non-intervention by Members of the world Organization in the domestic affairs of sovereign States. These two principles, which are closely inter-connected, have constituted the legal and moral patrimony of the Latin American peoples for over a century.

169. The entire history of Latin America, from the time it achieved political independence, has been characterized by a desire to uphold both these principles. It was thanks to them that the colonial yoke was thrown off, political independence preserved and the continent prevented from sinking into widespread anarchy. A similar policy has been and is being followed by the United States. The application of the Monroe doctrine to the whole continent served to prevent European intervention in the hemisphere. Through the most illustrious of its sons, Benito Juárez, Mexico, in its turn, threw down an emperor's head as a challenge to the European interventionists.

170. It should therefore occasion no surprise that the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] submitted to the General Assembly as a result of the report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary is sponsored or supported by all the Latin American States. This unanimity testifies to the fact that the Governments and peoples of Latin America are as resolutely opposed as in the past to intervention of any kind in the domestic affairs of sovereign States.

171. My country is weak despite its large area and its vast, as yet unexploited, economic wealth. For that very reason, the Bolivian people are staunch champions of the principle of non-intervention, since its recognition and observance are the only guarantees of their future development. This explains my country's abhorrence of any act which tends to impair the sovereignty, independence or freedom of weaker States; this explains our indignation at the events that occurred in Budapest and which, in our opinion, represented oppression of the weak by the strong.

172. The report of the Special Committee, which the eleventh session of the General Assembly has been reconvened to consider, has been the subject of violent attack and also of high praise. My delegation feels that, for a calm and objective appraisal of this important document, a middle course is required.

173. We consider that the attacks made by some delegations on the authors of the report are without foundation. We are convinced that the honesty and

moral integrity of the five members of the Committee are beyond question and that no suspicion of partiality or ulterior motives can arise. We also know that the document cannot be perfect, because we realize that its authors have had to contend with the inherent fallibility of the human mind, with the danger of bias due to personal predilections in political, economic, social and religious matters, and to those "enemies of man", as Goethe calls imagination, education, preconceived ideas and so forth.

174. In general, the report is sound, because it sets out facts which cannot be falsified. It could be better; the fact that it is not is due neither to negligence nor to omission on the part of its authors, but rather to the refusal of the Hungarian authorities to admit them to the scene of the events which were under investigation.

175. As a whole, however, the report gives a true and undistorted picture. Its conclusions coincide not only with views of anti-communist Western public opinion, but also with those expressed by eminent European thinkers, scientists and artists with communist or pro-Soviet affiliations, including men of world-wide renown such as Joliot-Curie, Vercors and Pablo Picasso. Both in public and in private all these men have absolutely condemned the bloody intervention of the Soviet army to crush a spontaneous popular uprising designed to free Hungary from the foreign yoke. It should be borne in mind that these same men have been influential in persuading the present rulers of the USSR to respect the Gomulka government, which is judiciously but firmly regaining for Poland the attributes of a sovereign State.

176. As representatives of Western culture, these men are undoubtedly imbued with a keen sense of justice. They could provide the United Nations with valuable allies in its efforts to achieve our common aim of restoring independence and sovereignty to the Hungarian State. That is why, as I have said before, I believe that the Hungarian problem must be dealt with on a high level, above political or ideological considerations.

177. The best service we can render the heroic and suffering Hungarian people is to emphasize that the United Nations has one purpose only, that of securing the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Hungarian soil so that the Hungarian people, once they have regained their political independence, may be able to organize their national institutions according to their own wishes.

178. The Bolivian delegation considers that the draft resolution of which it is a co-sponsor is animated by this desire of liberation. It also believes that the appointment of Prince Wan Waithayakon to carry out the General Assembly's lofty purposes is an act of good sense that takes account of the urgent need, at this dark hour in the world's history, to give the primacy to wisdom, understanding and the will to peace rather than to insults, bad faith and the thunder of inter-continental missiles.

179. Mr. ANTHONY (Ghana): I have sat through three days of debate on the report on Hungary [A/3592] and I have heard various arguments for and against the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] which is before the Assembly at this time. To anybody who is prepared to base his conclusions on the available evidence, one inescapable fact stands out quite clearly: there can be no question as to the integrity of the members of the Special Committee and the scrupulous

objectivity and fairness which they brought to the very complex problem that was assigned to them. The report itself is an excellent exercise in the sifting of evidence, and it is very difficult to see how anyone can quarrel with its conclusions.

180. I am not going to speak at any length, since the main points raised in this report have already been touched upon by previous speakers. I should only like to say that, in the view of my delegation, this Assembly would be failing in its duty if it did not accept the report and adopt the draft resolution now before us. The regrettable incidents that took place in Hungary during the period covered by this report are a matter of historical record.

181. Many reasons have been advanced during the course of this debate to justify the armed intervention in Hungary. It has also been argued that the whole Hungarian problem is outside the competence of the Assembly because it is solely the internal affair of the people of Hungary. We cannot accept this line of argument. We believe that when the internal affairs of a country take a certain form, especially when they infringe the human rights of peoples, they become the concern of the whole world, and no amount of legalistic quibbling can absolve us from our responsibility as members not only of the United Nations but also of the entire human family. In my delegation's view, what may appear or be described by some people as the internal affairs of States Members of this Organization may in fact be incidents that could easily endanger international peace and security.

182. The point has been made during this debate that there are examples of the denial of human rights in other parts of the world. Now, my delegation would like to take this opportunity of placing it on record that we condemn, without any reservation, the denial of human rights to any people from whatever quarter, and we wish to place all nations which are guilty of this on notice that we shall always condemn such policies whenever they are brought before the bar of this Assembly.

183. Coming back to the immediate matter before us, we would urge the Assembly to adopt the present draft resolution and to deplore the armed intervention in Hungary. We would also wish the Assembly to express its grave concern about and strong disapproval of the way in which its express resolutions are being flouted by one of its most powerful and most valuable Members. We believe that such acts of defiance cannot be in the interests of this great Assembly, which, in our opinion, is the only hope of preventing mankind from rushing towards ultimate annihilation.

184. As a nation which has only recently achieved its independence, we have a vested interest in orderly international intercourse and the rule of law, and we would always vehemently protest in any instance in which it was clearly demonstrated that one country had used its superior military power to crush a movement for freedom in another country.

185. We should, however, like to make it quite clear that we would be sorely disappointed if the adoption of the present draft resolution were to be interpreted by any side as a political victory or defeat. We are here concerned only with principles and the suffering of humanity, wherever that may be. We believe in the dignity of the human personality and the struggle of man for a higher destiny, and we are convinced that this cannot be reduced to terms of political gain or loss. The world has been in a continuous state of ten-

sion for several years, and we do not think that anybody would be justified in using what happens here as a pretext for exacerbating tension.

186. The twelfth session of the Assembly is almost upon us. That session has on its provisional agenda many questions of no less importance than the tragic events which form the subject of the report of the Special Committee. That is why we urge that the outcome of this debate should not be allowed to affect adversely the atmosphere of the forthcoming twelfth session and prevent it from making an effective attempt to solve some of the many intricate problems that will confront it.

187. The attitude of my delegation towards this issue will be based on the principles I have stated. We affirm our faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Government and people of Ghana are determined to do everything in their power to ensure that those principles are upheld in the conduct of relations among peoples.

188. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In its earlier statements, the Soviet delegation fully explained its position on the uproar which the United States and other Western countries are raising for purposes of provocation over the report of the so-called Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, and it had not intended to speak again. However, it considers it necessary to make a few observations in connexion with some of the statements that have been made in the Assembly.

189. Certain delegations are continuing to use the forum of the United Nations for inflammatory speeches and gross insinuations against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with a view to intensifying the "cold war". A false version of events in Hungary is again being given currency and attempts are once more being made to depict the fascist *putsch* as a "national revolution". Yet no subterfuges or oratorical artifices can hide what is common knowledge, namely, that a counter-revolutionary revolt inspired and organized by hostile forces abroad took place in Hungary in October and November 1956.

190. That revolt was put down by the efforts of the lawful authority, the revolutionary Hungarian Government, set up by virtue of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic and enjoying the support of the whole Hungarian people. Any attempt to cast doubt on the legality of the Hungarian Government or to sow distrust of it among the masses of the people is doomed to complete failure.

191. Attempts are also being made in this Assembly to cast doubt on the Hungarian Government's right to take legal steps to suppress the armed revolt prepared and unleashed by the forces of reaction both outside and within the country. But these attempts are vain. It is beyond dispute that the presence of Soviet forces on Hungarian territory is a matter exclusively within the competence of the Governments of Hungary and of the Soviet Union. The discussion in the United Nations of all these questions and of the trumped-up material included in the report of the Special Committee is illegal; it runs counter to the Charter, which prohibits intervention in the domestic affairs of the States Members of the United Nations. The main purpose of the present discussion is undoubtedly to intensify the "cold war" and the slanderous campaign of hatred against the people's democracy

of Hungary, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

192. Apart from the United States representative, the most energetic speakers on this question have, as before, been the representatives of the United Kingdom and France. These representatives have spoken at length of their devotion to freedom and the equal rights of peoples, human rights and so on. One would have thought the speakers on the rostrum were not the representatives of colonial Powers, but sincere advocates of freedom and national equality. In fact, however, the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Noble, and the French representative, Mr. Georges-Picot, will deceive no one with their hypocritical words and empty phrases.

193. It is well known that British and French reactionary circles also had a hand in organizing the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary. It is generally recognized that one objective of this uprising was that it should serve as a cloak for British and French intervention against Egypt and that it should distract world public opinion from the cruelties inflicted on the peaceful inhabitants of that country by the British and French forces of intervention.

194. The Hungarian question has been fabricated and forced on the United Nations by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France not merely in order to provide an occasion for a slanderous campaign against Hungary, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, not merely to evade responsibility for the organization of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary, but as a smoke-screen to permit them to continue their aggressive activities in the future.

195. Recent events show that the ruling circles in the United States have openly embarked on a policy of acting from a "position of strength" and that they do not intend to pay any attention either to the United Nations or to world opinion. This is clearly indicated, among other things, by the notorious Dulles-Eisenhower doctrine, which is a plan to suppress the national liberation movement in the countries of the Near and Middle East and to bring about the colonial enslavement of the Arab peoples by United States monopolies. The United Kingdom and France are struggling hard not only to preserve their colonial dominion over the peoples of various regions of the world and to destroy the national liberation movement of the enslaved peoples, but also, by acts of flagrant aggression, to extend their influence over countries which have attained independence and to bring them once again under their sway.

196. As a result of these aggressive activities by the United States, the United Kingdom and France, a tense atmosphere fraught with great dangers for international peace and security now prevails in various regions of the world, particularly in the Near and Middle East.

197. The United Kingdom Government has once again resorted to the use of military force in the Near and Middle East, and notably in Oman and Yemen. In an attempt to evade responsibility for the illegal attack on Oman and to prevent the United Nations from condemning this aggression, the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France have prevented a discussion of this question in the Security Council despite the fact that such a discussion was requested by the eleven Arab States Members of

the United Nations. Is this not making a mockery of the principles of the Organization?

198. Mr. Noble's speeches will not succeed in diverting the attention of peoples from the fact that, before the eyes of the whole world, the British forces used jet planes and the latest artillery and armoured units in their inhuman attacks on the people of Oman who were struggling for their independence. Nor will he succeed in concealing other instances of the bloody repression by British colonialists of freedom-loving peoples, and there are many such instances.

199. For some years, now, United Kingdom armed forces have been trying vainly to put down the national liberation movement in Cyprus. United Kingdom forces recently subjected the peaceful population of Yemen to a cruel bombardment. There are reports that the United Kingdom Government is making new military preparations against Yemen and that powerful military contingents and armaments are hurriedly being assembled in neighbouring Aden. No matter what speeches Mr. Noble may make here, the peoples of the world categorically condemn these aggressive activities of the colonialists.

200. Nor is it by chance that the French representative, Mr. Georges-Picot, has been so particularly active here and that he made such a malignant speech about events in Hungary. Mr. Georges-Picot apparently hopes by such speeches to divert the attention of the world from the harsh manner in which the French forces are suppressing the national liberation movement in Algeria, and the brutal reprisals that are being taken against Algerian patriots struggling for the independence of their people. Mr. Georges-Picot's plans, however, are doomed to failure, and the representatives of the Asian countries speaking here have brought this fact to his attention.

201. Recent events bear witness to the fact that reactionary circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France are planning further steps in their policy of aggression, particularly in the Near and Middle East. The war of nerves against Syria is being intensified and new joint assaults are being prepared against the Syrian Republic.

202. It is characteristic that the subversive methods which were employed in Hungary by reactionary circles in the United States are now being actively used in other parts of the world as well. In particular, an anti-government plot, organized by official United States representatives, was discovered in Syria not long ago. A similar plot was also uncovered in Egypt.

203. In the light of these facts, it is not difficult to see why the Assembly was reconvened so urgently to discuss the Hungarian question and why the representatives of the colonial Powers have shown such zeal. Nevertheless, however hard they may try, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France will not succeed in convincing us that the aggressive circles in their countries are the defenders of national rights. Nor can their speeches divert world attention from the policy of repression and enslavement of colonial and dependent peoples that their Governments are pursuing.

204. Certain other delegations, too, are playing an unseemly role in the concert of provocations organized in connexion with the Hungarian question. They are not in the least concerned about the welfare of the Hungarian people. Their speeches are intended to support an unworthy campaign to use the United Na-

tions to aggravate the international atmosphere and conceal the aggressive plans of the colonial Powers. It is not by chance that other colonial Powers, such as the Netherlands, have actively joined in the chorus of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. These countries are linked not only by common participation in aggressive blocs, but by a community of interests in the struggle against the national liberation movement, which is winning increasing victories despite all efforts to suppress it.

205. During the past year, the record for the most and the longest inflammatory speeches on the so-called Hungarian problem would seem to have been held by the representative of Cuba.

206. Obviously the affairs of the organizers of this slanderous campaign against the socialist countries must be at rather a low ebb if they have to look for support from the representative of the dictatorial and terroristic dictatorship in Cuba, which is so mercilessly repressing the Cuban patriots at this very moment. The cynicism with which Mr. Nuñez Portuondo holds forth here, daring to portray the dictatorial régime which he serves as the champion of the rights of man and the freedom of peoples, is indeed astonishing.

207. We do not intend to dwell on the innumerable inventions presented here by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and other countries. They were only repetitions of the falsehoods set forth in the Special Committee's report.

208. The only difference between the present debate and earlier discussions of the question is that those delegations previously tried to organize a crusade against Hungary and the other socialist countries on the basis of falsified material obligingly furnished by the enormous United States propaganda machine. At the time, we cited examples of the flagrant falsehoods which certain delegations had seized upon and disseminated from this rostrum.

209. They included base rumours about alleged deportations, the crudest insinuations concerning the conduct of the Soviet forces, fabrications about the violation of human rights in Hungary, and so forth. All those allegations, however, were exposed and burst like soap-bubbles. Then came a new manoeuvre: the setting up of the so-called Special Committee, which was instructed to bring together all these insinuations and present them as the findings of an investigation, drawn up in the form of a United Nations document to make them more convincing.

210. And now the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and certain other countries are trying to palm off the same old falsehoods, gathered together in the Committee's report, as the result of a supposedly "objective" and "impartial" investigation. With untiring eloquence, these representatives have been lauding the Committee's report to the skies.

211. In this case too, however, their efforts are futile. We cannot fail to notice that in the very resolution [1132 (XI)] setting up the Special Committee it was actually predetermined that the Committee should submit material concerning "the situation created by the intervention of the USSR, through its use of armed force and other means, in the internal affairs of Hungary". Thus we see that at the outset the Committee was frankly assigned the task of substantiating the allegation that the USSR had intervened in the internal

affairs of Hungary and other inventions of the United States Department of State.

212. The facts show that the composition of the Committee was worked out in such a way as to ensure that there would be no disagreement with the United States point of view. It is enough to study the records of the discussion of the Hungarian question in the General Assembly to be convinced that long before the Committee was set up all five of the representatives who were eventually to be appointed to it had taken up positions of support for the lies disseminated by United States propaganda about the events in Hungary. In such circumstances how is it possible to speak of "objectivity" and "impartiality" in the selection of materials and other such matters?

213. The attitude of one member of the Committee, for example, and I refer to Mr. Rodríguez Fabregat, is clearly apparent from the venomous statement which he made this morning [675th meeting]. In his zeal to defend the inclusion of falsehoods in the report, he did not hesitate to make gross personal attacks on the representative of Hungary, Mr. Mod. He was not deterred even by the pathetic example of the Cuban representative, Mr. Nuñez Portuondo, who had engaged in personal attacks on the Hungarian representative in place of arguments and had then been obliged to acknowledge that what he had said was not true.

214. The Special Committee having fulfilled the task assigned to it, the United States Department of State has used its report to stir up a noisy new campaign against Hungary and the Soviet Union which, in accordance with the plans of its organizers, is to culminate in the adoption of yet another resolution.

215. The text of that draft resolution, drawn up in the State Department, shows that the United States expects to continue using the United Nations as a means of stirring up hostility between nations, propagating brazen and slanderous falsehoods about the countries of the socialist camp and openly intervening in the internal affairs of Hungary. The draft resolution repeats the fabrications about events in Hungary which are set forth in the Committee's report. It provides not only for the continued existence of the illegally established Committee, but also for the creation of a new post, that of the so-called special representative of the General Assembly on the Hungarian problem. The Assembly will thus be able to consider reports, not of the Committee, which has already brought discredit upon itself, but of that representative. We regret that Prince Wan Waithayakon has been drawn into this noisy propaganda campaign against the socialist countries, which is a disgrace to the United Nations.

216. The contents of the draft resolution were a foregone conclusion, for its sponsors, apart from the United States, are, first and foremost, States which belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, and other aggressive blocs. Among the co-sponsors of the draft resolution there is not a single country which has not entered into a military agreement with the United States.

217. It goes without saying that the Soviet delegation will vote against that draft resolution.

218. The sponsors of the draft resolution are counting on being able to interfere with the business of the twelfth session of the General Assembly as well. That is the reason why they have proposed the inclusion of the so-called Hungarian question in the agenda of that session. They want an uproar over the Hungarian

question at the twelfth session in order to hide from world public opinion their unwillingness to reach agreement on urgent problems which appear on the provisional agenda of the twelfth session and which affect the vital interests of the peoples of all countries, such as disarmament, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the cessation of the repression by the colonialists of the national liberation movements in Algeria, Cyprus, Oman and other parts of the world.

219. The clamour in the United Nations about the Hungarian question also serves to cover up the fact that reactionary circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France, despite the failure of their adventure in Hungary, are not ceasing but rather are intensifying their subversive activity against the socialist countries, preparing new diversions and onslaughts against those countries.

220. We can state with assurance that the attempts to undermine the socialist countries will be fruitless. The peoples of those countries will continue to march forward with confidence, whatever intrigues may be plotted by internal and foreign reaction.

221. This hullabaloo about the Hungarian question which has been raised by the reactionary circles of the United States and other Western countries has already done serious harm to the prestige and authority of the United Nations, and serves to distract its attention from the vitally important problems affecting the cause of peace which are now before it.

222. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers it imperative to remind the Members of the Assembly once again that we cannot allow reactionary circles in the United States to make such high-handed use of the United Nations for their own ends. Responsibility for the consequences of such misuse of the United Nations, to the detriment of the cause of peace and the security of peoples, will rest primarily with the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France and with those countries which are actively supporting their campaign of provocation in connexion with the discussion of the Hungarian problem.

223. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): The Tunisian delegation feels that it cannot let this discussion on Hungary end without stating its position clearly and definitely. I am not now speaking as a member of the Special Committee which the General Assembly instructed in resolution 1132 (XI) to make an investigation of the deplorable events that occurred at Budapest in October and November 1956 and their consequences. The report which is the subject of this discussion was adopted unanimously by the members of the Special Committee and gives a sufficiently clear idea of my views on the matter in that capacity.

224. I am now speaking on behalf of the Tunisian delegation which has studied the report and its conclusions, and I wish to define our position at the close of this four-day discussion and explain our views regarding the thirty-seven Power draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1].

225. While fully approving the report and its conclusions, my delegation did not feel that it should express any definite opinion regarding either the inferences to be drawn from it or the draft resolution which should close this discussion until it had listened without bias to the various points of view put forward during the discussion and heard the reasons given for criticizing or approving the report.

226. We have therefore followed the various points of view expressed with unfailing attention. We feel that no really serious criticisms of the report or its conclusions have been made. In our opinion nothing has been said of a nature to diminish the value of the report or cast doubt on its veracity or the conclusions that should logically be drawn from it.

227. The objection could of course be made—and has been made—that the Committee collected most of its information about the events of October and November 1956 from Hungarian refugees abroad. But that was not the Committee's fault. The report gives a clear account of the efforts made by the Committee to carry out its investigation at Budapest itself and to obtain from the Hungarian authorities themselves the arguments or evidence in favour of their views of events. This might have shed new light upon the conclusions of the report by making it possible to compare the various views expressed with the ascertained facts.

228. The Committee noted with regret the failure of its efforts in this field. It is no valid excuse to maintain that the Committee had no authority to act because General Assembly resolution 1132 (XI), under which the Committee was set up, was not consistent with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Other speakers besides myself have rightly and adequately refuted this point of view.

229. Many of those who claim that Article 2, paragraph 7, is not applicable to Hungary are quite ready to adduce it in other cases, such as that of Algeria, but Tunisia is sincerely convinced of the value of the principles of the Charter and of the importance of their observance by Member States and cannot therefore indulge in mental gymnastics of this kind. Tunisia feels that in Hungary as in Algeria the people wish to manage their own affairs freely and without constraint and to enjoy full dignity and independence.

230. The United Nations was rightly concerned at the violent repression in Hungary last year. The Committee's report has confirmed how well founded was this concern by demonstrating the scope of the repression and the amount of suffering, damage and loss of life which it involved. However, this is no worse than what has been happening in Algeria during the last three years: loss of life, damage, suffering, and flagrant violation of the sacred principles of human rights.

231. Yesterday [674th meeting] my delegation listened with close attention to the representative of France eloquently stigmatizing the repression in Hungary in October and November 1956. My delegation is grateful to him for his words in favour of the Hungarian people. But we should be grateful if he did not adopt a completely different attitude when the Algerian question comes before the next session of the General Assembly. I do not, however, intend to deal with this question today. It should be left to the twelfth session of the General Assembly for thorough discussion.

232. I come now to the conclusions that the General Assembly should draw from the report which is at present under discussion. My delegation feels that the Special Committee's report should be approved because it is based on a thorough investigation from which logical conclusions are drawn. These are free of bias, whatever may have been said to the contrary, and are consistent with the principles laid down in the Charter.

233. In addition, the draft resolution before the Assembly was sponsored by thirty-seven delegations. The Tunisian delegation feels that it is consistent with the principles of the Charter and therefore approves it.

234. Some may have thought during this discussion that, confronted with the flagrant and premeditated violation of its own territory at ever more frequent intervals in recent months by the troops of France, one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, the Tunisian delegation might be tempted to withhold its approval of the draft resolution, or at least to adopt a slightly different attitude. But that is not so. It is not because a friendly country is at present guilty of serious breaches of our sovereignty, nor because we see that country unfortunately continuing to pursue mistaken policies towards us and our neighbours, that we should fail to join it and other countries in upholding right and justice for the Hungarian people, even if France fails to recognize these very same principles in its dealings with the peoples of Algeria and Tunisia.

235. The Tunisian delegation therefore feels that it is the General Assembly's duty to condemn the serious injury done to the Hungarian people last year. By so doing, the General Assembly will give the opportunity to an intelligent and sagacious negotiator to try to find a fair and equitable solution, in conformity with the law and with the resolutions it has adopted. My delegation is pleased to note that His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon has been chosen as negotiator. His talents as a diplomat, his wisdom and devotion to the principles of the Charter, have earned him general esteem and consideration.

236. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution presented to the Assembly.

237. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States, after careful study, has decided that it will oppose all amendments to the pending draft resolution. We do so with full awareness and appreciation of the good motives actuating the author of the amendments which have been submitted [A/L.223]. It is generally agreed here what our real goal is in these proceedings; it is to gain relief for the sufferings of the Hungarian people, which have been visited on them by the Soviet Union. In pursuing that goal, the greatest instrument in our hands is the force of public opinion exerted upon the Soviet Government. If that force is to be effective, it must be clearly and sharply focused. The draft resolution was written in clear and simple language for that reason.

238. There was remarkable unanimity among the thirty-seven sponsors on this language. We believe that it expresses, in terms which nobody anywhere can fail to understand, the insistence of world opinion that the wrongs in Hungary must be put right. Whatever the good motives of those who suggest amendments, in the eyes of world public opinion they would seem to weaken the draft resolution and thereby weaken and dissipate the good influence which we are trying to exert. It must be added that as a practical matter words which might have been quite acceptable in the original draft resolution cannot be accepted at this late stage. The world would compare them with the original language and would look on them as a retreat and as a sign of weakness.

239. For example, to include the word "main" before the word "conclusion" in operative paragraph 3 would suggest that there were some conclusions in the report which were not "main" and which, for some reason which was not apparent before this debate began, were not worthy of our endorsement. That may not

be the purpose of this amendment, but it would be understood in that way.

240. In the same way, to substitute the word "deplores" for the word "condemns" in operative paragraph 5 would be regarded throughout the world as a watering down, as a weakening of our resolve to be opposed to evil. Such an impression would turn these proceedings into an actual encouragement to oppression instead of being the deterrent they are supposed to be. As it stands, the language in paragraph 5 does not condemn persons, it condemns actions, but the actions themselves are far worse than deplorable. We must not appear to back down in our condemnation of them.

241. The proposal to strike out from paragraph 9 the language which provides that the special representative shall consult as appropriate with the Special Committee will be viewed as an act abolishing the Committee and as a repudiation of the Committee's work. This is an impression which we must avoid at all costs. We admire what the Committee has done, we are meeting here to express our confidence in it; we must do nothing to indicate that we do not have full confidence in it, even though for the future the main burden of action will rest with the special representative.

242. In conclusion, let me say this. The language of this draft resolution is not inflated or violent, it is accurate and it is true. Let those who fear that it is too weak, and let those who fear that it is too strong, remember the old saying, "truth is mighty and will prevail."

243. Mr. MALOLES (Philippines): The totality of what has been said by various delegations has in our opinion established that the USSR and Hungarian arguments denying the right of the General Assembly to discuss this question have been completely demolished.

244. Is the Hungarian question a problem of internal jurisdiction? It is not and cannot be, given the nature of the case. All the treaties concluded by Hungary with the USSR, including the Warsaw Treaty, negate this view. The fact of Soviet intervention internationalized the issue. It must be patent even to the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian régime that the denial of fundamental freedoms and the armed intervention by one State in the internal affairs of another is a legitimate area of international concern and constitutes illegal aggression by the Soviet Union's own definition and standard.

245. The Special Committee has found no evidence of an armed attack on Hungary by another State, which under article 4 of the Warsaw Treaty provides the only ground for the entry of Soviet troops into Hungary. The Warsaw Treaty, moreover, contains specific interdiction of the use of force in the international relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. Our delegation can do no less than to support the Committee's conclusion that Soviet intervention in Hungary was aggression in the most naked and cynical form. These wanton acts echo the darkest chapters of human history; they are a reversion to the brutality and cynicism which was and continues to be the most shameful blot on the conscience not only of the Soviet Union but also of mankind.

246. Beyond the reading of the facts, what does Soviet aggression in Hungary show? It means a breakdown in the alleged liberation programme inaugurated with such fanfare at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party. It means a return to the era of Soviet

repression of the thirties. It portends a period of Soviet truculence in its relation to the world.

247. These are disturbing thoughts, particularly to those who have not entirely given up the hope that coexistence is possible and that the spirit of Geneva would prove more lasting, and that a level-headed evaluation of the realities of the thermonuclear age would, of basic necessity, produce more rational policies in international relations.

248. In the meantime, we are faced with a problem of how to deal with the Hungarian situation. We had in earlier meetings asked the two Governments to do what we are asking now. None of our basic recommendations have been heeded, nor has there been a change in the stand of the Soviet Union or of the Kadar régime. On the contrary, the defiance of the Assembly's regulation has been flagrant and absolute. According to the most reliable available information, the Soviet Union has now increased its troops in Hungary from 80,000 to 100,000. It is immaterial that a treaty of 22 May 1957 between the USSR and Hungary attempts to legalize their presence. No legal right could flow from the acts of the illegitimate and puppet Kadar government. What causes profound concern is the presence of such large numbers of troops. The only possible conclusion that can be drawn is that the Soviet army is now being employed to prop up a régime which does not, never did and can never hold the loyalty of its own people and is doing so by the only method it knows—by terror and coercion.

249. We have in so many words expressed our views in the draft resolution and have made suitable recommendations, which we believe to be the most practicable way of keeping this tragic incident alive and fresh in the memory of mankind. The idea of a special representative in the person of our beloved Prince Wan could not fail to impress those who believe in an approach that is both practical and productive of goodwill.

250. The draft resolution is not intended to exhaust all the possibilities of solution of the Hungarian problem. There remain alternatives or at any rate actions complementary to the draft resolution which the Assembly might find well worth examining. Should the two Governments turn to Prince Wan the same cold shoulder they have turned to our Secretary-General and the Special Committee, would it help the purpose of the Assembly if it refused to consider the credentials of the representatives of the Kadar régime to the United Nations? May the Assembly not declare the Hungarian seat vacant until the legitimate representatives of Hungary are installed, without resorting to suspension or expulsion, two possibilities which have been ruled out by the presence of the USSR in the Security Council, considering its veto power over any possible recommendation of the Council? If the Kadar government has no legal status, as the report of the Special Committee concludes, we could do no worse than recognize the fact that the present régime is without real power and therefore has no voice of its own such as would place it in a position to make decisions *vis-à-vis* the United Nations.

251. It is difficult to envisage at this point the exact course which a solution to the Hungarian problem may take. It will take energetic leadership and imaginative and bold, perhaps even audacious, actions to start us off on the right track. It presents a test of serenity and courage which addresses itself to the great Powers.

252. What has been done in Hungary cannot be undone. We know, and we know that the Soviet Union knows, that it is altogether too late at this point for subjugation and conquest in the Stalinist pattern. It is completely wrong and not even practical. The use of naked force does not generate prestige; it merely destroys prestige. Could not the Soviet Union see its way clear to withdraw its troops from Hungary and allow the Hungarian people to determine their destiny as they deem fit? The Hungarian people want Nagy as their leader. May he not be allowed to return following withdrawal of the Soviet troops to enable this people to realize their democratic aspirations?

253. The Hungarian problem does not exist in isolation. It is part of a larger context of events, and perhaps it is only in this context that a practical and lasting solution can be possible. The representative of Ireland has proposed to this Assembly [669th meeting] a solution which is worth considering. There are trends of discussion in the disarmament negotiations that can be profitably pursued. I refer to the withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe. Very little progress has been made on this, but the idea should not be entirely abandoned. A formula may still be found which, without tilting the balance of power in Europe—and we have to face the fact that a balance of power exists—one way or the other, may still provide ironclad guarantees against the violation of the sovereignty and integrity of countries which would be left free by said withdrawal. The road to peace is open to us in many directions. We should persevere, and keep on trying.

254. The amendment submitted by the representative of Burma [A/L.223] to the draft resolution asks for the elimination of the word "condemn" and the substitution therefore of the word "deplore". When we deplore, we mean to say we are sorry. But is the cold-blooded murder of 26,000 Hungarians whose only crime was to fight for the freedom of their country the kind of thing that we should only be sorry about? Does not that deserve a stronger condemnation and does not that render the text of our present draft resolution rather innocuous and make it an understatement of our true feelings on the matter? Should we not have said rather that we vehemently and unceasingly condemn those acts, and continue repeating the said condemnation until it is engraved in the mind and heart of humanity?

255. It is argued that, having used the word "condemn" in the first resolution, it would be redundant to use it again in this draft resolution. Is it bad to be redundant or repetitious when one wants to be emphatic? That is a question I would rather leave to the representative of Burma to answer.

256. Again, the representative of Burma asked [674th meeting] why we had not given to the Algerian problem the same attention and interest we gave to the Hungarian question, and why this question was not included in the agenda of this part of the session. The representative of the Algerian Liberation Movement has requested that the problem of Algeria be taken up at the twelfth session. The Afro-Asian group, following the request of the Algerian representative, has specifically requested [A/3617 and Add.1] that the Algerian question be included in the agenda of the twelfth session. Who are we to question this procedure? Let me recall a Spanish proverb which says: "No podemos ser más papistas que el Papa."

257. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): Three days ago [672nd meeting] the Bulgarian delegation expressed

its views on the report of the Special Committee on the so-called Hungarian question. Now I should like in brief to state our attitude towards the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] that has been submitted.

258. First of all, I would like to note that this draft resolution, worked out by the United States and joined in by other countries, does not differ in spirit or content from the report of the Special Committee; and this is no accident. The report was made with a special aim—that of concocting some so-called conclusions which would become the basis of an anti-Hungarian and anti-Soviet resolution. As shown by the text of the draft resolution, the principal section, operative paragraph 4, is a copy of the so-called conclusions of the report.

259. But is not the line of fanning the so-called Hungarian question constantly so obvious? Everything is being done so rudely that it can be seen through by all objective people. At the second emergency special session, and during the eleventh session, a great noise was raised so as to justify the appointment of the five-member Special Committee through which the Western imperialistic circles planned to interfere in the internal affairs of the Hungarian people. This Committee, as it has been established, worked with witnesses selected by it. These witnesses, being participants in the crimes committed against the Hungarian people, would not tell the truth, but would lie and slander. The report passed through the hands of the centres concerned, which shaped the respective "conclusions".

260. As the report admits, no matter what the proof and evidence of the Soviet Union and Hungarian Government may be, the Committee declared that it would not change its views. These conclusions, it is said, cannot be changed by the Committee even in the face of crushing evidence from the opposite side.

261. Now these conclusions are to serve as a basis for a new slanderous and undignified draft resolution. This draft resolution reveals the provocative intentions of its real authors. Thus, the main organizers of all this—above all, the representative of the United States—wish to go ahead with poisoning the atmosphere in the United Nations, with reviving the "cold war", with heightening world tension still further. These are the aims pursued by the organizers of the second emergency special session, of the numerous day and night meetings earlier in the eleventh session, and of the special meetings now, only a few days before the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

262. Today the United States Press and radio are trying to mislead public opinion, alleging that the representatives of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies in the United Nations more or less attacked the "peaceful and innocent" representatives of the United States. The radio station of *The New York Times* alleges that the State Department was perplexed as to what these attacks of the delegations of the socialist countries against the United States meant and asked whether they did not mean a change in the peace-loving policy of these countries. The policy of peace of the socialist countries is firm, unwavering and consistent. Nothing can ever change it, because it is prompted by basic principles in our socialist systems; it is vitally important to our peoples who are building their new, happy life; it is prompted by our deep conviction that all peoples need peace, that only along the road of understanding and mutual all-round co-operation can all peoples advance on the road to progress.

263. That is why we have not changed and we shall not change our policy of strengthening world peace, but shall continue to fight for its implementation. But to pursue a policy of peace does not mean to make your people vulnerable to the blows of the enemies of peace, of the lovers of small and major wars. To conduct a peace policy does not mean to keep silent when the names of heroic, industrious and peace-loving peoples and their governments and representatives are slandered in the way in which the representatives of Cuba, Uruguay and other countries slandered them yesterday and today. We attacked, but we attacked with the strength of the truth, thereby answering the provocative attacks of those who tried to drive poisonous arrows into the bodies of the peoples of the socialist countries. True, it hurts most of all when the truth is revealed, but the losers are only those who are unmasked, while all the peoples win.

264. True, the creative atmosphere in the United Nations has been disturbed during the meetings and has become tense to some extent. But who is to blame for all that? Did many delegations not issue the warning before the calling of these meetings, as well as during these meetings, that the submission for discussion of the so-called Hungarian question would lead to such a situation? Now those guilty want to pose as innocent people who have unexpectedly been attacked. But there is no room for surprise. We are convinced that what happened was done deliberately, that interested imperialist circles in the United States and other Western countries are deliberately trying to worsen the international situation, to hamper the creative discussion and settlement of the most important international problems at the twelfth session of the United Nations. For this reason, they carried out this provocation.

265. The State Department and the New York newspapers and radio stations, instead of expressing surprise, should face the guilty ones, who are not very far from them, and ask them why they are doing all this.

266. Having in mind all this, the Bulgarian delegation, expressing the desire of the Bulgarian people and their Government for the creation of a constructive atmosphere in the United Nations for the solving of all questions with wisdom and in the light of the truth, for the lessening of world tension, for the expanding of economic and cultural ties among all peoples, again appeals for an end to this provocative question and asks that the Hungarian people, who are now healing the wounds inflicted upon them and who are building their welfare, be left in peace.

267. The Bulgarian delegation considers that the draft resolution that has been submitted aims from beginning to end at reviving this already closed issue, that its real authors want to hamper the work of the United Nations in the future, that they want to keep this question at hand whenever they need it to conceal some new international crime, be it in the Near East, the Middle East or the Far East, on the American continent or elsewhere. My delegation is of the opinion that the authors of this draft resolution want to continue to undermine world peace. That is why we shall vote against this draft resolution.

268. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (*translated from French*): As the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Byelorussian SSR have referred to me personally, I shall reply to them briefly.

269. As I listened to the representative of the Soviet Union just now I was momentarily astounded; it

sounded as if he was accusing the United Kingdom and France of having invaded Hungary. Do I have to remind him that we have granted independence to five countries in recent years, during which time the Soviet Union has conquered by force countries over which it maintains its sway by force?

270. In addition, I note that in the flood of words with which the Soviet Union representative replied to the quotations I had made from his most eminent compatriots, there was not one word to invalidate the conclusions to which I had been led as regards the new and dangerous theory of continuous armed intervention based on the Warsaw Treaty. I am sorry that the Soviet delegation is unable to admit this contradiction and accept criticism in a more sporting spirit, without immediately retaliating with its stereotyped invective culled in a nameless school of oratory and of which it seems to have made a gramophone record that it supplies to the speakers of the satellite countries on a common market basis. This certainly does not raise the prestige of the United Nations which is so dear to the representative of the Soviet Union.

271. No doubt we ought to receive all the shafts directed against us by the Soviet delegation with a smile and in silence. Yes, we smile; but we also reply. Our attitude in this connexion, as I have already said, depends on that of the Soviet Union, or rather of its delegation. Let them stop their abuse and we shall stop our criticism.

272. It is not we who started the "cold war". Our attitude is a completely tolerant one. Soviet theories and doctrines are freely expressed in France. We do not go so far as to ask the Soviet Union for reciprocity; we ask only for a spirit of tolerance which is a condition of peaceful coexistence.

273. The representative of the Byelorussian SSR for his part drew two dangerous comparisons which can be turned against him. He referred to the Port Said affair, but, as several speakers have already pointed out, France complied with the recommendations of the General Assembly in this affair. Can the same be said of the Soviet Union in connexion with Hungary?

274. The Byelorussian representative also alluded to the Algerian question. France has consistently proposed that the future status of Algeria be established on the basis of free elections. Can the same be said of the Soviet Union in connexion with Hungary?

275. He spoke of the blood which was being shed in Algeria, according to him by France alone. Has he forgotten that every day the National Liberation Front kills nine Moslem Algerians for one Frenchman, without counting those who it has murdered in France?

276. Lastly, we are discussing here the intervention by a Member of the United Nations in the affairs of another Member; we are dealing with the occupation of the territory of one Member State by the army of another Member State, while in Algeria—and I am sorry that I have to repeat this—France is taking action in a territory under its sovereignty; this has been recognized by countries which, by establishing diplomatic relations with Paris, have *ipso facto* recognized the French Constitution.

277. The assistance given to the Algerian rebels by Tunisia, which caused the frontier incidents just alluded to by the representative of that country, constitutes intervention in French domestic affairs and is hence compatible neither with the principles of the Charter nor with the Franco-Tunisian agreements.

278. I shall confine my remarks to this statement, as the questions to which the representatives of the Byelorussian SSR and Tunisia have made the mistake of referring are not on the agenda of these meetings of the eleventh session.

279. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): I am exercising my right of reply to the recent speech made by the Soviet representative, and I shall be brief.

280. The Soviet representative employed that well-known technique of attacking nearly all the previous speakers in turn. He no doubt did this to distract attention from the wrongs of which his Government is accused. He dragged out those old charges against my country of imperialism and the oppression of colonial peoples. There is no need for me here in this Assembly to repudiate this charge. One has only to look around this Assembly and recall the speeches that have been made in this debate by members of the free Commonwealth of nations.

281. The PRESIDENT: The general discussion is closed. I call on the representative of Uruguay for observations on the draft resolution.

282. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): I am intervening again today solely to request some clarification of the scope of certain provisions of the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] before us.

283. When I gave my delegation's views this morning [675th meeting], I raised some specific points regarding the proposal we are to vote upon now, and I expressed my doubts about the meaning of paragraph 9 of the operative part.

284. We have just heard an explanatory statement by the United States representative, Mr. Lodge, who admittedly gave a very clear and specific definition of some of the objectives of this proposal. Nevertheless, my delegation has some doubts about the meaning of certain phrases in paragraph 9 of the operative part.

285. It appears from that paragraph that the Special Committee is to continue its work. Its role, nevertheless, would seem to be somewhat limited, since it would depend on the discretion of Prince Wan Waithayakon, who could consult it as he saw fit in connexion with the further endeavours which he is called upon in this paragraph to make. The Committee's precise functions, however, are not clearly set out in the paragraph itself.

286. During the discussion of the Special Committee's report, we have heard views which the Committee had no opportunity of hearing. We have heard statements by the representative of Hungary and by other representatives of the Soviet camp—by other parties that were unwilling to recognize the Committee's legality and that challenged the competence assumed by the Assembly under the Charter to consider this problem. My delegation considers that these additional views, this decisive repudiation of some aspects of the report by the delegations I have mentioned, might be a factor to be considered by the Committee in its further work, if it remains in existence after the draft resolution has been adopted.

287. The question whether it is to do so or not should be clarified at this stage, as there is some doubt—I myself experienced it in reading the draft resolution just now—whether the Committee can continue to exist for the sole object of being consulted by Prince Wan for the purpose specified in paragraph 9. With an additional explanation on this point, I think that

the information already given by Mr. Lodge will make the situation sufficiently clear to enable every delegation to cast a definite and clear-cut vote. That is the suggestion my delegation wished to make on this matter.

288. In conclusion, I should merely like to say that, as the remaining provisions of the draft resolution take account of the Special Committee's findings, my delegation regards them as entirely appropriate and considers that they constitute a fitting conclusion to this Assembly's debate and to the Committee's work.

289. Mr. de la COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to explain briefly my delegation's vote.

290. My delegation's vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted jointly by thirty-seven Powers [A/3658 and Add.1] will serve to mark, in brief, our views about the tragic events in Hungary, and will once more confirm our unshakable attachment to the principles proclaimed in the Charter, which my country has defended throughout its history: legal equality of States, non-intervention, self-determination of peoples, absolute respect for fundamental human rights.

291. We condemn every form of aggression, and we indignantly oppose the repression of the legitimate aspirations of any people. We therefore hope that Hungary, as well as other nations that have been deprived of their liberty, will soon be in full possession of their liberty again.

292. I must state that my delegation has some doubts as to the advisability and effectiveness of the method proposed in paragraph 9 of the draft resolution, and particularly as to the possible scope and consequences of the precedent that we are establishing. Nevertheless, we shall support the draft as a whole, in the hope that the experience and diplomatic tact of our President, Prince Wan Waithayakon, will overcome all obstacles in the way of achieving the objectives which the United Nations is anxiously seeking to attain for the benefit of the afflicted Hungarian people.

293. We should like to add our congratulations to those which have already been extended here to the members of the Special Committee, and we also add our best wishes to those which have already been expressed during the course of this historic debate for the restoration of the freedom of heroic Hungary and for its well-being and progress.

294. U THANT (Burma): I wish to thank the President very much indeed for giving me this opportunity to make a very brief statement regarding the amendments to the draft resolution which have been submitted in the name of my delegation [A/L.223]. Before I make that statement, let me say how grateful I am to the representative of the United States for his very well balanced and sober assessment of the amendments submitted by my delegation. I can very well understand his point of view. As regards the statements made by the representative of the Philippines, I would say only this: I can very well understand that a gentleman can indulge in hysterics when tempers are high and out of control.

295. I do not consider that any further clarification of my delegation's amendments to the draft resolution is really necessary. It is my delegation's considered view that the adoption of these amendments will facilitate the task of the United Nations in achieving its primary purpose: the furtherance of the welfare and

the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the Hungarian people.

296. I have no doubt that most of the delegations here want the Hungarian people to be free from any kind of outside interference. My delegation feels rather strongly that a sensible, helpful and just course of action should be laid down by the Assembly to create favourable conditions for the attainment of these objectives. My delegation wonders if the original draft resolution would be as helpful as the amended one in solving the problem facing us.

297. Let me therefore once again appeal to the Assembly to assess the issue objectively, with an eye to the attainment of a peaceful and effective solution of the Hungarian problem.

298. I would request the President to put the amendments to the vote paragraph by paragraph.

299. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the vote. I shall first put to the vote the three amendments submitted by Burma [A/L.223] to the joint draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1].

The first amendment was rejected by 40 votes to 4, with 31 abstentions.

The second amendment was rejected by 45 votes to 2, with 30 abstentions.

The third amendment was rejected by 42 votes to 3, with 32 abstentions.

300. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution [A/3658 and Add.1] presented by the following thirty-seven States: Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland.

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

Abstaining: Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 60 votes to 10, with 10 abstentions.

301. The PRESIDENT: I am grateful to my fellow representatives for having proposed and supported in such generous terms my appointment as special repre-

sentative of the General Assembly on the Hungarian problem, to take steps to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in accordance with the General Assembly resolutions.

302. It is indeed a great honour that the General Assembly has conferred on me, an honour, however, that carries with it great and heavy responsibilities.

303. I am a United Nations man, and so, when an opportunity is offered to me to serve this world Organization for peace and freedom, I humbly accept it in a spirit of service. But what can I do? That is the question that is being asked. I can, and certainly will, do my best. Does that hold out any hope of success to an expectant world opinion? My answer is that where there is a will there is a way.

304. I have absolute faith in the righteousness of the United Nations cause in the present instance, namely, the cause of the freedom of the Hungarian people. I also have the high moral authority of the General Assembly and the moral force of world public opinion behind me, and the Governments with which I shall have to deal are none other than Members of the United Nations. Moreover, my experience in diplomacy has been acquired in that school of diplomacy which relies exclusively on the support of moral values.

305. I believe in the efficacy of the principles of the United Nations Charter in the solution of international problems, and the confidence of the General Assembly that accompanies me will be an unfailing source of encouragement and inspiration to me.

306. It is in this spirit that I now dedicate myself to the onerous task entrusted to me by the General Assembly.

307. I call on the representative of Burma for an explanation of vote.

308. U THANT (Burma): My delegation feels rather unhappy that our amendments were not found acceptable by the General Assembly. But as I have already made the position of my delegation clear, we do accept in principle the original draft resolution before the General Assembly. My delegation's primary purpose in presenting the amendments was no other than to create a favourable atmosphere for the peaceful settlement of the Hungarian problem. But our attempt has failed and we had before us two alternatives: either to condone a colossal act of armed intervention, or to denounce it.

309. We feel that, in the case before us, there is no middle course to take. We have therefore, after a very careful consideration, taking into account all the factors involved, decided to discharge this painful duty of voting for the draft resolution.

Completion of the work of the eleventh session

310. The PRESIDENT: I will now call on the Vice-Presidents.

311. Mr. CHENG (China): The session which is about to close is one of the most significant in the short history of the United Nations. Two world-shaking events were dealt with during this session. In the case of one, the precarious peace has been maintained by the United Nations. In the other, the people of a Member of the United Nations has been subjugated by the regular armed forces of another Member of the United Nations. In both cases the United Nations, we feel, must remain alert and diligent and should be ready to deal with them again at a moment's notice, when it appears necessary.

312. The President has conducted this most difficult and long session with dignity and calm, with patience and good humour, with authority, without being authoritarian. On behalf of my delegation, and in the name of the Chairman of my delegation, as Vice-President of the Assembly, I wish to record a very deep appreciation of Prince Wan's outstanding leadership.

313. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): It is a great honour for the representative of El Salvador to be able to express at this time, on behalf of the delegations of all the Latin American countries, our recognition and admiration of the work that Prince Wan Waithayakon, as President of the General Assembly, has performed for many months during the eleventh session.

314. The eleventh session will undoubtedly go down in the annals of the United Nations as one of the most important in the life of the Organization. This very day, its work has been crowned by an historic resolution.

315. We all remember how the President acted during these very difficult meetings, when he had to use all his powers and diplomatic skill so that the General Assembly might make progress in the face of innumerable difficulties.

316. I should like to express the appreciation of all the Latin American nations to the President and to the Secretary-General, and also to express our thanks to Mr. Cordier, who has constantly aided the President in his work, and in general to all those in this hall who have worked with us daily, as well as to those whom we do not see every day but who perform extremely important work for the meetings of the General Assembly, such as the interpreters, the translators, and all the other members of the Secretariat.

317. Tonight an extremely important task has been placed in the President's hands. As has been said many times during the debate of the last few days, the delegations have complete confidence that, thanks to his wisdom and ability, some solution of this distressing problem of Hungary will be found.

318. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (*translated from French*): Now that the eleventh session of the General Assembly is coming to an end, and with it our term of office as Vice-President, I should like to tell Prince Wan Waithayakon how much I have appreciated the honour of serving as an officer of the Assembly under his presidency, and of enjoying once again his warm friendship of more than twenty-three years' standing, a friendship which has never wavered throughout the vicissitudes of the past quarter of a century. I have always appreciated Thailand's qualities of tolerance and understanding, which the President amply demonstrates in his person. I think the Assembly could not have offered him a greater token of its esteem than in deciding, by so large a majority, to entrust him with this most delicate and difficult task.

319. I should like, in closing, to thank the Secretary-General and his Executive Assistant, as well as all my other former colleagues in the Secretariat, both those who work in the various departments and those who are specifically assigned to the Assembly, for the devotion and competence they have shown during this very long and difficult session. I am happy to have this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and thanks.

320. Mr. LALL (India): It is a great pleasure to be able to come to this rostrum for a few brief moments

to thank the President for his unfailing courtesy and for his admirable patience throughout this prolonged session of the Assembly. In fact, if I may say so, the Vice-Presidents owe a special debt to him because his industry is so great that it very seldom fell to the Vice-Presidents to share his duties—and, for that, I, as representative of a country which held one of the posts of Vice-President, especially thank him.

321. During Prince Wan's term of office, when the work has been heavy, somehow or other one has not felt it as one would perhaps have felt it in other circumstances. I think this must be attributed to his geniality and his interpretation of the proceedings of the General Assembly, which have made the work of this body smooth and unhurried but still thoroughly respectable in pace—so much so that I see that we have finished tonight at the extraordinary early hour of 1.15 a.m., when we came here prepared to sit until 5 a.m. We are really grateful to the President for the way he has conducted this session.

322. We also want to say that we are extremely grateful to the Secretary-General and the Secretariat because, as usual, all the housekeeping problems and all the procedural matters which, perhaps behind the scenes, have to be transacted, but are of extreme importance to the Assembly, have been handled with great skill and foresight and always in a way which has conduced to the smoothness of the work of this Assembly.

323. I wish to thank the President and the Secretary-General very much.

324. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): With the resolution which we have just adopted, the eleventh session of the General Assembly comes to an end. This has certainly been a very important and, I must say, rather complicated session. We hope that the work we have done and the decisions we have taken, including today's resolution, will have fruitful results in the interest of the peace of the world.

325. May I tell Prince Wan how much we have appreciated, all through this session, the admirable way in which he has presided over our debates. The quiet way in which he has firmly exercised his authority, his imperturbable wisdom, his unfailing serenity have marked his high office with an exemplary character which will never be forgotten. We know that we owe it to him that we have been able on many occasions to bring our work to a successful conclusion.

326. I am happy to take this occasion to express to the Secretary-General our warmest admiration for the work he has done with such indefatigable activity in behalf of our Organization and the aims of the United Nations. I also wish to thank the Secretariat staff, from the highest ranks to the humblest. We very highly appreciate their work.

327. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation is happy to associate itself with the many delegations which have expressed to Prince Wan Waithayakon their gratitude for the work he has done as President of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. We fully share their appreciation of the firmness, objectivity and tact which he has displayed.

328. The eleventh session admittedly imposed a considerable strain on the President of the Assembly. We note with satisfaction that Prince Wan has performed his honourable but onerous duties with great skill.

329. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers it an agreeable duty to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General, to his tireless assistant, Mr. Cordier, and to all the members of the Secretariat for their contribution, however modest, to the effective work of this session of the Assembly.

330. As a member of a Russian-speaking delegation, I consider it my duty to express particular gratitude to the interpreters, translators, verbatim reporters and other members of the Secretariat whose work entails the use of the Russian language.

331. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): At this late hour, I shall be very brief. But, as the eleventh session of the General Assembly is ending its work, I should like to express to His Royal Highness the admiration of my delegation for the skill, wisdom, courtesy and good humour with which he has directed our work. I am sure that in this I am speaking for other delegations, as I am when I also express to the Secretariat, headed by the Secretary-General, my delegation's gratitude for its tireless work, its devotion to duty and its complete impartiality.

332. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The eleventh session of the General Assembly has indeed been full of unique meaning to the whole human race. In it the United Nations confronted the tragedy in Hungary with which we are still dealing, encouraged by the action just taken and by the President's own excellent statement. The eleventh session of the General Assembly dealt successfully with the Suez crisis, as is shown by the cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, by the clearing of the Canal and by the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force, whose soldiers are veritable sentinels of peace.

333. Thanks to the eleventh session of the General Assembly, therefore, the world took a turn away from war. This, I think, is the best tribute that can ever be paid to the United Nations at any time.

334. The United States thanks the devoted United Nations staff, notably its marvellous interpreters. The United States expresses its appreciation to, and confidence in, the Secretary-General. And the United States conveys its thanks to Prince Wan for his admirable work as President of the Assembly.

335. The PRESIDENT: In the first place, I associate myself whole-heartedly with the tribute of thanks paid to the Secretary-General, to Mr. Cordier, and to all other members of the Secretariat. We of the eleventh session have put a heavier load of work on the Secretariat than usual, but they can rest assured with the satisfaction that their work has been amply rewarded by the success of the efforts of the General Assembly in the maintenance of peace and in the promotion of justice, freedom, and economic and social well-being.

336. It only remains for me to say "thank you", and that I do from the bottom of my heart, not only for the very kind sentiments and congratulations which representatives have expressed but above all for their contribution to our work, because they have given me, they have all given me, their co-operation and good will without which the President could not have carried on the work of the eleventh session with the expedition and success that has been the case.

337. I must confess that when I came to the resumed meetings I expected a more stormy time; I even had to brush up my knowledge of the rules of procedure, expecting many points of order. But I am very glad to say that I was mistaken; I have not had to make use

of my knowledge of the rules of procedure at all, because the representatives themselves have conducted the meetings. In so doing, I think everyone will agree, they have shown that there is at any rate good temper in this Assembly, and I venture to think that this good temper is accompanied by a real fund of goodwill. This is important, because there will be very important and delicate questions before the twelfth session, which is to start in a few days.

338. There is, for instance, the question of disarmament, in regard to which world public opinion, especially in the small countries, is expecting some form of first-step agreement. There will also be important colonial questions, and therefore it is most desirable that the eleventh session should end in a spirit of goodwill. I do not think I am too optimistic when I say that we do end this eleventh session in a spirit of goodwill, and I certainly hope that, under my successor, this spirit will be developed into a spirit of co-operation and that positive results will come out of the deliberations of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

339. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I thank the President for his kind and generous words and I thank the Vice-Presidents, who have addressed words of thanks to my colleagues in the Secretariat and to my-

self. I think that all my colleagues in the Secretariat agree with me that it is a privilege to serve this Organization, especially during a period when the Organization is put to hard tests. We share the satisfaction expressed here in the work done by the United Nations in the course of the eleventh session, and we pledge ourselves to do our utmost to keep up the services of the Secretariat to the General Assembly so as to assist it in its important work.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

340. The PRESIDENT: Before closing the eleventh session, I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute's silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

341. The PRESIDENT: The eleventh session of the General Assembly is closed.

The meeting rose on Saturday, 14 September at 1.25 a.m.