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President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the Chairman of the
delegation of Chile**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I declare open the second emergency special session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 64 of the rules of procedure, I invite the representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Statement by the President

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before we proceed with the appointment of a Credentials Committee, I should like to call to the attention of the members of the Assembly a letter from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General [A/3280], communicating the text of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1956. In that resolution it is requested that an emergency special session of the General Assembly be called as provided in General Assembly resolution 377 (V), in order to make appropriate recommendations concerning "The situation in Hungary".

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of a Credentials Committee

4. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As regards the appointment of a Credentials Committee, as provided for in rule 28 of our rules of procedure, I suggest that the Committee which was appointed for the first emergency special session should act for this second emergency special session. If there is no objec-

tion, I shall take it that the Assembly approves this suggestion.

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to point out that the Secretary-General, in his telegram convening this emergency special session, indicated that credentials of representatives participating in the first emergency special session would be considered valid for their participation in the second emergency special session.

6. In this connexion, we have recently received a letter from the representative of Hungary, and it is at present being reproduced so that it can be distributed to the members of the Assembly. In the meantime, I shall ask Mr. Cordier to read it to the Assembly.

7. Mr. CORDIER (Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General): The letter reads as follows:

"The permanent mission of the Hungarian People's Republic presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to inform him that the Hungarian Government has not as yet authorized any of the members of the mission to take part at the emergency special session convened to discuss the item entitled: 'The situation in Hungary'. Furthermore, the mission communicates that it could not obtain official information and instructions from the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. As soon as it receives official information and instructions from its Government, it will immediately bring them to the knowledge of the Secretary-General and the Members of the United Nations.

"The Hungarian mission would be very grateful if the Secretary-General would shortly circulate this note among the Members of the United Nations."¹

AGENDA ITEM 4

Adoption of the agenda

8. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Bearing in mind the provisions of rule 65 of the rules of procedure, I should like to determine whether there

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¹ This letter was reproduced as document A/3285.

is any objection to having this emergency special session meet only in plenary meeting, and take up the item before it directly, without previously referring it to any Committee. If there is no objection, this course will be adopted.

It was so decided.

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The item which appears on the provisional agenda of the second emergency special session is entitled "The situation in Hungary". Is there any objection to its inclusion in the agenda?

10. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet Union delegation objects to the inclusion in the agenda and to any discussion of the item entitled "The situation in Hungary", on the ground that such a discussion would be a gross breach of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, which prohibits any intervention by the Organization in the domestic affairs of Member States.

11. For the same reasons, the Soviet delegation opposed the discussion of this question in the Security Council. It is regrettable that the majority of the members of the Council, acting in contravention of the United Nations Charter, tried to impose a discussion of this question on the Council. And now attempts are being made to impose the discussion of this question on the General Assembly.

12. It must be pointed out that the Security Council's decision to raise the question of the situation in Hungary was adopted in spite of the statement issued on 28 October 1956 by the legal government of the Hungarian People's Republic [S/3691], categorically protesting against the discussion of any matters relating to the domestic affairs of Hungary in the United Nations, since the discussion of such questions in the United Nations would be a serious violation of the sovereign rights of the Hungarian People's Republic.

13. With regard to Mr. Nagy's communications to the United Nations [A/3251 and S/3726], it must be borne in mind that these were unconstitutional, and are therefore invalid. The Nagy government has in fact collapsed, and a Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government has been formed, which includes several ministers of the Nagy cabinet who have remained loyal servants of the Hungarian people. This Workers' and Peasants' Government has sent the Secretary-General a telegram [A/3311] to the effect that all communications from Mr. Nagy are invalid. The Government of Hungary, this declaration states, objects to any discussion of the situation in Hungary in the United Nations, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, since this is a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary.

14. Thus, the proposal for placing on the agenda and discussing the question of the situation in Hungary is motivated not by a desire to promote a return to normal conditions in the Hungarian People's Republic but, on the contrary, by a desire to aggravate the situation and to support fascist elements which have risen against the Hungarian people and its lawful government. Nor would such a step contribute in any way to furthering the high purposes and principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. This provocative move is really aimed not at the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter, but at aggravating the international situation.

15. The reasons for the attempt to involve the General Assembly in a discussion of the situation in Hun-

gary just at this particular time are quite clear. The initiative in raising this issue was taken by the United Kingdom and France, which are engaging in open aggression against the Egyptian people, and by the United States, where certain groups have done everything in their power to prepare the way for the criminal attacks of fascist elements against the Hungarian people. By imposing a discussion of the item entitled "The situation in Hungary" on the General Assembly, they are hoping to distract the attention of the United Nations and of world public opinion from the aggressive action undertaken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have rejected the General Assembly's cease-fire decision [resolution 997 (ES-I)], thus flouting the wishes of the sixty-four States which resolutely supported the demand for the cessation of military operations.

16. Only yesterday, our Organization adopted a new decision calling for an immediate halt to military action against Egypt [resolution 999 (ES-I)]. By trying, in contravention of the Charter, to involve the General Assembly in a discussion of the situation in Hungary, the United Kingdom and France, together with the United States, are attempting to gain time and to enable the British-French forces to settle accounts with the Egyptian people.

17. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that those who are genuinely concerned for the immediate cessation of British and French aggression against Egypt will refuse to allow the attention of the General Assembly and of our Organization as a whole to be distracted from the necessity of ensuring the implementation of its decision on the cessation of military activities against Egypt, or to authorize United Nations intervention in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

18. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In order to facilitate and expedite our deliberations, I should like to suggest that, in accordance with rule 23 of the rules of procedure, this debate should be limited to three speakers in favour of the inclusion of the item and three against. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves this procedure.

It was so decided.

19. Mr. WALKER (Australia): This extraordinary session of the General Assembly has been called under the "Uniting for peace" procedure, provided for in resolution 377 (V), to deal with the situation in Hungary.

20. Following the statement that I and others, including of course the representative of the United States, made yesterday in the Security Council [754th meeting], it is quite apparent that it is our desire that this matter should be placed on the agenda of this meeting and that we should proceed to deal with the situation.

21. I intervene at this point because Australia is a country that has always attached very great importance to the very consideration that the Soviet representative raised in his argument as to why this matter should not be dealt with, namely, the restrictions upon the right of the United Nations to deal with matters that are of purely domestic concern. I say that is a consideration that we always take very seriously in Australia, but we have no doubts that, in this particular matter, that objection is not a relevant one.

22. This matter was discussed in the Australian Parliament a few days ago, and what I have to say on this point represents the firm views of the Australian Government as expressed by the Australian Prime Minister at that time. The position briefly is as follows.

23. Under the Treaty of Peace with Hungary of 10 February 1947, to which the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and the other Allied and Associated Powers, including Australia, were parties, the Soviet Union was required to withdraw its troops from Hungary when Soviet occupation forces had been withdrawn from Austria. The Soviet forces in fact withdrew from Austria last year.

24. Article 2 of the political clauses of the Peace Treaty provides that:

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

These provisions were, of course, plainly inserted for the protection of the Hungarian people, who had and have a perfect right to require that they should be honoured. It is quite clear that in fact these provisions have over the years been substantially disregarded.

25. In order to circumvent these provisions about the withdrawal of its forces, the Soviet Union entered into a pact with the satellite countries, including Hungary. The Warsaw Pact of May 1955 provided for the use of Soviet troops to repel foreign aggression against the satellites. That this represented an intention to disregard the provisions of the Peace Treaty is now made clear, for it is the Warsaw Pact which the Hungarian Communist leaders have purported to invoke in calling into Hungary Soviet forces to suppress the present popular movement, and it is the Warsaw Pact that has been invoked in the discussions of the Security Council on occasion by the Soviet representative to justify the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary.

26. It is important to mention these facts in view of the argument advanced by the Soviet representative today.

27. It is the opinion of the Australian Government that it is quite impossible to contend that so clear a violation of a treaty as is constituted by the use of foreign forces to repress rights established by the Peace Treaty could be regarded as of no concern to the other nations parties to the Treaty. In other words, the setting at nought of a treaty provision does not become a domestic matter simply because the conflicts so engendered take place within the boundaries of one nation.

28. In the Security Council, our consideration of this matter has been continuously obstructed by the Soviet representative. Attempts have been made to keep it off the agenda of the Security Council. Attempts have been made to have the Security Council's examination of the matter postponed. Even yesterday we were urged to postpone it because negotiations were in progress. The Soviet representative confirmed that negotiations were in progress regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest, and we are all aware of the course of the tragic events of the last few days, and of the necessity that the Security Council has felt of taking action on this matter, where we again encountered the Soviet veto, so that the matter is before this extraordinary session of the General Assembly today.

29. I would conclude by reading the following statement issued by the Prime Minister of Australia last night. Mr. Menzies stated:

"We have all been much occupied during the last few days by the events in Egypt about which I have

already expressed the views of the Government, but I do hope that attention will not be diverted from the tragic events now occurring in Hungary. In Parliament last week I pointed out that the Hungarian problem was not merely a domestic issue, but such as to attract the attention and action of the United Nations. I hope that such decisions will be promptly taken as will demonstrate the sympathy of the world for the Hungarian people and their right to freedom."

30. Mr. SOLE (Union of South Africa): The representative of the Soviet Union, in objecting to the inscription of this item, has invoked the well-known Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. This is an article with which, as members of the Assembly are aware, my delegation in particular is very familiar indeed. The South African delegations, at successive sessions of the General Assembly, have had occasion, I think on practically every occasion we have met in New York, to protest against what we have regarded as intervention in the affairs of South Africa, affairs which we regard as falling essentially within our domestic jurisdiction.

31. In these circumstances, we would be most careful before deciding to lend our support to any motion which might seem to run contrary to the principles which we have consistently applied since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946, the principles which we have applied even when it has been a most unpopular course to follow. I might recall, for example, that in 1946 South Africa was one of the very few countries which declined to support the resolution adopted by the Assembly in that year on conditions in Franco Spain.

32. It is against this background that we lend our earnest support to the proposal for the inscription of this item, because we are thoroughly satisfied in our own minds that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter does not apply in this instance. We regret that the item has been designated "situation in Hungary". We feel that it would have been more appropriate to describe it as "external intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary".

33. We base our support for the inscription of this item not on the terms of the Peace Treaty to which reference has been made by the representative of Australia. They may or may not be relevant. We base our support for the inscription of the item on Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter which, *inter alia*, provides:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State."

34. In our view, the events of the past few hours have demonstrated clearly that both the threat of force and force have been employed against the political independence of Hungary, and we have received from the Soviet delegation no convincing arguments to the contrary. The Soviet delegation has stated that a new government is in power. But only yesterday, as Mr. Walker reminded us, the Soviet delegation stated in the Security Council that its Government was in negotiation with the Nagy government over the question of the withdrawal of troops. Hence, only twenty-four hours ago the Soviet Government recognized the Nagy government.

35. As far as my delegation is aware, the United Nations Assembly has provisionally recognized hitherto representatives of the Nagy Government, and we see no reason in the present circumstances to make any change in that decision. I hope, accordingly, that the

Assembly will overwhelmingly endorse the inscription of this item.

36. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now put to the vote the question of the inclusion in the agenda of item 5.

The item was included in the agenda by 53 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions.

The agenda was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary

37. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): Those of us who worked for the adoption of the "Uniting for peace" resolution cannot fail to be moved by the fact that the resolution has been applied in two noteworthy cases. The resolution represented, to my mind, the consolidation of the United Nations functions with respect to world peace and the solution of a problem which, if left unsettled, could well have jeopardized the harmonious relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. It was also a recognition of the irrefutable fact that if for any reason one of the organs of the United Nations is prevented from acting on vital questions, the General Assembly, which represents all mankind—the more so today as we are approaching and have virtually achieved the desired universality—should, acting on behalf of sovereign States assume the primary function of restoring world peace and security. It is with that thought in mind that we have taken part in these two emergency special sessions. Although the problems are indeed grievous, our heaviness of heart and the distress we feel because of the human suffering involved are mitigated by the successful and irreproachable manner in which the Assembly has discharged that function which, in accordance with the Charter, we decided to recognize—not to give, for it is implicit in the spirit of the Charter—as belonging to the Assembly.

38. In these circumstances, I shall be brief. I admire human speech when it is brief and direct, because it reflects a state of mind, but I do not like prolixity which holds back action, dilutes thought and waters down emotion. After a debate in the Security Council, and in the light of reliable information confirmed from this floor by the representative of the Soviet Union himself, there is no need to talk about the facts.

39. I do not propose to restate the facts already known to representatives through Press reports, but I should like to draw attention to one circumstance. Delegations know that there was a government in Hungary—the government of Mr. Nagy—that its composition changed as new parties were brought in, that it was negotiating with the Soviet Union, that it was demanding, as was its right, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian soil. And now we learn—and this is what is so serious—from the representative of the Soviet Union himself, that that government, which had behind it the enthusiasm of the mass of the people, inspired by the martyrdom of the young men and women who had taken part in the demonstrations, and of their families, has been overthrown.

40. By whom was it overthrown? Was it overthrown by Cardinal Mindszenty, a great hero and symbol of freedom and faith in Hungary? Was it overthrown by the young people of Hungary who rose against Soviet tanks, armed only with their enthusiasm and their courage? Was it overthrown by the Hungarian people who

rose throughout that great country against the Soviet troops? It was overthrown by the incursions of fresh troops and the reinforcement of the Soviet tanks which had remained in the country. It is a flagrant example of the overthrow of a government by external intervention, and it was publicly admitted today on this rostrum by the Soviet representative. I shall say no more: as far as the facts are concerned, I rest upon what has been said here by the representative of the Soviet Union.

41. Nor do I intend to deal at length with the legal aspects of the question, for the representative of Australia has admirably summarized the legal grounds for the Security Council's consideration of this case. I have one point to add.

42. In the Security Council, I tried to see the question from the point of view of the Soviet Union: I tried to argue on the basis of the legal obligations arising from the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and Hungary. I cited the Treaty of Warsaw and the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. The Treaty of Peace speaks clearly of respect for human rights. We have said that human rights are guaranteed by the Charter; they are also guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, even though we still have no covenant on human rights. There are countries, however, which respect human rights, not merely because they are embodied in their own laws, but also because, morally, no distinction can be made between domestic public law and international public law. Since Hungary, like the other Danubian countries which signed peace treaties with the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, assumed an obligation under an international treaty to respect human rights, including the rights of association and assembly, human rights constitute a supreme moral obligation in the process of being transformed into a clear and peremptory contractual obligation; for Hungary and those other countries respect for human rights is a manifest contractual obligation.

43. As regards the Warsaw Treaty, I must point out that it does not expressly authorize the stationing of Soviet forces in Hungarian territory. In accordance with the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, such forces were to leave Hungarian soil as soon as peace was signed with Austria. Yet it could be argued that they might be stationed temporarily in Hungarian territory, as an emergency measure, to ward off a possible aggression from without. In my desire diligently to seek out all possible sources of information and discuss all the legal principles involved, I studied the document on the establishment of a unified command under the Warsaw Treaty. The document states categorically that any troops that may be provisionally stationed by the USSR in those territories may be used only for mutual defence, for the declaration setting up a unified command cannot introduce a principle not laid down in the Warsaw Treaty. Article 4 deals with mutual defence, for the Warsaw Treaty is a copy of the North Atlantic Treaty, and article 5 clearly speaks of aggression. Thus, Soviet troops may be used in Hungarian territory only in the event of aggression against the Soviet Union or against Hungary. As far as I know, there has been no attempted aggression whatsoever against the Soviet Union or Hungary.

44. There is a further point: article 8 of the Warsaw Treaty, a clause which is undoubtedly not of Soviet inspiration, but which was introduced in imitation of the North Atlantic Treaty, provides for respect for internal affairs in that it categorically prohibits—this is a right as far as Hungary is concerned and an obliga-

tion on the part of the Soviet Union—any intervention by Soviet troops in the internal affairs of Hungary.

45. That is why the Security Council did not hesitate for a moment to take up this question. Now that we have definite news that the negotiations conducted by the Nagy government did not halt that intervention, which on the contrary has been intensified, and now that the General Assembly learns that this intervention has not only been intensified but has developed into the farce of establishing a new government, it seems to me that the fact that the Assembly is fully competent to deal with the matter is clearly established.

46. However, we can set aside the crushing legal case in view of the confession the Soviet Union has made. We can set aside those considerations, however valid they may be. There is a human fact, an overriding fact, which outrages us all: waves of Hungarians threw themselves against Soviet troops: scattered and decimated, they surged forward again like an irresistible tide, to throw themselves on the Soviet tanks, and the slaughter went on. Yet, despite the slaughter of thousand and thousands of people, the Government held, and had the strength to force the Soviet Union to enter into negotiations. But that government was also compelled to bring in other parties representing the views of the people of Hungary. However, when it altered its composition and abolished the ridiculous and outrageous one-party system, it was overthrown by the Soviet Union. What are we to do about it?

47. There has been a violation. I said yesterday, in all sincerity, not with bitterness but in the hope of inspiring sincere repentance in those who have embarked on this wrong course, that it is not only a crime, but a blunder. In saying so, I do not adopt Talleyrand's absurd view that from the standpoint of history a blunder is worse than a crime; in my moral evaluation of events I place the crime first, then the blunder. I would say this: to an enormous crime you have added an enormous error, for an imperialist government and a régime of force cannot be maintained indefinitely.

48. We are witnessing, not without hope, the disintegration of the Stalinist empire, and it is ridiculous to believe that once that disintegration has begun in response to the people's clamour, as in Poland and Hungary, the rule of force can be restored by a gesture or whim or temporary superiority of arms. It is impossible to do so because the map of the world has changed; because the institutions and the activities of the United Nations are reinforcing what has always existed; the conscience of mankind which everywhere supports law, justice, morality and freedom.

49. The Soviet attitude is a challenge to all mankind; it means the destruction of all that has been accomplished in over 1,500 years of history by this admirable people which has produced great artists and great poets, and which is today fated to fulfil the prophecies of the poet, Sandor Petöfi, who wished to die in defence of mankind and of his fatherland, confident that the day would come when his scattered bones would call out for freedom and justice for all mankind.

50. I bring to this rostrum the deep feeling of the Peruvian people. I bring to this rostrum my tribute to the Hungarian people. I bring here not only that feeling, but my belief in the Charter, and I hope that there will be another glorious day for the United Nations when, in the name of all mankind, we call upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from gallant and heroic Hungary, a living symbol of freedom, justice and democracy.

51. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): During these turbulent days through which the world is now passing, one has the feeling of an almost physical pain at being thrown within a period of hours between the heights of rejoicing and the depths of sorrow. Hungary, its people and its land are in the hearts and minds of millions throughout the world who have watched how the whole Hungarian nation has surged upwards from bondage towards a life in freedom and dignity. In Norway, among my people, these events have been watched with hope and joy, but also with apprehension as to what might be the price of freedom.

52. We have seen the price the Hungarian people, has been willing to pay, but we refuse to believe that they will not be rewarded. We refuse to believe that what we have been witnessing over the past twenty-four hours in Hungary will be the last word from the Soviet Union with respect to the struggle for national independence which the Hungarian nation is now waging.

53. We know that the Soviet Union is a mighty State. It certainly has the power to suppress the Hungarian people, but it certainly also has the power to give those people the freedom they so ardently desire.

54. We have often heard the Soviet representative speak warmly from this rostrum in support of the independence of dependent peoples in Asia and Africa. We expect now to see his Government do something in support of national independence for the dependent peoples in Eastern Europe.

55. My country, my people, has for centuries been the immediate neighbour of Russia. I am speaking now as the representative of that neighbouring people and as a representative of its Government. I address an urgent appeal to the Government of the Soviet Union to use its might in Hungary in the cause of freedom, and not in the cause of suppression of freedom, as it is now doing. We are convinced that the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of world peace can be strengthened if Soviet influence and Soviet power are not used to slow down the irresistible process of democratization and the emergence of national independence in Hungary and in Eastern Europe. Soviet power can, however, assure the Soviet people that their safety rests not in suppression of their neighbours but only in the independence of their neighbours. We all have a contribution to make to enable these peoples to achieve that goal. But the largest, the main, contribution must come from the Soviet Union.

56. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): At dawn this morning, Soviet troops in Hungary opened fire in Budapest and throughout the country. We learn from Vienna that the Soviet artillery was firing incendiary phosphorus shells at centres of civilian population. These are the shells which set fire to buildings and which burned the flesh of women and children and other civilian non-combatants.

57. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr. Nagy, has appealed to the United Nations for help—and I must say we can understand it. After several days of ominous reports, the situation in Hungary has become all too clear. What is revealed is the sickening picture of duplicity and double-dealing. While this wholesale brutality by the Soviet Government was being perpetrated, the Soviet representative here in this hall was praising peace and non-aggression and raising his hands in horror against bloodshed in the Middle East. Those of us who were striving with every fibre of our being for peace

in the Middle East can never forget this unutterable cynicism.

58. For the last few days, Soviet troop movements in Hungary have been reported. These reports have been accompanied by Soviet assurances to the United Nations and to the Hungarian Government that Soviet troops in Hungary had not and would not be reinforced. The reported movements were pictures as the redeployment of Soviet forces stationed in the country. As late as 10 o'clock last night, Soviet representatives began negotiations—or what were described as negotiations—with Hungarian representatives, ostensibly for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary pursuant to Hungary's decision to renounce its membership in the Warsaw Pact.

59. The Soviet Union has made little pretence lately of its urge to dominate Hungary by the power of its military machine. It talked about a new relationship with its satellites, based on sovereign equality and independence and non-intervention in internal affairs. It spoke of negotiations under the Warsaw Pact for the withdrawal of its troops from some of these countries, particularly Hungary, where it admitted that the further presence of its army units could "serve as a cause for an even greater deterioration of the situation"—a deterioration which has, of course, so tragically occurred.

60. What a picture of deception we have had. After Mr. Nagy had formed his government, here was how *Pravda*, the Soviet Government organ, described the Nagy government on 28 October 1956:

"Today Budapest Radio announced the formation of a new national government of the Hungarian People's Republic on a broad democratic basis, led by Comrade Imre Nagy. The new Government immediately took up its duties. The Hungarian Government, guided by a desire to ensure that no one of the honest but misguided people should be punished, declared an amnesty for all who voluntarily laid down their arms."

61. On 30 October, Moscow Radio, which, of course, as in all totalitarian States, is an official government radio station—something which we do not have here—was telling its listeners in Europe: "Fortunately, under the leadership of Imre Nagy's Government, life is gradually returning to normal." On the same day, Moscow Radio told its own people:

"The Hungarian working people have welcomed with satisfaction the statement made yesterday by Imre Nagy, which was approved by the Hungarian Workers Party and which announced the programme of action of the Government."

That is what Moscow Radio and *Pravda* said at that time. Today, *Pravda* calls erstwhile "Comrade" Nagy an "accomplice of reactionary forces".

62. Here is how others nearby, who can well judge the meaning of Hungary's fight, spoke of the Nagy government.

63. The Polish Communist United Workers Party published a statement on 29 October in which it lauded the programme of Mr. Nagy's new government, saying that it "corresponded to the aspirations of the Hungarian people and to the entire cause of peace".

64. *Trybuna Ludu*, the Polish Communist paper, on the same day proclaimed Poland's "deep solidarity" with Hungary's new leadership and support for its programme. That programme, said the Polish paper, was "similar to our own and, like our own programme, cor-

responds to the deepest desires of the masses". That comes from one of the surrounding Communist countries.

65. On 29 October, President Tito sent a letter to the Hungarians in which he expressed confidence that "under the new leadership" they would overcome all difficulties. He spoke of his "profound admiration" for all those "progressive men in neighbouring Hungary who in these days have made great efforts to turn this tragic struggle into an era of renaissance". The Yugoslav public, President Tito said, "unanimously hailed the establishment of the new State and political leadership and the declaration of the Hungarian Government of 28 October". And President Tito concluded by wishing Nagy "success in his efforts".

66. On 29 October, the Czechoslovak Government, too, sent a message to the Nagy Government in which it "sincerely welcomed" the great efforts made by the Hungarian Government to establish peace in the country—efforts which, they said, were in accordance with the most fundamental interests of the entire Hungarian people". The Czechoslovak Government expressed its "firm confidence that the Hungarian Government, backed by the support of the people and by the power of Socialist democracy, would successfully ensure the fulfilment of the great tasks ahead".

67. Also on 29 October, the Czechoslovak Communist Party sent a message to the Hungarian Communists—it will be recalled that Nagy himself is a Communist who sought to lead his country to freedom from Soviet enslavement—in which it expressed its support for Nagy's efforts to "achieve progress" and "deepen socialist democracy".

68. That is what they were saying on 28 and 29 October 1956. Now what could have changed the situation in so short a time? The desire of Prime Minister Nagy to govern Hungary for the Hungarians? Does the Soviet Union fear this? The constant, deceitful reinforcement of the Soviet troops in Hungary during these fateful days says that it does.

69. It is now reliably reported that Soviet forces occupied the Parliament building in Budapest. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nagy, and other members of his Government, are now under arrest. Pal Maleter, the Minister of Defence and heroic defender of the Maria Theresa barracks against Soviet assault, who only yesterday was engaged in negotiations with Soviet military representatives for troop withdrawal, is also under arrest. A Soviet ultimatum was issued calling for the capitulation of Budapest by noon, and threatening the bombing of the city if it did not capitulate.

70. As I announced in the Security Council at 4 a.m. this morning [754th meeting], Cardinal Mindszenty and his secretary have sought refuge at the United States legation in Budapest. I think that makes it appropriate to quote a recent broadcast, only yesterday, which Cardinal Mindszenty uttered on Radio Budapest, and I would like just to quote a passage because these are the last public words spoken by Cardinal Mindszenty that we have:

"A national feeling should never again be a source of fighting between countries, but the pledge of justice and of peaceful co-operation. Let the feeling of nationality flourish in the whole world in the field of common culture. Thus the progress of one country will carry along the other country between nations which, according to the law of nature, are more and more reliant on each other."

"We Hungarians want to live and act as the standard-bearers of the family of peoples of European nations. Let co-operation be the base, which means true friendship between the nations. And looking towards even more distant parts, we, the little nation, desire to live in friendship and in mutual respect with the great American United States and with the mighty Russian empire alike, in good neighbourly relations with Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw and Belgrade, and in this regard I must mention that for the brotherly understanding in our present suffering every Hungarian has embraced to his heart Austria."

That is what could, in all solemn truth, be called the spirit of peaceful coexistence, as uttered by Cardinal Mindszenty, in the best sense of the word, if Soviet hypocrisy had not robbed that phrase of all honest meaning.

71. Let us not be deceived by this cynical and wanton act of aggression against the Hungarian people and its Government. A small group of Soviet strawmen announced their own formation as a government at the moment that Soviet troops began their attack. We have seen no passage of governmental authority from one Hungarian Government to another, but only the creation of a puppet clique and the overthrow of a liberal socialist government responsive to popular will in its desire to see these troops go.

72. Two hours after the attack began, the new puppet group appealed to the Soviet Union to come to its assistance. It cannot be maintained, therefore, that the Soviet action is undertaken in response to any request for assistance. The "assistance"—and I put that word in quotes—arrived long before the call.

73. This is how General Janos Kadar, the Communist puppet installed by Soviet military intervention this morning, spoke of Mr. Nagy when the Prime Minister first took over the Government: "I am in wholehearted agreement with Nagy, an acquaintance and friend of mine, my esteemed and respected compatriot." Wonderful friend. He was with him up to the hilt.

74. We must take drastic and decisive action here in this Assembly to answer the appeal of the Hungarian Government. The United States delegation, therefore, is submitting a draft resolution [A/3286] which we believe should be promptly put to the vote and which I would now like to read:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members,

"Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedom in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on 10 February 1947 and that the general principle of these rights and this freedom is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations,

"Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

"Condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

"Noting moreover the declaration by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of 30 October 1956, of its avowed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States,

"Noting the communication of 1 November 1956 of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

"Noting further the communication of 2 November 1956 from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General asking the Security Council to instruct the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Hungary to start the negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces,

"Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

"Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

"1. Calls upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the peoples of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

"2. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

"3. Affirms the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to investigate the situation, to observe directly through representatives named by him the situation in Hungary, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the existing situation in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

"5. Calls upon the Government of Hungary and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

"6. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions;

"7. Requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine, and other similar supplies, and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

"8. Requests all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people."

75. Our draft resolution is aimed at securing speedy action to cope with this grave situation. We do not believe that it is sufficient only to call upon the Soviet Union to desist from any further intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and to withdraw all its troops without delay. We urge also that the Secretary-General should investigate the situation in Hungary directly and without delay and report to the Assembly as soon as possible. We call upon the USSR and Hun-

gary to admit representatives of the Secretary-General to Hungarian territory, and if there is nothing to hide they have nothing to fear from the visit of impartial observers.

76. In this connexion, let me remind the Soviet representative that the Soviet Union professes to support certain basic principles which twenty-nine countries meeting in April 1955 at Bandung, Indonesia, adopted as precepts for international conduct. Ten principles were set forth as the basis for developing friendly co-operation among nations. These, I understand, include the five principles of so-called peaceful co-existence, in support of which the Soviet Union has been talking but not acting. Those principles, subsequently endorsed specifically by leaders of the Soviet Union on the occasion of their visits to various countries in Asia, are relevant to the situation in Hungary, because what the Soviet Union has done during these past hours in Hungary demonstrates how hollow are the Soviet statements praising the Bandung declaration.

77. Let us ask the members of this Assembly these questions. Has the Soviet Union shown "respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" in its action in Hungary? Has it shown "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations"? These words are quoted right out of the Bandung declaration. Has the Soviet Union abstained from "intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country"? Has it refrained from "acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country?" I have used the language of the Bandung Conference in these questions—and the facts speak for themselves.

78. We cannot stand idly by while Hungarians are dragged bodily into servitude, even as they were re-emerging to independence and freedom. The principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations are at stake. The basic and fundamental right of self-determination, which so many in this hall have endorsed time and again, is in grave danger. If we fail to act, it will constitute a base betrayal of the people of Hungary, who have appealed to us for aid. The Hungarian people can be sure that the United Nations will accept their cause as its own.

79. I have just received a telegram addressed to me by President Eisenhower. It is very short, and I should like to read it out to this Assembly:

"I feel that world opinion, which was so uplifted only a few days ago by the news that the Soviet Union intended to withdraw its forces from Hungary, has now suffered corresponding shock and dismay at the Soviet attack on the people and Government of Hungary.

"I met today with the Secretary of State at Walter Reed hospital and later with the Acting Secretary of State to discuss ways and means available to the United States which would, first, result in withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary; secondly, achieve for Hungary its own right of self-determination and the choice of its government.

"I have sent an urgent message to Premier Bulganin on these points.

"There was likewise a thorough review of the Middle East situation and the measures now under way in the United Nations to restore peace in that area and to lay the groundwork for constructive solution of its problems."

80. Let us so conduct ourselves here this afternoon that the United Nations may be able to mobilize its resources to ensure that the Hungarian people, who have fought so fiercely for their independence and freedom in these anguished days, will find a willing response from the people of nations blessed in having the priceless treasures from which to give them material aid and comfort in alleviation of their suffering and distress.

81. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): It is with deep emotion that I enter this debate which I do not hesitate to regard as one of historical and overriding importance in the annals of the United Nations. I likewise do not hesitate to say that, if the United Nations does not emerge from this crisis with renewed confidence in its power to confront and solve the serious problems of international peace and coexistence, its cause will have been dangerously weakened, and peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples will feel abandoned.

82. For years we have tolerated the grave evil which has gnawed at the foundations of this Organization ever since its creation, and if today, when this evil has burst forth in all its virulence, we cannot find an effective and timely remedy, the future of the United Nations, far from being merely uncertain, will indeed be very black.

83. A people with a thousand-year history demand the right to choose their own way of life and their own government, and a great Power, on a flimsy legalistic pretext, is extinguishing this right in a welter of blood and oppression. This, then, in the Argentine view, is the magnitude and gravity of the problem before us.

84. The Government and people of Argentina feel irresistibly impelled to state their position; they feel this because of their own history which gives them every right, without the shadow of a doubt, to come forward today on behalf of the Hungarian people. The Government and people of Argentina take as the supreme symbol of their political life the history of their own emancipation, and they cannot forget that, when the time came for Latin America to seek its own road, the blood of Argentinians was shed on the soil of kindred peoples, and that a victorious general, the greatest glory of our fatherland, declining the governorship of Chile, which had so generously been offered him, raised the banner of freedom on high for the first time in Peru. And what were the fruits of those epic deeds? Not, certainly, conquest and subjugation, but rather a strengthening of the bonds of brotherhood between peoples united by a common blood and a common cause.

85. What, on the other hand, happened in the countries of Eastern Europe? We all know only too well. When the struggle against the despotism which had brought on the Second World War ended in victory, a great Power capitalized on its triumph, and from that time on a large part of age-old Europe has been subject to a new form of life and of law. And just as the free Western nations had begun to despair, suddenly there came a rebellion which, although unexpected, did not altogether surprise us in view of Hungary's glorious past.

86. What can and should the United Nations do in this emergency? It should come promptly and decisively to the assistance of Hungary so that its struggle for freedom may not be frustrated. Our only watchword must be "Now or never". The principles at stake are those of self-determination and non-intervention.

87. We must reject as fallacious the arguments that the events now taking place in Hungary have been

brought about by reactionary forces. On the contrary, the reactionaries are those who are trying to stifle the desire for freedom which has burst out irresistibly on Hungarian soil.

88. As I have said, the Government and people of Argentina feel irresistibly impelled to state their position; they feel this because of their past history and the realities of their present situation. The Argentine people, too, recently passed through a bitter period when freedom and fundamental human rights were violated. They were able to emerge from this dark period by their own efforts and of their own will, without any foreign interference. It is only logical, then, that we should demand the same rights for the Hungarian people in the name of universal solidarity.

89. That is why, from the first news of the Hungarian rising, the Argentine Government has given its emphatic support to the Hungarian people and has sought action by the United Nations; that is why it demands for the Hungarian people the right to choose their own destiny without foreign interference, and that is why it has offered generous assistance, within the limits of its capacity, in the form of food and medical supplies.

90. The Government of Argentina accordingly makes a profession of faith in the cause of liberty, justice, democracy and the right of self-determination, and asks the General Assembly to take decisive steps to ensure the safety of the Hungarian people. It likewise expresses its whole-hearted support for the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation.

91. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In its first statement at this session of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation gave its reasons for opposing the inclusion of the item on the situation in Hungary in the agenda.

92. As we have already pointed out, this item has been included in the agenda of the Security Council and of this session of the General Assembly in violation of the United Nations Charter, and there are no grounds whatever for its discussion.

93. However, in view of the fact that the real situation and the course of events in Hungary have been distorted in the statements of the representative of the United States and of other delegations, the Soviet delegation feels obliged to dwell on some of the facts relating to the situation in Hungary.

94. The course of events in Hungary has shown that the Hungarian workers, who have made great strides under the popular democratic system, rightly raised the question of eliminating certain serious shortcomings in the economic organization of their country and of further promoting the material well-being of the population.

95. Like most, if not all countries, the Hungarian People's Republic has had and still has its own difficulties, its own unresolved problems, resulting from a variety of causes. There is no doubt, however, that the workers of Hungary can very quickly overcome these difficulties if no artificial obstacles are created.

96. Many facts show that the legitimate and progressive movement of the workers in Hungary was rapidly joined by the dark forces of reaction and counter-revolution, which tried to use the discontent of sectors of the workers to undermine the foundations of the popular democratic system in Hungary and to re-establish the former landowners' and capitalists' order. Counter-revolutionary elements, taking advantage of

the mistakes that had been made, using demagogical slogans and passing themselves off as fighters for freedom, tried to delude the working masses into following them. They took up arms against the legitimate government of the Hungarian People's Republic and succeeded in associating with their venture some of the Hungarian workers who had been deceived by their false propaganda.

97. The activities of the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary, as is convincingly borne out by many facts, are to a great extent the result of the continuous subversive activities of the Western Powers, particularly the United States, against the popular democratic system. The examples we adduced in the Security Council make it abundantly clear that one of the guiding principles of United States policy is flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of the peoples' democracies and the instigation and financing of counter-revolutionary elements for subversive activities against the legitimate governments of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, including Hungary.

98. I have already had an opportunity to draw attention to the existence in the United States of an unprecedented law, promulgated in 1951, called the Mutual Security Act, which openly proclaims that the United States Government undertakes to give administrative and financial support to spies and diversionists engaged in subversive activities against the Soviet Union, Hungary and the other peoples' democracies. It should also be noted that on 16 April 1956, only six months ago, the United States House of Representatives adopted a resolution containing an open appeal for the so-called liberation of the peoples' democracies, which cannot be interpreted as anything but an appeal by the United States for the forcible overthrow of the legitimate governments of those countries.

99. There can be no doubt that the activities of the reactionary forces in Hungary are also the result of lengthy subversion by the imperialistic Powers. The members of the former Arrow Cross movement and the Horthyists, entrenched in Western Germany and Austria, have been carrying on their activities with the support of generous funds from the imperialists. These funds were also used for a slanderous campaign against the Hungarian peoples' democracy, for sending many balloons with propagandist literature, for inflammatory radio broadcasts and for creating and strengthening a reactionary underground movement. It is these reactionary forces which committed unlawful acts in Hungary, destroyed the socialist enterprises set up by the labour of the people, sacked State and social institutions and newspaper publishing houses all last week, killed workers and carried out fierce reprisals against Hungarian Communists and progressive leaders.

100. At the request of the Hungarian People's Government, the Soviet Government agreed to send Soviet military forces to Budapest in order to help the Hungarian peoples' army and the Hungarian authorities to restore order in the city. On 25 October 1956, the Hungarian Government declared that the introduction of Soviet troops had become essential to the vital interests of our socialist system. Although the head of that government, Mr. Nagy, said that he recognized the danger presented by the counter-revolutionary instigators, as he called them, he in fact showed himself to be assisting those reactionary forces, and this, of course, was bound to aggravate the situation in Budapest and the whole country.

101. The Soviet Government, considering that the continued presence of Soviet armed forces in Hungary might serve as a pretext for an even further aggravation of the situation, ordered its military command to withdraw the Soviet troops from Budapest. Subsequent events showed, however, that the reactionary forces in Hungary had become bolder still, taking advantage of the open tolerance of Mr. Nagy's cabinet. The bloody terror unleashed against the workers assumed unprecedented proportions. In those circumstances, it became absolutely clear that Mr. Nagy could not and did not wish to fight against the dark forces of reaction. The Nagy government fell apart, and gave way before the anti-popular elements.

102. As a result, conditions in the country became chaotic. Industrial enterprises and railways came to a standstill. Various reactionary groups, masking themselves behind high-sounding names, alluring programmes and demagogical slogans, advanced their claims to power in the country. It is known, for example, that a group of Horthyist fascist elements has gathered at Győr and directs the activities of counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary.

103. This situation was clearly bound to arouse legitimate anxiety and concern among the real Hungarian patriots for the future of their country. On 4 November, a number of democratic Hungarian statesmen demanded the removal of the Nagy cabinet and took the government of the country into their own hands, forming a Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. Four ministers of the former Nagy cabinet addressed an open letter to the Hungarian working people, as follows:

"We, Antal Aproz, Janos Kadar, Istvan Kosa and Ferenc Munnich, former ministers in the Government of Imre Nagy, hereby declare that on 1 November 1956, having broken all relations with that government, we have resigned from it and have taken the initiative in establishing a Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

"We were prompted to take this serious step by the knowledge that, within the government of Imre Nagy, who fell under the influence of reactionaries and became inactive, we no longer had any means of resisting the counter-revolutionary danger, which is growing ever stronger and threatens to wipe out our Hungarian People's Republic, the power of the workers and peasants and our socialist achievements."

104. The new legitimate government of Hungary appealed to the Soviet troops which were in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact, for assistance in suppressing the counter-revolutionary elements which were trying to inflame the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary.

105. The most recent reports from Hungary show that order is beginning to be restored there and that the Hungarian workers support the removal of Mr. Nagy from power and the formation of the new Workers' and Peasants' Government.

106. Attempts have also been made here to give a distorted interpretation of the facts relating to the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary. As everyone knows, in the years which have elapsed since the Second World War close ties of friendship and co-operation in all spheres of life have been established between the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, including Hungary. In the military sphere, an important foundation of the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies is the Warsaw Pact, under

which the parties undertook certain military obligations, including that of taking any concerted action necessary for strengthening their capacity for defence in order to protect the peaceful work of their peoples, to guarantee the integrity of their frontiers and territories and to ensure defence against possible aggression.

107. The presence of Soviet forces in Hungary is determined by the provisions of the Warsaw Pact, and serves the general interests of the security of all the States parties to the pact. This was a response to the militarization of Western Germany and to the conclusion of military agreements of an aggressive kind between it and the United Kingdom, France and the United States.

108. It has been asserted here that the measures taken in Hungary against fascist elements constitute a violation of the human rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. We feel obliged to point out that these assertions are not only absolutely unfounded, but that the Hungarian Government, in taking measures to put an end to the criminal activities of counter-revolutionary elements, has acted in full conformity with article 4 of the Treaty of Peace, under which Hungary agreed not to allow the existence or operation of organizations of a fascist character pursuing the aim of depriving the Hungarian people of their democratic rights.

109. In the light of the facts to which I have referred, there can be no doubt as to the reason why the United States, the United Kingdom and France are determined at all costs to involve the United Nations in the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question, in spite of the protests of the legitimate Hungarian government, which has clearly stated in its communications to the Secretary-General that the interference of the United Nations in the domestic affairs of Hungary is inadmissible.

110. The attempts of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France to set themselves up as defenders of the rights of the Hungarian people are ludicrous, to say the least. There can be no doubt—and indeed, it is absolutely self-evident—that they are concerned not with the rights of the Hungarian people, but with the restoration of the former corrupt capitalist régime in Hungary. That is why they give every support to the anti-popular elements which are attacking the legitimate Hungarian government.

111. At the same time, by imposing on the General Assembly the discussion of the question of the situation in Hungary, in contravention of the United Nations Charter, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France are trying to distract the attention of international public opinion from the merciless suppression of popular movements directed towards national independence and democratic freedoms which is taking place in Algeria, Cyprus, Malaya and other parts of Africa and Asia.

112. Moreover, by bringing the question of the situation in Hungary before the United Nations, they are seeking, as we have already said, to create a smoke-screen in order to divert attention from the armed aggression undertaken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt. It is not by accident that it is the United Kingdom, France and the United States which have been urging so insistently for a discussion of the Hungarian question in the General Assembly, just when the Assembly has before it the urgent task of taking effective and rapid steps to halt the British-French aggression in Egypt.

113. The situation in Hungary cannot and should not be discussed in the United Nations, since it is the domestic affair of the Hungarian people. The United Nations cannot interfere in the exercise by a people of their inalienable right to determine the future of their country and to defend their historic achievements against the blows dealt by fascist elements to the popular democratic system.

114. We have just heard a statement from Mr. Lodge. This statement can only be regarded as a direct incitement to the fascist elements in Hungary to continue their nefarious subversive activities against the Hungarian people and their legitimate government. This statement is an expression of the frenzied efforts of certain circles in the United States, now and in recent years, to tear Hungary away from the camp of socialism and democracy. But this attempt has been thwarted by the Hungarian people. The Hungarian People's Republic is living through a period which will have a decisive influence on its further development. The victory of the democratic forces, headed by the working class, ensures for Hungary real independence, full democratic freedoms for the whole people, and co-operation with other countries on the basis of the principles of equal rights and respect for national sovereignty.

115. I feel obliged to acquaint the Assembly with the programme of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, as it has just been announced on the radio:

"1. The unconditional safeguarding of the national independence and sovereignty of Hungary.

"2. The protection of the popular democratic socialist system in Hungary from all attacks, the protection of socialist achievements and further progress along the path of socialist construction.

"3. The cessation of internecine strife and the restoration of order and internal peace in Hungary. The Government will not allow any prosecution of workers for their participation in recent events.

"4. The establishment of fraternal, close and friendly relations with all socialist countries on the basis of complete equality and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs and of economic ties on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual assistance.

"5. Peaceful co-operation with all States, irrespective of their social systems and form of government.

"6. Prompt and considerable improvement in the standards of living of the workers, especially the working class.

"7. A revision of national economic plans, and changes in the administrative methods of conducting the economy, taking into account the national peculiarities of the country, in order that the standard of living of the population may be raised as rapidly as possible.

"8. The abolition of bureaucracy and the extensive development of democracy at all levels of the working population.

"9. Workers' management of all factories, plants and enterprises on a broadly democratic basis.

"10. Increase of agricultural production.

"11. Provision for democratic elections of local authorities and revolutionary councils.

"12. Support of small private industries and trade in rural and urban areas.

"13. The consistent development of Hungarian national culture on the basis of progressive tradition.

"14. The Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, acting in the interests of its people, its working class and its country, has addressed an appeal to the Soviet Command for assistance to the Hungarian people in curbing the dark forces of reaction and counter-revolution, restoring the popular socialist system and peace and order in the country.

"15. After order and peace have been restored in Hungary, the Hungarian Government will enter into negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union and other participants in the Warsaw Pact on the question of the presence of the Soviet forces in Hungarian territory."

116. That is the programme of the new Hungarian government. The Hungarian people themselves must be given an opportunity to build up their State and to overcome the difficulties which have existed and still remain in their path. That is why the Soviet delegation will object emphatically to any attempts to impose on the Assembly any decision concerning the so-called Hungarian question, since such a decision would constitute interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

117. Mr. LEQUERICA (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish to say only a few words because I am as anxious as all of you that we should reach a decision quickly.

118. My delegation takes special pride in the fact that the Spanish Government was the first, on 27 October 1956, to address a protest to the Secretary-General [S/3695] against the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet armies and to seek action by the United Nations to safeguard the freedom of that country with so glorious a history.

119. In the past few days there were moments when the news reaching us about the Nagy government led us to harbour illusions and come to believe that Hungary had recovered its liberty. Today, after reading all the relevant information, we are left in no doubt whatever that that is not the case. We are left with even less doubt after hearing, as we did a few moments ago, the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union regarding the future programme of the Hungarian Government and how it will proceed.

120. We have just heard in the Soviet representative's statement, wrapped up in the usual claptrap about reactionaries, fascists, enemies of the people and so on, how the Hungarian bid for freedom has been violently crushed by Soviet troops and that there remains there only a puppet government whose programme has been described to us. I have never heard so bold and frank an admission of the use of violence to subjugate a country. Just as it was said on another occasion that "peace reigns in Warsaw", so today it might be said with the same tragic import that "peace reigns in Budapest".

121. The Government I represent demands action by the United Nations to deliver the Hungarian people from such monstrous tyranny. We are not discussing the political aspects of the Soviet form of government, nor are we concerning ourselves with the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union, for we believe that it would not be a wise course, but rather a threat or almost, we might say, a policy of colonialism or imperialism, to persist in discussing the internal organization of any particular country, but we do protest against what is clearly violent military intervention in a free European country that is now being subjected to tremendous persecution and being put to bloody sacrifice.

122. Hungary has a history and a tradition of independence going back to long before the United States Congress voted millions of dollars for propaganda against Hungary's "freedom" and "independence". Hungary has for many centuries been one of the centres of civilization and one of the bastions against a thousand tremendous onslaughts. As Mr. Belaúnde said, in his moving statement, Hungary is a country which has contributed much to the intellectual and spiritual life of Europe. Today, when we see its sufferings, our heart goes out to this country, and we hope for the ardent support of the United Nations to free it from all those charming plans for its future organization as a workers' democracy about which the representative of the USSR, the Power that is occupying Hungary, has just told us, thereby confirming the violence that is even now being carried out.

123. I, a Spaniard, know what those sweet words mean; I have seen 8,000 priests and thirteen bishops and hundreds of thousands of other persons die at the hands of the cunning organization that is today occupying Hungary. I therefore make bold to raise my voice vigorously at this time to urge whole-hearted support for the United States draft resolution. Let none of us, in particular let none of those people who have recently been exposed to the dangerous temptation to do so, be attracted by the argument that here is a smoke-screen to prevent the United Nations from taking action in other parts of the world where, too, there may be injustice calling for redress. Yesterday we were so deceived, and the day before too. Today at last we are giving the matter our attention, but we must not allow ourselves to be led astray by this alleged incompatibility or by the temptation to abandon the Hungarian people who are at this moment being persecuted in a manner that is a mockery and a scandal to all the civilized nations of the world. The United States draft resolution on this matter seems to me to be an excellent one, and I welcome its strong and resolute terms.

124. I would venture to suggest that perhaps this draft resolution does not go far enough, and that perhaps, if other countries agree, as I am sure they will, to receiving not only United Nations observers but even United Nations armed forces, then we might consider whether it might not be possible, if that democracy and freedom of which the Soviet representative has spoken really exist, also to send United Nations forces to Hungary in order to separate the fighting forces from each other and the invaders from the invaded. I am not putting this forward as a proposal, but I think that in all its aspects and implications it is worthy of our vote and that it would be a positive contribution towards the liberation of this religious country, this sister nation, which has been united with mine over the centuries by so many historical bonds and which is now suffering a dreadful persecution.

125. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): Notwithstanding the words of the Soviet representative, in the past twenty-four hours we have witnessed in Hungary one of the greatest and grimmest betrayals in history. This is a sad and desolate moment for all who have been striving for the extension of freedom and justice throughout the world.

126. It is first of all and above all the people of Hungary who have been betrayed—the students, the peasants, the workers, whom the Soviet Union so frequently professes to champion.

127. For ten years all the resources of a great empire have been used to weaken and destroy the feeling for

national and personal freedom in Hungary and the other countries of Eastern Europe on which Communist régimes were imposed after the Second World War by foreign forces. But events in Hungary and elsewhere have dramatically revealed the results of these ten years of suppression and indoctrination to be failure, often concealed behind a smiling façade of propaganda, but failure.

128. In Hungary the mask of a people's democracy was stripped away and the might of the monolithic unity of the Communist empire was destroyed. For, with incredible courage, the Hungarian people proved once again that man once free will never finally accept oppression and slavery, even though he may be forced to submit to it for long periods. Armed at first only with burning patriotism and a dauntless spirit, the plain people of Hungary rose against their oppressors, and the world watched the struggle hopefully.

129. The new head of the Government, Imre Nagy, promised free elections, the abolition of the secret police and negotiations for the withdrawal of foreign troops. It seemed only a few days ago that the resolution and the sacrifices of these men and women would yield them freedom at last and bring them a government of their own choice. It was the dawn of a new day. The people had risen and their will was to prevail, or so we thought and hoped. And then came the great betrayal.

130. At the very time at which we were told that negotiations were beginning between Soviet and Hungarian military leaders for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary, the Soviet Union was moving large new forces into position in Hungary, where they could stamp out the rising flame of freedom and reimpose a ruthless and savage oppression. As the Soviet representative put it, "the Nagy government fell apart".

131. The Soviet Union's shameless disregard of its obligations under the Charter by its armed intervention has, however, done more than kill Hungarians. It has betrayed the principles and ideals of our United Nations.

132. We have heard a great deal in recent days from the representative of the Soviet Union about the iniquities of aggression, the unpardonable sin of force exerted by large countries upon small countries in order to bend them to the imperialist will, as he put it. There is no need for me to dwell now on the hypocrisy of the Soviet concern for one small nation when its own tanks and bombers are compelling an even smaller nation, which had briefly but gloriously raised its head, to put on the chains again.

133. The Soviet representative has made the parallel between the situation in Egypt and the situation in Hungary. I would reply, first, that the United Nations should judge each situation on its merits. But I would reply also that there is no parallel between the intentions of free democratic nations with a long history of respect for the rights of other nations, and those of a dictatorial régime, which has not shown the slightest understanding of international collaboration or consideration for the rights of others.

134. That difference is, I think, very clearly revealed in the present situations. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have stated firmly and publicly that they are prepared to hand over what they claim to be solely their police role to a United Nations force, a force we are now trying to organize. It is quite true that there remain differences between the

British and the French on the one hand and a majority of the Assembly on the other, on the conditions in which this transfer can take place. Nevertheless, a transfer has been accepted as necessary and desirable and a promise has been given that it will take place.

135. Will the Soviet Union give us the same promise with respect to the military operations now going on against Hungary? I put this question directly to the Soviet representative. He has told us that his Government has intervened in Hungary for a purpose, and that this purpose is ostensibly to protect the interests of the Hungarian people themselves. He wants, so he says, to protect the Hungarian people from a reactionary fascist clique. No one in this Assembly has any desire whatsoever to see the long-suffering Hungarian people delivered from the tyranny of one clique into that of another. All we ask in the United States draft resolution is to let them form the kind of free national government that they want. And how can this be done best? Surely by an impartial and disinterested international authority which can hold the ring and enable all the Hungarian people, without fear or danger of reprisal, to establish a free and democratic government of their own choice.

136. So we now have before us a proposal, sponsored by the United States delegation, that the Secretary-General should investigate the situation for this purpose. Where else can such an authority come from than from the United Nations? Will the Soviet Government recognize this? If not, why not?

137. Yesterday, my Government proposed the intervention of a United Nations force for peaceful purposes in the Middle East, and that proposal secured the overwhelming majority of this Assembly [563rd meeting]. No single vote was cast against it. Why should we not now establish a United Nations mission or United Nations supervisory machinery of an appropriate kind for the situation in Hungary?

138. So I ask the Soviet Union to accept this chance, perhaps this last chance, to prove its good faith to the world. And it is not only the Hungarian people who will be the victims of a refusal. It is a Soviet claim, very often repeated, to be the only true champion of peaceful coexistence, the only real foe of imperialism, the opponent of colonialism. But if the Soviet Union refuses this proposal for a United Nations investigation and examination of conditions in Hungary, never again, surely, will it be able to talk about colonial oppression or imperialism except in terms of the most blatant hypocrisy, and recognized by everyone now as such.

139. I suggest that this is also a chance, perhaps the last chance, for the Soviet Union to show that its collective security system in Eastern Europe is something more than a collection of master and satellites. In this respect, what a contrast it is to an association of free States, banded together on a basis of free co-operation, any one of which can withdraw from the association at any time. But the Soviet system, its collective system, its camp of socialism, as it calls it, if the Soviet Union persists in this aggressive intervention in Hungary, surely stands exposed for all the world to see as resting on nothing but brute force and despotic control.

140. We owe it to the people of Hungary, we owe it to the United Nations, and we owe it to freedom, to condemn in the strongest terms what we know has happened, and to investigate, through the United Nations, what is happening now. Surely no single member of this Assembly will refuse to join in that condemna-

tion and in the request for this investigation. Perhaps at this moment we cannot do more; but surely we cannot do less.

141. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): It is with deep emotion that I take the floor today in an attempt to interpret to you the feelings of the Italian people and of the Italian Government in this tragic moment in the history of Europe. The tragedy of Hungary is our tragedy. The brutal violence exercised by Soviet troops against the Hungarian people is a brutal violence exercised against all of us.

142. The offence to civil and human rights perpetrated by Soviet troops in Hungary is an offence to our people, to our principles and to our rights. Hungarian workers, peasants and students massacred in Budapest are not dying for Hungary; they are dying for a cause which is our cause.

143. When, two nights ago, I raised my voice in this Assembly [562nd meeting] to demand that the United Nations take immediately whatever possible action it could on the intervention of Soviet armed forces in Hungary and respond to the desperate appeal of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, events had not been precipitated as they are now. But they could have been foreseen.

144. The Italian people, in an outburst of popular indignation, were aware, from the very first days and the very first news over a week ago, of what was happening and what was coming. The numerous demonstrations all over Italy in protest against Soviet action were the expression of a sentiment which was clear in our minds, namely, that in Hungary a battle had started which the Hungarians were fighting for all of us. This sentiment was voiced by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Martino, when he spoke in Parliament on 26 October 1956 and protested against foreign intervention and against the fact that the blood of Hungarian workers and students had been shed in one of the most tragic examples of repression in the history of Europe.

145. Meanwhile, the Hungarian situation has reached the peak of the drama, and we have witnessed the most appalling things. While, on 30 October, the Moscow radio broadcast that the Soviet Government had instructed its military command to withdraw the Soviet army units from Budapest as soon as that was considered by the Hungarian Government to be necessary, and while at the same time the Soviet Government began to make ready to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian territory, the massacre of the Hungarians was being prepared. Under the pretext and behind the smoke-screen of negotiations, the Soviet authorities were only trying to deceive the Hungarians and the whole world and to hinder the action of the United Nations. While assurances were being given yesterday in the Security Council, Soviet tanks and guns were already firing against the Hungarian workers. This was not only a violation of a principle of law, but also a breach of faith.

146. We have often heard from Soviet sources that peace and coexistence demand an atmosphere of mutual trust. What an example of good faith has been given in the last few days! What a subject for meditation for any one who might be tempted to trust the word, the promises, the assurances of the Soviet Union Government! Today, Hungary; and who is next?

147. I am not going now into the facts which have been so admirably exposed by many of the representa-

tives who have preceded me at the rostrum, nor into the legal side, which has been so well explained by the representative of Peru. The violation of treaties is clear, evident, unanswerable. The violation of moral law is deeper. It is a long and sad experience, one of the saddest experiences of human history, that no legal system, no matter how technically perfect, can resist if it is not supported by respect for moral law. Not only treaties have been broken; the moral law has been broken.

148. We are now told the usual story by the Soviet delegation; the story of the plots of capitalists, of exiles, reactionaries and foreign agents. The real plot in Hungary was a plot of oppression, of starvation and of tyranny. We also hear of the horrible Americans who have sent messages and pamphlets to the Hungarian people. How cruel, how dangerous of the Americans to send messages and pamphlets for the Hungarian workers! How humane, on the part of the Soviet Government, to send bullets into the chests of the Hungarian workers!

149. The representative of the Soviet Union spoke the other evening of order; he said that certain counter-revolutionary elements had tried, in the capital of Hungary and in the provinces, to violate the order which had been established. The word "order" has an ancient significance in the history of foreign intervention. We know very well in Italy, and have known for centuries, foreign armies coming to restore order in our country. We know that when the Poles rebelled against tsarist rule, order was restored in Warsaw. When, in 1849, the Hungarians rebelled against the Austrian Emperor, the Tsar sent troops to restore order. We know what kind of order that is. Kant called it the order of the cemetery.

150. I have read the text draft resolution presented by the United States delegation. On instructions from my Government, I had prepared a text which is so similar to the one before us that I do not see any necessity to present it too. I fully support the United States draft resolution. I do not think that we can do less, as Mr. Pearson so rightly said, than approve this text. I fully share the views expressed by the representative of Canada, especially his last words: "We cannot do less."

151. As I entered this building, I saw a group of Hungarians bearing a Hungarian flag veiled with black ribbon. We should put a black ribbon on all our flags if we closed our ears and our hearts to the desperate cry which comes from a dying people in its final struggle for freedom, and passively assisted at the spectacle of the Soviet troops in Hungary finishing off their victims. What are we going to say to the Hungarian people?

152. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic comes before the General Assembly to protest vehemently against the violation of human rights, the fundamental principles of democracy and the rights inherent in sovereignty which have been and are being perpetrated today by the Communists of the Kremlin against the people of Hungary. At this very moment the Hungarian people are fighting for their inalienable rights and, with a deep sense of their responsibility, adding new pages to the tales of heroism handed down as part of the rich legacy of Hungarian history.

153. This protest is the confirmation of the protest submitted on 30 October to the Security Council by the delegation of the Dominican Republic [S/3714]

when at the request of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, the Council decided to consider the distressing events resulting from repression, events which had raised great hopes when it seemed that liberty would triumph.

154. When we admitted Hungary to the United Nations, we did not imagine that before very long Hungary would be appealing to us to carry out the imperative duty of supporting it in its fight for freedom, for liberation from Soviet tyranny, for entry into the family of free peoples under the ancient banner of peaceful and glorious coexistence and its deep attachment to Christian tradition and the mystical heritage of St. Stephen.

155. The spectacle of the youth of Hungary carrying the flag without the Soviet star filled us with admiration, and from one end of the earth to the other sounded hymns of hope which reached the shores of the Danube, rising over the Carpathian heights, uniting hearts in sympathy with that prodigious gesture, a gesture even more glorious than that which stirred the hearts of the descendants of Casimir and Kosciuszko.

156. This movement seemed to be the harbinger of a new light and a new life; but the cunning and treachery of the Soviet Communists held a rude awakening in store for us. Hopes have been dashed, and in their place we have the black situation of today—worse than tragedy, a clear revelation of the relentless policy of the Soviet Union, deadly and horrifying, which ruthlessly imposes Soviet domination by brute force, crime and coercion.

157. The Dominican Republic protests against the armed intervention of the Soviet Union. In affirmation of this, the Dominican Congress a short time ago adopted a joint resolution appealing to all the legislatures of the free world to support the hundreds of thousands of human beings who are now making an historic gesture risking their lives and fortunes, their present and their future, in the cause of independence.

158. The Hungarian people rose as one man against the government imposed by Moscow. When the liberators threatened to depose the new régime, Soviet military forces illegally stationed in Hungary intervened with characteristic ruthlessness and brutality, massacring innocent citizens and groups of peaceful demonstrators, whose only weapon was the sacred emblem of Hungary. This Christian nation was subjected to the most merciless bombing for hours on end and suffered the most diabolically cruel repressive measures in the annals of crime.

159. The main reason for our intervention is that in the Dominican Republic we have groups of Hungarians living peacefully in our midst, citizens who have been obliged to flee from their native land to live in our country, under the protection of our laws which guarantee them the right to work and the enjoyment of the other social rights. Thus the spirit of Hungary remains unchanged, in spite of the tremendous psychological pressure exerted by the Soviet Union. They came to our country, as they came to other shores and settled in other American countries, seeking peace and quiet, and the right atmosphere in which to reconstruct their lives and revive their spirits. Today we extend to them the sympathy of the Government of the Dominican Republic and the admiration of our people, crystallized in the measures taken by Congress and the repeated statements and warnings on the Marxist peril by Mr. Trujillo, the champion

of this policy of asylum and the open door to the victims of Communist persecution.

160. Side by side with this group of Hungarians, who have become part of the family of the Dominican Republic, we have other Central Europeans who have never forgotten the traditions of their distant fatherland, their pledge to serve its freedom, and their anti-communist feelings, which the false and cruel policy of the Kremlin helps to deepen and strengthen.

161. The Dominican Republic congratulates the Latin American countries, representatives of our continent of peace and hope, which in the early hours of the morning took so impressive a stand in the Security Council on behalf of a whole community united in the face of the tragic spectacle of Budapest and of Hungary.

162. At the same time, we feel deeply moved by the firm position which the United States has taken up with regard to Hungary and by its continued guidance towards enlightened democracy. Such, no doubt, were the reasons which induced the majority in the Security Council to convene this session of the Assembly to consider, while the blood of patriots is flowing on the shores of the Danube, the tragic sequel to the Hungarian people's aspirations towards human freedom and independence.

163. The delegation of the Dominican Republic will associate itself with any action to promote the independence of Hungary and its emergence into the free world. That is the feeling of our Government, our Congress and our people, and we have no hesitation in supporting the proposal recently introduced by the delegation of the United States. And meanwhile, let us keep up our hopes and have an unequivocal vote so that we may see the triumph in Hungary of right and justice, freedom and independence, the twin symbols of the United Nations Charter, the light of the free peoples, the eternal flame which burns in the hearts of those of us who have faith in God and in our destiny.

164. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): I am bound to express the deep sorrow and regret of the Greek delegation at the turn of events in Hungary. We had sincerely hoped that the leaders of the Soviet Union, in conformity with what was expected to be a new line in the policy of their great country towards other nations and peoples, would have seen their way to conciliate their national interests with the feelings and aspirations of the Hungarian people. We now realize that, unhappily, this has not been the case.

165. The uprisings in Hungary, whatever names we may call them—names do not change facts—express a genuine popular feeling for freedom and independence. It is true that they did not express it through lawful channels, but in Hungary there were no such channels for the expression of public opinion. We understand that what Mr. Nagy's government had been compelled to promise were free elections, and this is a lawful way for the people to express their will. Instead of that, Soviet forces have been used to overthrow the Hungarian Government.

166. The hopes of the Hungarian people striving for freedom and independence are fading away. For a powerful country, the resort to force seems to be the easiest way of solving problems and coping with difficulties, but that which is easiest is not always either the best or the most efficient. Violence has never been a wise approach to international problems, and in the era of the United Nations this approach is all the more to be condemned. Greece has always stood

against the use of violence whenever the alternative to violence was lawful action or conciliation.

167. A few days ago we voted for a resolution aiming at cessation of violence in the Middle East. If violence is bad when used against the Egyptians, it cannot be good when used against the Hungarians. We can very well see that the Soviet Union has important interests to defend in Eastern Europe, but who can deny that the British and the French also have important interests in the Middle East? Still, we all agreed that the resort to force was not the proper way to deal with the situation existing in that region.

168. Our submission is that Soviet interests could have been conciliated with Hungarian freedom and independence, and we earnestly hope that henceforth this course of action will be followed by the Soviet Union, because what the Soviet Union is risking to lose in the world is far more valuable than the gains it is trying to secure through violence in Hungary.

169. It is only natural that we should now feel more pessimistic than ever before about our world's future. Three of the great Powers of this world have embarked on policies in total disregard of the Charter. In the present instance, the United States may feel that it is isolated in its idealistic and honest attitude. In fact, it is not. All the small and law-abiding countries of the world are standing by its side. We hope that some day all will join in a common effort to build up a better world. But, for the time being, we must recognize that never since the end of the last war has the world situation been so bad, so heavily fraught with danger and insecurity, because what we call the crisis of the Middle East and the Crisis of Eastern Europe are turning into a major crisis for the United Nations.

170. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): The United Nations has found itself during these last few days in an extraordinary position, which must, I think, cause all of us the greatest uneasiness. On two different problems, each of great importance, the majority of Members—both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly—has found itself in opposition to the actions of permanent members of the Security Council. As the representative here of one of the Governments concerned, I can assure my colleagues that the difference that has arisen between the United Nations and my Government has caused my Government very great concern.

171. The news of the Soviet attack on Budapest reached us early this morning. Reports of heavy fighting have continued to come in all day. These developments are known to all—though not, I fear, in all their terrible detail. My own information on the situation in Hungary—and I will give it briefly—is as follows:

172. At 8 o'clock this morning, local time, the commander of the Soviet troops in Budapest issued an ultimatum to the Hungarian Government, demanding its capitulation before 12 noon. Failing that, the city would be bombed. By 4 p.m. local time, there were reports that Soviet planes were bombing at least one area of Budapest.

173. The same report stated that Soviet troops had taken control of all key points in the city, but heavy firing continued in all areas. The Hungarian Red Cross headquarters was under heavy fire. Heavy mortar fire continued throughout the day. I have received a report from Her Majesty's Legation in Budapest

which reads: "It is now noon and, as a precaution, we have descended to the cellar."

174. In addition to the reports on the fighting, there were also reports that house-to-house searches were being made by Soviet troops for nationalist leaders, and it now seems that the leaders of the Hungarian Government which was set up yesterday under Mr. Nagy's premiership are in Soviet hands.

175. These reports make it clear that the Soviet attack was intended to crush the Hungarian people and their government and to impose a puppet government. In his speech this afternoon, the Soviet Union representative has now made it clear that such a puppet régime has in fact been set up.

176. We ought perhaps for a moment to consider the justification which the Soviet Government has attempted to put forward for this action. Today's issue of *Pravda* states that the Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr. Nagy, was "unable and unwilling to carry on the struggle against the black forces of reaction which have established a reign of bloody terror with his connivance." *Pravda* then goes on to say:

"If the forces of reaction prevail, Hungary will lose her independence and become a pawn in the international machinations of aggressive imperialists."

177. It is clear that, in the eyes of the Soviet Government, Mr. Nagy's principal crime is that he asserted Hungary's independence from the Soviet Union, that he proclaimed Hungary's neutrality, that he demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian soil and, furthermore, that he appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations to help in bringing about these objectives.

178. We all know what has been the fate of the negotiations which started a day ago between the Hungarian Government of Mr. Nagy and the Soviet Government.

179. The representative of Australia last night in the Security Council [754th meeting] gave us the report that two officers who had been negotiating with the Soviet commander were captives in Soviet hands.

180. The Hungarian Government has been deposed because it asserted the independence of Hungary, and the new government will be no more than the puppet of the Soviet Government. It is the earnest hope of my Government that the General Assembly will bear in mind the appeals which have been addressed to the United Nations and refuse to accord recognition to this new régime.

181. In his speech this afternoon, the Soviet representative has again compared—as he did in the Security Council earlier today—the intervention of Hungary and the events which are now taking place in the Middle East. I will only say again very briefly, that there is no comparison. Even before the full-scale invasion of Hungary which has just started, Soviet troops had interfered in the internal affairs of Hungary to repress the people of Hungary in their struggle to assert their rights. The action of the United Kingdom and France in Egypt is none of these things. It is intended to stop the spread of war in the Middle East and to restore international law and order.

182. Furthermore, I feel obliged to point out that Her Majesty's Government and the French Government have supported a proposal that a United Nations force should take over the task of keeping the peace in the area of the Middle East in which fighting has been taking place. I hope the Soviet Government—and, to the

extent to which it is permitted to express its will, the Hungarian Government—will be prepared to accept similar United Nations mission.

183. The first necessity is to secure an end to the bloodshed, to the carnage, in Hungary. With this end in view, I would urge the Assembly to call for an immediate cease-fire by Soviet land and air forces in Hungary and the withdrawal of all Soviet troops.

184. This would be only the first step. Our ultimate aim must be to secure to the Hungarian people the exercise of the rights which they have been guaranteed both by the Charter and by the Peace Treaty of 1947 between the Government of Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers. Article 2 is short and it is relevant. Paragraph 1 of the article reads:

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

185. Furthermore, the Hungarian people must have the right to choose their own government by means of free elections.

186. This Assembly should also, in my view, accord formal recognition to Hungary's new-found independence. We recall that Mr. Nagy has twice declared the Hungarian Government's intention to establish the neutrality of his country. In a statement in the House of Commons yesterday, the British Foreign Secretary has welcomed this declaration on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. I therefore urge that, in addition to calling for an immediate cease-fire, the Assembly should forthwith meet Hungary's request for the recognition of the neutrality which it has proclaimed.

187. I give my full support to the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation and in conclusion I would say that our word from this place will not go out in vain to the gallant Hungarian people, and it will, I trust, give them renewed hope in their heroic struggle for independence and liberty.

188. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): In order to save the time of the Assembly, the representatives of the Netherlands and Luxembourg have asked me to express the views shared by our three delegations.

189. There is no need to recall in detail the events which led to the convening of this second emergency special session of the General Assembly. We all have them in mind. But it may be of some use to stress their significance.

190. Last Sunday, 28 October 1956, exactly one week ago, the Security Council was urgently convened [746th meeting]: Budapest had just become the scene of great bloodshed, which had spread to large areas of the country. Unarmed demonstrators had been mercilessly machine-gunned; Hungarian patriots, fighting for their independence, were engaged in a desperate struggle against heavily armed Soviet troops, and there had been such general support for this struggle that Hungary seemed on the point of recovering its full independence.

191. The representative of the Soviet Union denied the competence of the Security Council, to deal with this question, alleging, as he has alleged here, that this was an internal matter. The new government

brought to power by the insurrection gave the lie to his allegation by itself requesting United Nations assistance.

192. The representative of the Soviet Union nevertheless maintained that these were criminal activities on the part of counter-revolutionary elements. The Hungarian Government, once more, showed his assertion to be false by stating that, on the contrary, the insurrection had been set in motion by spontaneous and uncontrollable forces uniting the whole nation.

193. On 1 and 2 November, the Hungarian Government approached the United Nations Secretary-General [A/3251 and S/3726]: it strongly protested against the entry into the country of more Soviet troops. It called for the immediate evacuation of the Soviet troops, proclaimed Hungarian neutrality and asked the United Nations to defend it.

194. The day before yesterday, it drew the attention of the Security Council to the latest reports it had received: large Soviet forces, moving from east to west, were marching on Budapest and occupying the railway lines and railway stations.

195. It was in these circumstances that the Security Council met yesterday afternoon [753rd meeting]. The only information which the Council obtained from the representative of the Soviet Union at that meeting was that negotiations concerning the evacuation of Soviet troops were in progress. Nevertheless, it became increasingly clear from the reports that the Soviet Union was concentrating in Hungary powerful armed forces, which were occupying the aerodromes and encircling Budapest.

196. The fears expressed by several members of the Council soon proved to be only too well founded, and we still feel the shock of the tragic events of last night. While the negotiations for their withdrawal were going on, the Soviet forces launched a full-scale attack. Over the radio, the Hungarian Government made its last desperate appeals; its voice was soon to be silenced.

197. The Security Council met immediately. It was a matter of urgency to adopt a resolution calling on the Soviet Union to desist forthwith from its armed attack and withdraw from Hungary. The draft resolution was put to the vote without delay. The only negative vote was that of the Soviet representative, who blocked it by once again using the veto.

198. All the members of the Council, with the single exception of the Soviet representative, felt that, as the Council was now paralysed, it was for the General Assembly to act.

199. The Council was careful to request [S/3733] that the item should be placed on the agenda of a separate special session of the General Assembly and not on that of the special session which had already been convened. Thus, in spite of what the representative of the Soviet Union tried to suggest or insinuate just now, it cannot be said that this is a diversion from the item being considered by the first special session. There are two separate questions, submitted to two separate sessions. Furthermore, if anyone has created a diversion, it is the Soviet Union, by yesterday's brutal attack.

200. The important issues before the General Assembly are simple. May a Member State of our Organization have recourse to threats or to the use of force against the political independence of a State? The Charter says it may not. May a Member State violate the principle of self-determination in its international relations? The Charter says it may not. May a Member

State interfere in the domestic affairs of another State? Here again the answer is that it may not.

201. The duty of the United Nations is to see that these principles are not violated, and that is the aim of the draft resolution [A/3286] before us.

202. We have no objection whatsoever if Hungary maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union, provided that it does so of its own free will. Neither have we any objection to its being Communist, provided that it is so of its own free will. We have no objection if Hungary remains a party to the Warsaw pact, to which the representative of the Soviet Union referred—but once again, provided that it does so of its own free will.

203. In a word, the question is whether a Member of our Organization may trample the fundamental principles of the Charter underfoot. I am sure that the General Assembly will say that it may not.

204. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): We have now turned from the situation in the Middle East, which is grave, to the situation in Hungary, which is tragic.

205. My country promptly supported the initial reference of the Hungarian question to the Security Council. We undertook, last night, to contribute to a suitably constituted United Nations peace force for the Middle East. New Zealand cannot be said to have shown indifference to either question. But the fact that these two crises have coincided in time, and that both involve the exercise of force, should not be permitted to obscure the fundamental differences between them.

206. In the Middle East, France and the United Kingdom have intervened with the announced intention of stopping a conflict between two combatant nations close to a vital international waterway. They have undertaken to cease their intervention as soon as the United Nations is in a position itself to act effectively. In Hungary, the Soviet Union has crudely and cruelly intervened to suppress the heroic attempts of the Hungarian people to free themselves from the Soviet yoke. In the Middle East, France and the United Kingdom have done what they believe to be right. In Hungary, the Soviet Union has done what it knows to be wrong. That is proved, I believe, by the record of the denials and evasions of the Soviet Union representative in the Security Council—denials and evasions which, as they were being uttered, were exposed as such by events. And behind the flames now engulfing the stricken city of Budapest stands the sinister giant of the totalitarian Soviet Union.

207. In the light of these considerations, it might have been expected that Member States outside the Soviet orbit would have been prepared to give at least equal priority, as suggested by the United States, to the two crises; to speak and act at least as sternly as they have shown themselves all too ready to speak and act against the United Kingdom and France.

208. I regret to say that certain countries have shown no such disposition. I feel bound to express my belief that, when events have fallen into the perspective of history, those countries will have little cause to be satisfied with the contrast in their attitudes to the two crises. There will be little cause for rejoicing in the fact that yesterday, even while the Nagy government was being overthrown and the streets of Budapest were echoing to the thunder of Soviet bombardment, the Security Council was forced in to a procedural wrangle on a motion for adjournment proposed by a country

which is a neighbour of Hungary and which itself has had first-hand experience of the Soviet yoke.

209. There will be even less reason for satisfaction if the General Assembly does not reach a decision promptly today—even though it may already be too late. It may be too late for Hungary for the time being. If, however—even after the event—the Assembly were to protest in anything but the strongest terms, if the world's anger at this cynical and ruthless exercise of Soviet power were not made crystal clear, who would it be tomorrow, and who the day after that? Will not these cruel measures in Hungary have struck terror into the hearts of all the inhabitants of all the satellite countries?

210. Yet I hesitate to believe that even the Soviet Union, callous and indifferent to world opinion as it has shown itself to be, will feel able—in the teeth of the Assembly—to reinstitute, or at any rate keep in power for long, in Hungary, a police régime on the old satellite pattern. I do not believe that the Soviet Union would dare to reverse the movement towards greater independence in Poland. I do not believe that, in the long run, the spirit of freedom in Hungary can be extinguished even by Soviet tanks.

211. The Soviet Union has done itself grave harm by the events of the last few days. I am sure that its mass cruelties in Hungary will have outraged the feelings of all decent men, not only in Europe and on this continent, but also in Asia and Africa. Condemnation at the bar of world public opinion is something that not even the Soviet Union can ignore or flout.

212. Mr. SÄRPER (Turkey): When this question was being discussed in the Security Council on 28 October 1956, upon instructions from my Government I presented to the Secretary-General a letter [S/3696] in which I said that the Government of Turkey "fully endorses the action initiated by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States by bringing that matter to the attention of the Security Council".

213. Now it is with an anguished heart that I come to this rostrum to associate myself once again with other representatives who have raised their voices in defence of a people in agony, the Hungarian people, whose lament for liberty is being choked in blood and flame.

214. What do the Hungarian people want, after all? They say: "Leave us alone. Remove this yoke from our necks and let us live our own way of life". What was the answer to this pathetic plea? Only yesterday we heard that negotiations were about to start between the Soviet military authorities and the Hungarian Government, with the aim of making arrangements for the withdrawal of the forces of occupation. We know now that these rumours about so-called "negotiations" were deliberately spread with the purpose actually of gaining a few more hours to complete military preparations to deal the merciless blow which finally destroyed the last vestiges of liberty and independence in Hungary.

215. To put a finishing touch of perfection to this hideous monument of cynicism, last night the representative of the Soviet Union delivered a speech from this rostrum in which he used words such as "freedom", "independence" and so on, and this at the very moment when the forces of occupation in Hungary were destroying the freedoms, liberties and independence of the Hungarian people.

216. It will be realized sooner or later by everybody, including the Soviet Union, that what it has done in Hungary is, to say the least, a political mistake and an enormous mistake. It was a mistake because it is far more profitable to establish bonds of friendship with an entire people than with a puppet government. The Soviet Union had a good chance of establishing first normal and then friendly relations with the Hungarian people by considering with sympathy their yearning for freedom and independence. This invaluable opportunity is lost. Now hatred will take the place of what would eventually have been affection in every Hungarian heart, and mutual distrust will render co-operation impossible for a long time to come.

217. Is it now too late to redress this deplorable wrong? The key to that problem is in the hands of the Soviet Union. Tanks and guns can open the gates of a city, but they are quite powerless when the question is to conquer the hearts and minds of human beings. I realize perfectly well that ideas such as these are met with mockery in some quarters, but does not the fact that tens of thousands of almost unarmed men and women, workers and students—think of Soviet soldiers opening fire on simple workers—sacrificed their lives for freedom mean anything to those who think they can wipe out liberty from the face of this globe?

218. As to this emergency special session of the General Assembly, I think the very least we can do is to adopt the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation by an overwhelming majority, and hope that the weight of public opinion will make itself felt with those who can put an end to this situation if they want to.

219. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): The tragic events in Hungary have stirred up the strongest feelings of sorrow and indignation all over the world. These feelings, I am sure, are, shared even in those countries where people are not free to express their feelings. They are shared also in very many countries which have within the last decade acquired their freedom and independence.

220. My Government and the whole Danish people view with every feeling of sympathy the heroic fight for freedom and independence which these crucial weeks have seen in Hungary. We feel that no foreign Power has the right to suppress the people of any country, or to deprive it of its sovereignty and its inherent right to self-government, to independence and to the freedom to be the master of its own destiny.

221. One representative tried to defend what has been and is still happening in Hungary by enumerating what he termed the evil deeds of others in the past or in the present. I do not feel that even the evil-doing of any other man gives to anyone else the moral right to commit evil deeds, so that reasoning left me cold and completely uninterested.

222. May I finally mention five high and exalted principles which many people feel should guide the behaviour of countries, of nations and of governments towards each other. They are indeed well known everywhere. They are, first, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; secondly, non-aggression; thirdly, non-interference in each other's internal affairs; fourthly, equality and full reciprocity; fifthly, peaceful coexistence. There is no necessity to comment further. Each of these five well-known principles speaks eloquently for itself. My Government feels that the United Nations is indeed the place to deal with the

situation in Hungary. The United States draft resolution will receive our vote.

223. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): World opinion has been profoundly shocked and angered, and I am sure those feelings are shared by this Assembly, which represents the conscience of the world.

224. I do not intend to recall here the chronological sequence of the events we have witnessed during the past week. The various statements made here today, as well as those made in the Security Council during the last six days, have provided enough information to give us a clear picture.

225. What is going on? During the last week, the Soviet Union first prepared and then, yesterday, perpetrated one of the most heinous crimes in the history of any Government. It has, in cold blood, had recourse to lying and trickery to give the impression that a movement of liberalization had begun, and it has done this so it might subsequently all the more easily crush the true defenders of liberty.

226. These defenders of liberty are the whole heroic Hungarian people who, united regardless of party or class, and numbering among them the most convinced of the Hungarian Communists, demonstrated, at first without weapons, that they had enough of the régime imposed on them from abroad since the end of the last world war.

227. The insurrection was, therefore, not against a social system but against the police régime of terror which characterizes the Soviet concept of government.

228. The Hungarian people have cried out to the whole world that they wish to remain Hungarian and that they would rather die rather than continue under the satellite régime to which they have been subjected since 1945. This is the desperate cry which the Soviet Union has tried to stifle. A government like that of the Soviet Union cannot allow a people which has lived for ten years within the Soviet system to reveal the truth to the world.

229. A second crime committed after, and as a sort of fatal sequel to, the first because the murderer has to eliminate the witness of his first murder, is a commonplace in criminal law. The Soviet Government has just committed such a crime.

230. The methods which it has used are well fitted to its purposes. It announced on 30 October 1956 that it was going to establish its relations with the peoples' democracies on a new basis. The next day, it announced that, at the request of the Hungarian people, expressed through the Hungarian Communist Government, it was going to withdraw its troops, first from Budapest and then from the whole of Hungary. Yesterday, it announced and confirmed through its permanent representative to the United Nations that negotiations were going on between its representatives and those of the Hungarian Government on conditions for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. A meeting on the subject was to be held. Hungarian representatives went to that meeting, and while Mr. Sobolev was informing the Security Council of the progress being achieved, the Hungarian representatives were not allowed to hold conversations, but were arrested, taken prisoner, perhaps deported or eliminated.

231. That is what Mr. Sobolev calls progress in negotiations. That, presumably, is what is meant by negotiation in the Soviet Union.

232. In the meantime, the government formed in Budapest by the Hungarian Communist Nagy finally

awoke to reality and the treachery of the Soviet Union and made a moving appeal to the conscience of the world and to the United Nations. All the Hungarian broadcasting stations which were still free continuously broadcast this desperate appeal in five languages. One by one, the stations were silenced as the Red Army cracked down on a Hungary which had regained its freedom for one brief moment. And last night this voice imploring the world for help gradually faded out.

233. We should like to tell the Hungarian people that their appeal still resounds in our hearts and minds. We shall not forget the dictates of our conscience merely because the Iron Curtain has been clamped down again on Hungary, drowning some of its people in a bath of blood. A people cannot be killed, particularly the Hungarian people, merely by brute force. Over and above the force of arms, there is a spiritual force which animates Hungary and also the United Nations, or should I say, which also ought to animate the United Nations?

234. Are we not all, to a certain extent, the accomplices of the Soviet Union? Have we not encouraged the violators of the fundamental principles of the Charter by endless debates, procedural discussions and proof after proof of our impotence?

235. Only yesterday, in the Security Council, we had to fight over motions of adjournment or procedural details; we were told that the reports were not precise enough; Mr. Sobolev had no information; another representative had no instructions. And in the meanwhile the Hungarian people, which was calling for immediate action, was in peril of death, individually and collectively.

236. Have we a clear conscience? The impotence we displayed again yesterday appears in many if not all of the disputes brought before the different bodies of our Organization in the course of its existence. There are only a few exceptions, and they have been due to the initiative and courage of one or two Powers which dared to act, at first alone, in the spirit in which the Charter should be applied.

237. But our sense of duty is impugned not only because we were unable to act in these disputes, but also because we accepted lies, at least tacitly. We allowed political systems which were nothing but terrorism to be called "democracies" in our hearing. We recognized as independent countries which were really under the iron heel. In short, we have not been faithful to our ideal or to ourselves. Compromises, misinterpretations and rough-and-ready solutions are not worthy of an organization such as ours.

238. We must have the courage to speak clearly. We must undertake to set things right now, or it will be too late. We must condemn the military action of the Red Army in Hungary. We must insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet occupation troops. We must take the necessary steps to re-establish conditions in Hungary which will enable the Hungarian people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms. They must be allowed to express their views in free elections under international control.

239. The Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by the United States, which France is prepared to endorse wholeheartedly, as it answers the requirements I have just set out. This draft resolution, particularly its operative paragraph 4, might be more precisely worded. It must be made clear that the situation which calls for action by the United Nations

is one resulting from the intervention of foreign forces in Hungary. I shall have a text of my amendment circulated later.

240. The Minister for External Affairs of Canada has suggested that the United Nations should set up machinery to ensure respect for the independence in which the Hungarian people can express themselves. The French delegation is ready to support that suggestion.

241. We must act and act immediately. We shall always bear the stigma of shame if we ignore the appeal engraved upon our hearts in words of blood by glorious and martyred Hungary.

242. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): I am speaking on a point of order. Considering that the time allotted for the general debate on this item hardly permits the full expression of views of all delegations, or a great majority of them, however desirable this may be; considering that with respect to the monstrous events which are currently transpiring in Hungary and the anguished cry for assistance of the embattled Hungarians, the answer of this Assembly can effectively be expressed less by lengthy deliberations than by swift action on the premises; finally, considering that the United States draft resolution in my view not only adequately but faithfully embodies, in each of its operative and preambular paragraphs, the collective conscience and judgement of this body on the situation in Hungary, I move for a closure of the debate, with a view to voting immediately on the draft resolution, without prejudice to an explanation of vote thereafter.

243. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before we vote on the proposal just made by the Philippines delegation, I should like to know whether the representative of France can give us the amendment he mentioned. Otherwise, we shall not be able to put it to the vote.

244. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): I should like operative paragraph 4 of the United States draft resolution to be replaced by the following text:

"Requests the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

245. The representative of the Union of South Africa has authorized me to say that he will support this amendment.

246. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the United States on a point of order.

247. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Several members have spoken to me about this same amendment which the representative of France has suggested. That is what the language of the draft resolution means. Therefore, in the interests of clarity, I am glad to accept the amendment. I do so because of my extreme sense of urgency about the situation in Hungary. I am extremely anxious that we should act without delay.

248. I have before me an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, which I shall read out:

"Diplomatic officials tonight said they viewed Russia's sudden military onslaught against Hungary

as one of the most wanton massacres of a people in modern history.

"From twelve to twenty Soviet army divisions were believed ruthlessly raining bombs and bullets against virtually every Hungarian who has exposed himself during the past two weeks as anti-Communist in outlook."

249. That kind of a news report, which is characteristic, makes me welcome the proposal of the representative of the Philippines that we should proceed to a vote. I do not want to cut anybody off. I want all members to have a chance to speak. But it seems to me that if we could vote, then everyone could speak and get his views into the record and into the Press of the world, which of course is very important in mobilizing public opinion. It seems to me that as a body we would gain a great deal by voting quickly and we would lose nothing, because we would get the benefit of all the statements of members after the vote. I believe that the situation in Hungary is so urgent that I am glad to support the motion of the representative of the Philippines that we proceed to a vote. I think that is about the best thing that we can do tonight.

250. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As the representative of the United States has accepted the French amendment, the amendment is incorporated into the text of the draft resolution.

251. Before voting on the draft resolution, I feel that the Assembly should consider the motion of the representative of the Philippines for the adjournment of the debate. In accordance with rule 76 of the rules of procedure, two representatives, in addition to the proposer of the motion, may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion, after which the motion shall be immediately put to the vote.

252. If there are no objections, we shall proceed accordingly.

It was so decided.

253. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As there are no speakers, we shall proceed to vote on the United States draft resolution [A/3286] as amended. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

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

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

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

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Nepal.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 50 votes to 8, with 15 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.