cial period from a fiscal to a calendar year basis and that, consequently, the current budgets cover an eighteen-month period from 1 July 1956 to 31 December 1957, and that special arrangements for the audit of funds in this period are being made with the United Nations Board of Auditors;

"12. Requests the Director of the Agency to continue to submit the reports referred to in paragraph 21 of General Assembly resolution 302(IV) of 8 December 1949, as modified by paragraph 11 above."

CHAPTER II

THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION

THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY

CONSIDERATION BY SECURITY COUNCIL

On 27 October 1956, France, the United Kingdom and the United States requested a meeting of the Security Council to reconsider an item entitled "The Situation in Hungary", pursuant to Article 34 of the Charter. They stated that foreign military forces in Hungary violently repressed the rights of the Hungarian people, which were secured by the Treaty of Peace of 1947 to which Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers were parties. A number of other delegations expressed their support for inclusion of the item in the Council's agenda.

On 28 October, the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic protested against consideration by the Council of the situation in Hungary. The events of 22 October 1956 and thereafter, and the measures taken in the course of those events, were exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary, he said.

The representative of the USSR, in opposing consideration of the item, maintained that its discussion by the Council would amount to gross interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary and contravention of Article 2(7) of the United Nations Charter. Council consideration was designed to encourage the armed rebellion which was being conducted by a reactionary underground movement against the legal Government. The Hungarian Government, in taking measures to end the criminal activities of counter-revolutionary elements, had been acting entirely in accordance with Article 4 of the Peace Treaty, which obligated it not to permit the existence and activities of organizations of a fascist type. Article 34 of the Charter, which concerned only disputes or situations of an international character, was not relevant, and the Council was not competent to examine such questions.

The representative of the United Kingdom categorically denied the motives ascribed to the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States by the USSR representative, and declared that the fact that foreign troops were fighting in Hungary obviously made the matter one of international concern.

On 28 October, the Council decided, by a vote of 9 to 1 (USSR), with 1 abstention (Yugoslavia), to include the question "The Situation in Hungary" in its agenda. The Council discussed the question at four meetings held between 28 October and 4 November 1956. At the first of these meetings, the representative of Hungary was invited to the Council table.

The representative of the United States emphasized that, in desiring the independence of the satellite countries, the United States had no purpose other than that they should have Governments of their own free choosing. He gave an account of events in Hungary and said that, according to reports, Soviet tanks and Hungarian political police had fired on Hungarian citizens, that Soviet military reinforcements had entered Hungary and that large-scale fighting had ensued. Along with demonstrations in Budapest, demands had been made for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. The United States representative urged Council action to end the repression in Hungary.

The representatives of the United Kingdom and France and other Council members held that the evidence showed that foreign troops had intervened on a massive scale in Hungary, creating a situation of which the Security Council, acting under Article 34 of the Charter, must take cognizance. Even if Soviet troops
were in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty provisions, those troops, under article 8 of that Treaty, could not be used to maintain law and order. In a broadcast on 28 October, Imre Nagy, President of the Council of Ministers of Hungary and acting Foreign Minister, had stated that recent upheavals in Hungary represented a big national democratic movement and also that his Government was opening negotiations about the relationship between Hungary and the Soviet Union, including the question of withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The USSR representative said that events in Hungary had made it clear that, with the assistance of the United States, a reactionary underground movement had been organized in Hungary which had exploited the difficulties and shortcomings in the work of state and party organs in Hungary in order to mislead certain sections of the people. He noted that Mr. Nagy's broadcast, to which reference had been made, drew a clear distinction between the democratic movement and the movement of counter-revolutionary elements which had attached itself to it. Measures for the liquidation of the latter had been carried out by the people's militia and the Hungarian people's army. In response to an appeal by the Hungarian Government, Soviet military units, located in Hungary in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty, had gone to the help of the Hungarian forces and the Hungarian workers. It was well known, he added, that broad democratic freedoms existed in Hungary and all statements concerning the so-called violation of those rights were meant to justify the interference by the Western Powers in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

On 1 November, the President of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic informed the Secretary-General that further Soviet units were entering Hungary (A/3251). In his capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs, he had expressed his strongest protest to the Soviet Ambassador and demanded the instant withdrawal of those Soviet forces. He had informed the Soviet Ambassador that the Hungarian Government immediately repudiated the Warsaw Treaty, declared Hungary's neutrality as from 1 November, turned to the United Nations and requested the help of the four great Powers in defending Hungary's neutrality. He requested the Secretary-General to put the question of Hungary's neutrality and the defence of that neutrality by the four great Powers on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

At the Council meeting of 2 November, a number of Council members condemned the USSR's use of force in Hungary. The USSR Government statement of 30 October, to the effect that it had ordered the withdrawal of its army units from Budapest as soon as the Hungarian Government recognized that to be necessary, and that it was willing to enter into negotiations with Hungary and other participants in the Warsaw Pact concerning the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, was contrasted with the telegram sent to the Secretary-General by the Hungarian Government. The plea made by the Hungarian Government in that communication could not be ignored. It was obvious, these Council members argued, that foreign intervention had taken place and that it was continuing in Hungary against the wishes of the people and the Government. There was therefore a flagrant violation of Hungarian sovereignty and independence. It was also stated that the Hungarian Communist Party newspaper had described as an insult to the people of Budapest the account given of events in that city by the USSR Government.

The USSR representative said that the counter-revolutionary uprising against the people's regime in Hungary had been suppressed by the action of the Hungarian authorities. He quoted from a USSR statement of 30 October to the effect that the Soviet Government had instructed its military command to withdraw Soviet military units from Budapest as soon as that was thought necessary by the Hungarian Government. Now that the situation had begun to improve, certain counter-revolutionary elements, with outside assistance, were trying at all costs to disturb the emerging order. Rumours that the USSR was moving additional armed forces into Hungarian territory were utterly unfounded, as was the statement made by Mr. Nagy. Discussion of the matter in the Council, the Soviet representative said, was a manoeuvre by the Western Powers to distract public attention from the Anglo-French aggression in the Middle East.

In a letter of 2 November circulated to the
Council, Mr. Nagy gave further details, based mainly on military reports, about the arrival of Soviet reinforcements and Soviet military movements in Hungary. On the basis of those facts, the Hungarian Government had informed the USSR Embassy and all the other diplomatic missions in Budapest about those steps directed against the Hungarian people and their Government. At the same time, it had forwarded concrete proposals concerning negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary and the termination of the Warsaw Pact, and had proposed a mixed committee to prepare the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. Mr. Nagy requested the Secretary-General to call upon the Great Powers to recognize the neutrality of Hungary and asked the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start the negotiations immediately.

On 3 November, the United States representative submitted a draft resolution whereby the Security Council, among other things, would: (1) call upon the USSR to desist forthwith from any intervention, particularly armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary; (2) express the hope that the USSR would withdraw its forces from Hungary without delay; (3) affirm the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being; (4) request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies, to explore on an urgent basis the need of the Hungarian people for food, medicine and other similar supplies, and to report to the Council as soon as possible; and (5) request all Members of the United Nations and invite national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as might be required by the Hungarian people.

The representative of Hungary informed the Council that the leaders of the Hungarian and Soviet armies had met and discussed technical questions involved in withdrawing the Soviet troops. They were to meet again that night. According to the Soviet proposal, no more troops would cross the border until an agreement was reached. The representative of the USSR confirmed that negotiations were going on concerning Soviet troops in Hungary.

On Sunday, 4 November 1956, the Council was urgently summoned to meet at 3 A.M. to consider reports of a new violent attack by Soviet troops in Budapest and elsewhere in Hungary. Various representatives condemned that attack, and noted that it had been undertaken at the very time when the Soviet representative on the Council had confirmed that negotiations were taking place about a Soviet withdrawal in Hungary.

The representative of the USSR stated that his delegation had no official information on the reported new developments, and he felt that, in those circumstances, the more correct course would be to postpone consideration of the question until reliable information was available.

The Council had before it a revised United States draft resolution which, among other things, called upon the USSR not to introduce additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw without delay all of its forces from that country. It received 9 votes in favour to 1 against (USSR), and was not adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council. (At the next meeting the representative of Yugoslavia requested that his delegation be recorded as having abstained.)

The United States representative then submitted a draft resolution, adopted by 10 votes to 1, by which the Council decided to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 377(V), to consider the situation in Hungary.

The Secretary-General stated that he wished to put on record that the declaration he had made on the duties of the Secretary-General at the Council meeting of 31 October 1956 (see INTERVENTION BY ISRAEL AND BY FRANCE AND UNITED KINGDOM IN EGYPT UNDER CHAPTER I) also applied to the present situation.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

When the second emergency special session of the Assembly was convened on 4 November 1956 to consider the item entitled "The Situation in Hungary", the USSR representative opposed its inclusion in the agenda on the ground that discussion of it was barred by
Article 2(7) of the Charter. The legal Government of Hungary, he said, had protested on 28 October 1956 against discussion of the matter in the United Nations. Mr. Nagy's communications to the United Nations were unconstitutional and invalid. The Nagy Government had in fact collapsed, and a Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government had been formed, including several Ministers of the Nagy Government. That Government had informed the Secretary-General that all communications from Mr. Nagy were invalid and had reiterated the Hungarian Government's objections to discussion of the situation in the United Nations. The proposal to include the matter in the agenda was motivated by a desire to aggravate the situation and to support fascist elements which had risen against the Hungarian people and its lawful Government.

In support of inclusion of the item, it was stated that the use of foreign forces to repress rights established by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, of 10 February 1947, was a violation which was of concern to the other nations parties to that Treaty. Recent events in Hungary had clearly demonstrated that, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, both the threat of force and force had been employed against the political independence of Hungary.

On 4 November, the General Assembly decided to include the item in its agenda by 53 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions.

The United States representative submitted a draft resolution which was modified during the debate. The General Assembly would, by the preamble to the revised version: recall the guarantees in the Hungarian Peace Treaty of 1947 concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms; condemn the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights; note the USSR declaration of 30 October 1956 of its avowed policy of non-intervention; note the demand made on 1 November 1956 by the Government of Hungary that the USSR instantly withdraw its forces; note the Hungarian Government's communication of 2 November 1956 asking the Security Council to instruct the Governments of the USSR and Hungary to start negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces; note that the Soviet intervention in Hungary had resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people; and take note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Nagy of 4 November 1956. By the operative part of the draft resolution, the Assembly would: (1) call upon the USSR to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention in Hungary; (2) call upon the USSR to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw therefrom all of its forces without delay; (3) affirm the Hungarian people's right to a government responsive to its national aspirations; (4) request 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 to suggest methods to bring to an end the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter; (5) call upon the Governments of Hungary and the USSR 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) call upon all Members to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions; (7) request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to enquire, 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; and (8) request all Members and invite national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as might be required by the Hungarian people.

The United States draft resolution, as modified, was adopted on 4 November by a roll-call vote of 50 to 8, with 15 abstentions, as resolution 1004(ES-II).

On 7 November, the Secretary-General informed the General Assembly at the conclusion of a meeting on the Middle Eastern question that the resolution of 4 November had been formally called to the attention of the two Governments most directly concerned and that he would shortly be in a position to report on
further steps in implementation of the resolution. In the meantime, he said, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was working with other welfare agencies to meet the need for food, medicine and other similar supplies.

On 8 November, the representative of Hungary reiterated the Hungarian Government’s declaration of 28 October to the effect that events in Hungary and the measures taken in connection therewith were exclusively the domestic concern of the Hungarian People’s Republic. The appeals sent by Mr. Nagy had been declared invalid by the new Government of Hungary, and they could not, therefore, be regarded as official.

A number of representatives questioned whether the representative of Hungary represented either the people or the legitimate Government of that country, declaring that the Kadar Government had been imposed by force. (The issue was also raised in the Credentials Committee, which reported on 8 November that it had decided to recommend that the Assembly take no decision on the matter at that time pending further clarification. On 9 November the Assembly approved the report by 68 votes to 0, with 1 abstention.)

The representative of Italy introduced a draft resolution, sponsored also by Cuba, Ireland, Pakistan and Peru. By this, the General Assembly, noting the continuing violent repression by Soviet forces of the Hungarian people’s efforts to achieve freedom and independence, would: (1) call upon the USSR to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay; (2) consider that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices; (3) reaffirm its request to the Secretary-General to investigate and to report on the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary; and (4) request the Secretary-General to report on compliance.

At the same meeting, the Secretary-General drew attention to an aide-mémoire he had sent that day to the Government of Hungary, containing the main points of his plan for the implementation of the resolution of 4 November. He had asked whether that Government was willing to admit observers designated by the Secretary-General into Hungary as soon as possible. He intended to proceed with a selection of observers on the assumption that the Government of Hungary would meet the request of the General Assembly. The General Assembly had also requested the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary. He said he had taken steps for such an investigation on the basis of available and confirmed material. Finally, the General Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to suggest, as soon as possible, methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in accordance with the principles of the Charter. The matter was under active consideration within the Secretariat, the Secretary-General added. It was obviously not possible to reach a final result before the end of the investigation previously referred to, nor to do so without the co-operation of the Hungarian Government in the sense he had indicated.

On 9 November, the United States submitted a two-part draft resolution concerning humanitarian aspects of the question and concerning assistance to refugees from Hungary.

By the first part, the General Assembly, considering that the military authorities of the USSR were interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary, would: (1) call upon the USSR to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which were in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality; (2) call upon the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the USSR not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people; and (3) urge the USSR and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives in the carrying out of relief tasks.

By the second part of the draft resolution, the Assembly, considering that increasingly large numbers of refugees were being obliged to leave Hungary and seek asylum in neighbouring countries, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, would: (1) request the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested
Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary; and (2) urge Member States to make such contributions for that purpose.

At the next meeting on the same day, Austria submitted a draft resolution under which, as modified prior to the vote, the General Assembly would: (1) resolve to provide large-scale and immediate relief aid in the affected territories; and (2) call upon all Members to assist such action to the maximum as well as to assist the Secretary-General in implementing the resolution.

On the same day, joint amendments to the United States draft resolution were submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia. Those to the first part of the draft were intended to delete: the references in the preamble to interference by the military authorities of the USSR; the entire first operative paragraph; the references in the second operative paragraph to USSR interference; and the reference in the third paragraph to the USSR. It was also proposed to amend the preamble to the second part of the resolution so that it would read: "Considering that large numbers of refugees are leaving Hungary", thus deleting the reference to "harsh and oppressive action" by Soviet armed forces.

Those speaking in support of the five-Power joint draft resolution emphasized that the so-called "Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government" was a Soviet agency imposed on Hungary by Soviet soldiers who were massacring the workers and peasants. Hungary, they urged, must be freed from foreign troops, and its people must be given the right to choose its own Government through free elections.

A number of representatives, including those of Hungary and the USSR, opposed this proposal. They declared that it represented a further attempt to falsify the facts in respect of developments in Hungary in order to justify further interference in Hungary's domestic affairs for the purpose of disturbing the progress and consolidation of peaceful development.

In opposition to the five-Power joint draft resolution, it was also observed that the General Assembly could not in any circumstances, regardless of whether it considered the action under discussion right or wrong, disregard the sovereign rights of Members. The right of the Hungarian people to choose the form of Government it desired was inherent in its sovereignty and membership in the United Nations. The Assembly, it was also argued, could not deal with the problem in the same way as in the case of a colonial country, where the people had no representation.

Some representatives, indicating their intention of abstaining in the vote on this proposal, expressed the view that it would serve no practical purpose, because the mere adoption of a resolution calling for free elections would not bring them about. The proposal, in their opinion, was also premature in that it was only after completion of the task assigned to the Secretary-General that the Assembly could get down to the practical business of what it should do.

Most of those supporting the United States draft resolution opposed the joint amendments to it. Apart from the fact that the relevant provisions of the draft resolution were a precise description of what was taking place, the Assembly should not, they argued, overlook the impact on public opinion that would result from a decision to omit them. Those supporting the amendments urged that a resolution on humanitarian questions should not contain elements of a political character. It should be limited to the requirements of the task envisaged.

On 9 November, the five-Power joint draft resolution was adopted as a whole, by a roll-call vote of 48 to 11, with 16 abstentions, as resolution 1005(ES-II). The three-Power amendments to the United States draft resolution were rejected by a roll-call vote of 45 to 18, with 12 abstentions. The United States draft resolution was then adopted by a roll-call vote of 53 to 9, with 13 abstentions, as resolution 1006(ES-II).

The Austrian draft resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 67 to 0, with 8 abstentions, as resolution 1007(ES-II).

On 10 November the General Assembly adopted another United States draft resolution, as resolution 1008(ES-II), to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its second emergency special session. The vote for this was 53 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions.
CONSIDERATION BY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS
ELEVENTH SESSION

In an aide-mémoire to the Government of Hungary, dated 10 November, the Secretary-General noted with disappointment that he had not so far received any reply to his aide-mémoire of 2 November, although the situation was one of the greatest urgency. He said he was requesting a reply without further delay. Should the reply have been held up by a consideration of the modalities for a visit by observers of the Secretary-General, he was willing immediately to arrange for a discussion about the modalities. On the same day, the Secretary-General transmitted a copy of the aide-mémoire to the USSR Government, asking it to support his demand to the Government of Hungary that it permit observers, designated by him, to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings.

In a note verbale addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, also on 10 November (A/3337), the Secretary-General requested information about the needs of the Hungarian people for medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothing. Upon receipt of that information, the Secretary-General said he would wish to discuss with the Hungarian Government the best means of providing the assistance required.

On 12 November, the Secretary-General announced that he had been pursuing discussions about the composition of groups for investigation and for the direct observation of the prevailing situation as requested in the resolution of 4 November by the General Assembly. As of that date, Dr. Alberto Lleras (Colombia) and Judge Oscar Gundersen (Norway) had agreed to participate.

Also on 12 November, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary conveyed to the Secretary-General a statement by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Hungarian People's Republic (A/3341). In the past weeks, it said, mass demonstrations had taken place in Hungary, the democratic and patriotic demands of which the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government had accepted as its own. However, organized fascist elements and criminals had gradually taken the lead and had carried off and murdered hundreds of progressive-minded people and members of their families. In the serious situation which had arisen, the Government could restore law and order only by requesting the aid of Soviet troops. After the complete restoration of law and order, it would immediately begin negotiations with the Government of the USSR for the withdrawal of those troops from Hungary. On that basis, the Hungarian Government emphatically stated that the settlement of the situation lay exclusively within the internal legal competence of the Hungarian State. Any resolution of the General Assembly concerning that situation was thus in contradiction with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, the statement added. The Hungarian and USSR Governments alone had the competence to carry on negotiations about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. The Hungarian Government considered that the sending of the Secretary-General's representatives was not warranted. The holding of elections in Hungary was entirely within the competence of the Hungarian authorities. As to the refugees, the statement added, the Hungarian Government would enable those citizens who had fled abroad as a result of the battles to return freely and without harm. Hungary was grateful for the humane resolutions of the Assembly about assistance and would facilitate the receipt and distribution of food and medicine sent for the Hungarian people. It was currently co-operating with the International Red Cross Committee. The Soviet troops in Hungary did not hinder the relief work in any way.

On 13 November, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary gave details of the most urgent relief needs and stated that his Government was prepared to discuss with the Secretary-General the best means of providing the assistance required as well as how his representatives might participate in organizing the assistance on the spot (A/3345).

Replying on 13 November (A/3346), the Secretary-General noted with satisfaction the willingness of the Hungarian Government to co-operate fully with the agencies of the United Nations for the humanitarian ends to which the resolutions of the General Assembly were directed. He also noted the views expressed about the General Assembly resolution of 4 November. In his execution of the decision of
the General Assembly, it would not be to the purpose for him to enter upon a discussion concerning that decision. He invited the Government of Hungary to reconsider its judgement that the sending of representatives by the Secretary-General was not warranted in the light of the opposite view so widely expressed by Member Governments in the Assembly and reflected in the vote. He invited the Hungarian Government, as a Member of the United Nations, to co-operate with the great majority in the clarification of the situation which had given rise to such concern in the Assembly.

In a note verbale dated 13 November, the Permanent Mission of the USSR informed the Secretary-General that it maintained the position it had stated in the General Assembly. As to the specific question of the dispatch of the United Nations observers to Hungary, raised by the Secretary-General in his aide-mémoire of 10 November, the USSR Government considered that to be a matter falling exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Also on 13 November, in a conversation with the Foreign Minister of Hungary, the Secretary-General offered to go personally to Budapest during the journey he was about to make to Egypt in order to establish the basis for United Nations humanitarian assistance to Hungary, in accordance with the General Assembly's resolutions.

On 13 November, the General Assembly, by a roll-call vote of 62 to 9, with 8 abstentions, decided to include the item "Question considered by the second emergency special session of the General Assembly from 4 to 10 November 1956" in the agenda of its eleventh regular session.

On 15 November, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary informed the Secretary-General that representatives of his Government would be glad to meet the Secretary-General in Rome and negotiate about the aid offered by the United Nations as well as to exchange views about the position taken by the Hungarian Government regarding the resolutions of the United Nations (A/3358). On 16 November, the Secretary-General recalled that, in view of the value of a broader personal contact with those directly concerned, he had made an oral offer to go to Budapest to discuss the basis for humanitarian activities by the United Nations in Hungary. Under the circumstances, he proposed to discuss the matters mentioned in the latest message from the Hungarian Government with its Foreign Minister as soon as possible (A/3362).

On 16 November, the Secretary-General informed the General Assembly that he had appointed Judge Oscar Gundersen (Norway), Mr. Arthur Lall (India) and Dr. Alberto Lleras (Colombia) to constitute a group for investigating the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary.

The General Assembly resumed discussion of the question on 19 November, when it had before it a revised Cuban draft resolution whereby the Assembly would: (1) consider that information received added urgency to the necessity of prompt compliance with the Assembly's earlier resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary and for the dispatch of observers to Hungary by the Secretary-General; (2) urge the Government of the USSR and the Hungarian authorities to take immediate steps to cease the deportation of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those who had been deported from Hungarian territory; and (3) request the Secretary-General to keep the Assembly informed as to compliance with this as well as with previous resolutions.

On the same date, the Permanent Mission of Hungary requested distribution of the text of a communique issued by the Hungarian Government on 18 November, in which it was declared that none of the persons arrested had been deported from the territory of Hungary.

The General Assembly continued discussion of the matter in the course of six meetings held between 19 and 21 November. In the course of these meetings additional proposals were submitted.

One was a joint draft resolution by Ceylon, India and Indonesia. As revised during the debate to take account of Belgian amendments, the General Assembly, noting affirmations and denials by Members regarding forcible deportations of Hungarian nationals, recalling paragraph 5 of its resolution of 4 November, and noting that the Secretary-General was pursuing his efforts in that behalf with the Hungarian Government and that he had urged Hungary,
"as a Member of the United Nations, to cooperate with the great majority in the clarification of the situation", would thereby: (1) urge Hungary to accede to the request made by the Secretary-General without prejudice to its sovereignty; and (2) request the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly without delay.

A joint draft resolution was also submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark and the United States (A/3374). By this, the General Assembly would: (1) note with appreciation the action taken by the Secretary-General and the Office of the High Commissioner; (2) request the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to continue those efforts; (3) urge Governments and non-governmental organizations to make contributions to the Secretary-General, the High Commissioner or other appropriate agencies for the care and resettlement of Hungarian refugees and to co-ordinate their aid programmes in consultation with the Office of the High Commissioner; and (4) request the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to make an immediate appeal to both Governments and non-governmental agencies to meet the minimum present needs as estimated in the report of the Office of the High Commissioner and authorize them to make subsequent appeals on the basis of plans and estimates made by the High Commissioner with the concurrence of his executive committee.

Four amendments to this four-Power draft resolution were proposed by Hungary (A/L.214). These envisaged, among other things, the addition of a new operative paragraph whereby the General Assembly, taking note of the declaration of the Hungarian Government calling upon the refugees to return to their country, would recommend that the Governments of the countries concerned take urgent measures in order to secure a speedy return to Hungary of Hungarian nationals who as a result of the present situation had become refugees. The amendment also proposed revision of operative paragraph 4, to have the Assembly request the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to make an appeal to Governments to render the necessary assistance to the refugees pending their return to Hungary.

The majority of speakers participating in the debate condemned what was termed "a reign of terror" in Hungary. There could not, it was argued, be two classes of Member States, one complying with United Nations resolutions while the other ignored them with impunity. The fact that deportations from Hungary were taking place had been recognized by the Budapest radio and the press in Hungary. If there was nothing to hide, why were United Nations observers and the Secretary-General not admitted to Hungary?

The representatives of Hungary, the USSR and certain other Members charged that allegations of deportation had been fabricated in order to hinder the efforts of the Hungarian people to restore complete peace and order. Another view was that the effectiveness of the negotiations undertaken by the Secretary-General would not be enhanced by the adoption of the Cuban draft resolution.

A number of representatives who had abstained on resolution 1004(ES-II) of 4 November stated that their Governments viewed with concern the armed Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary. This they considered completely unjustified. They also declared that the Soviet troops should withdraw speedily.

During the debate on 21 November, the Secretary-General reaffirmed his offer to go personally to Budapest. He noted that his offer had originally been made for discussions concerning humanitarian activities. However, in later exchanges, when the Government of Hungary had proposed a meeting in Rome, it had at the same time indicated that it would like the discussions to extend beyond the sphere of humanitarian activities and cover also aspects of the General Assembly resolutions in general. The Secretary-General believed it followed from the exchanges of views that there was no refusal from the side of Hungary which would make it impossible for him to maintain his offer to go personally to Budapest and in that context to discuss not only humanitarian activities but likewise the wider aspect to which the Government of Hungary had referred.

The representative of Hungary stated that he would vote against the joint draft resolution proposed by Ceylon, India and Indonesia. His Government and his delegation, he said, were ready to talk about any problems concerning relief with the Secretary-General and about
the meeting between the latter and representatives of the Hungarian Government.

Those against the Hungarian amendments maintained that these must be interpreted in the light of statements that the refugees were common criminals and the remnants of fascist Horthy groups. The fate of such refugees electing to return, they said, would clearly be liquidation.

On 21 November, the General Assembly adopted the Cuban draft resolution, as amended by El Salvador, by a roll-call vote of 55 to 10, with 14 abstentions, as resolution 1127 (XI). The revised joint draft resolution of Ceylon, India and Indonesia was adopted by a roll-call vote of 57 to 8, with 14 abstentions, as resolution 1128(XI). After rejecting the Hungarian amendments, the General Assembly adopted the four-Power joint draft resolution, also on 21 November, by a roll-call vote of 69 to 2, with 8 abstentions, as resolution 1129(XI).

On 30 November, the Secretary-General submitted to the General Assembly a report on "aspects of the present situation" (A/3403). By letters of 28 November 1956 to the Chairmen of the delegations of Hungary and the USSR, the Secretary-General — drawing the attention of those Governments to the General Assembly resolutions of 21 November on the situation in Hungary — had requested information on points to be taken into account in an interim report on implementation of the various resolutions.

In his reply of 29 November, the Chairman of the USSR delegation reiterated the position stated in his note of 13 November and also stated that, as the USSR had declared in the General Assembly, allegations of the deportation of Hungarian citizens to the USSR were based on slanderous rumours circulated by certain groups for the purpose of misleading public opinion.

No information was available to the Secretary-General concerning steps taken in order to establish compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly which referred to a withdrawal of troops or related political matters.

The Secretary-General said in his report that his efforts had been directed primarily to obtaining permission from the Hungarian Government for observers, named by him, to enter Hungary for the purposes prescribed. So far no such permission had been given. It was his hope that he would be invited to make a personal contact in Budapest. If so, he would organize the visit in order to cover not only the humanitarian activities, to which his offer had originally referred, but also in general the position taken by the Government of Hungary regarding the resolutions of the United Nations. While the aims of those resolutions would guide his efforts in Budapest, it seemed appropriate that his contact with the Hungarian Government be considered as based on his position under the United Nations Charter, with the wider scope that such a standpoint might give to his approach.

The group to assist him in fulfilling the investigatory duties mentioned in paragraph 4 of the Assembly resolution of 4 November, the Secretary-General's report added, was examining some material at present available to the Secretariat. He had been informed that that material did not provide a sufficient basis for a report and that the group, moreover, deemed it essential that its work should be supplemented by direct observation. Since arrangements had not been concluded for observation in Hungary, the stage had not yet been reached where it was possible to present a comprehensive report. He had previously stated his view that the investigation should be based on available and confirmed material. For those criteria to be fulfilled some co-operation of those Member Governments mainly concerned would be necessary.

In conclusion, the Secretary-General stated that, by the means and through the channels available to him, he had used his best endeavours to further compliance with all the various decisions of the General Assembly on the situation in Hungary. The nature of the problem and insufficient information about some of the basic assumptions for his activities had complicated the task. It had seemed natural to him to concentrate first of all on the investigatory activities, since progress concerning those activities was of key significance for a successful approach to other points raised by the General Assembly.

In a cablegram dated 3 December, the Act-
ing Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary informed the Secretary-General that his Government maintained its position that permission for United Nations observers to enter Hungary would violate its sovereignty and would be contrary to the principles of the Charter. The Hungarian Government remained willing to have its representative negotiate with the Secretary-General in Rome or New York without delay. In order to make it possible for the Secretary-General to conduct direct negotiations with the Hungarian Government, it was ready to welcome him in Budapest at a later date appropriate for both parties.

On 3 December, the General Assembly continued discussion of the question. It had before it a draft resolution submitted jointly on 2 December by the following 14 Members: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Thailand and the United States. By this, the Assembly would: (1) reiterate its call to the USSR Government and the Hungarian authorities to comply with its resolutions and to permit United Nations observers to enter Hungary to report on the situation; (2) request the USSR and the Hungarian authorities to communicate not later than 7 December their consent to receive those observers; (3) recommend that in the meantime the Secretary-General arrange for the immediate dispatch to Hungary, and other countries as appropriate, of observers named by him pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1004(ES-II); and (4) request all Members to assist and co-operate with the Secretary-General's representatives in the fulfilment of their responsibilities.

The discussion of the Secretary-General's report and of the 14-Power joint draft resolution, which started on 3 December, continued through six meetings held until 5 December. The majority of speakers drew attention to the strength of the feeling aroused throughout the world by events in Hungary and by the attitude of the USSR Government to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Various representatives stressed the view that the establishment of two standards of behaviour could lead to a grave crisis in the United Nations. The representatives of Hungary and the USSR, and a number of other representatives, reiterated that there was no foundation for discussion of the matter by the General Assembly and requested it to reject the joint draft resolution and to drop the question from the agenda.

Several representatives, while criticizing the actions of the USSR in Hungary and stressing the obligation of the Hungarian Government to admit the Secretary-General and observers to Hungary, opposed sending observers to neighbouring countries and felt that no deadline should be set by the joint draft resolution. Exception was also taken to the use of the term "Hungarian authorities".

On the afternoon of 4 December, the representative of Hungary informed the Assembly that to implement his Government's invitation to the Secretary-General, he had communicated his readiness to meet the Secretary-General to discuss the settlement of the date and arrangements for the visit. On the evening of 4 December, the Secretary-General informed the Assembly he had met with the Foreign Minister of Hungary following the afternoon meeting to discuss the date and other arrangements for his visit to Budapest. He suggested that he could be in Budapest on 16 December and the representative of Hungary was suggesting to his Government that the Secretary-General arrive in Budapest on that day. The Secretary-General stated that it would be his intention to stay in Budapest on 16, 17 and 18 December. The General Assembly adopted, by 54 votes to 0, with 23 abstentions, a motion by India that the statement by the Secretary-General be accepted.

Prior to this vote, the General Assembly adopted the 14-Power joint draft resolution by 54 votes to 10, with 14 abstentions, as resolution 1130(XI).

On 7 December, the Secretary-General informed the General Assembly that as of 6 P.M. that day he had not received any reply to letters by which he had transmitted the text of resolution 1130(XI) to the two countries directly concerned. He had also addressed letters to the representatives of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia concerning the last two paragraphs of resolution 1130(XI). The Secretary-General added that he had not received
any official reaction to his suggestion of 4 December that he visit Budapest on 16 December. If the visit could not be made at the time proposed, it might be questioned whether it would be to the purpose, he said.

On 8 December, the representative of Austria informed the Secretary-General that his Government would permit observers named by the Secretary-General to enter Austria. That permission was given as a consequence of Austria's membership in the United Nations and of the provisions of Article 2(5) of the Charter. His Government felt that United Nations observers would also be in a position to verify on the spot the situation of the refugees and the incorrectness of some reports concerning the conditions of refugees in Austria.

On the same date, the representative of Yugoslavia replied that, as a matter of principle, his Government was opposed to observers being sent to one country for the purpose of watching developments in another country. In this particular case, it would be liable to extend the area of tension and thus aggravate the situation still further. The practical value of any such observation was also doubtful. For these reasons his Government regretted its inability to receive observers.

On 9 and 10 December, the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Romania and the USSR replied to the effect that their Governments could not consent to the entry of observers into their respective territories.

The General Assembly continued discussion of the question on 10 December. Before it was a draft resolution submitted on 9 December by Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States. Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Spain and Turkey subsequently joined in sponsoring the draft resolution. By the preamble to this, the General Assembly would: (a) express its deep concern over the tragic events in Hungary; (b) recall those provisions of its previous resolutions calling upon the Government of the USSR to desist from its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to withdraw its forces from Hungary, and to cease its repression of the Hungarian people; (c) recall those provisions calling for permission for United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General; (d) state that it had received the report of the Secretary-General of 30 November stating that "no information is available to the Secretary-General concerning steps taken in order to establish compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly which refer to a withdrawal of troops or related political matters", and the note of the Secretary-General of 7 December; (e) note with grave concern that there had not been a reply to the latest appeal of the Assembly for the admission of United Nations observers to Hungary as contained in its resolution of 5 December; (f) consider that recent events had clearly demonstrated the will of the Hungarian people to recover their liberty and independence. By the operative part of the draft resolution, the Assembly would: (1) declare that by using its armed force against the Hungarian people, the Government of the USSR was violating the political independence of Hungary; (2) condemn the violation of the Charter by the Government of the USSR in depriving Hungary of its liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental rights; (3) reiterate its call upon the Government of the USSR to desist forthwith from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary; (4) call upon the Government of the USSR to make immediate arrangements for the withdrawal, under United Nations observation, of its armed forces from Hungary and to permit the re-establishment of the political independence of Hungary.

Amendments to this 20-Power joint draft resolution were submitted jointly on 10 December by Ceylon, India and Indonesia. The amendments provided for: (1) deletion of the second and third paragraphs of the preamble; (2) replacement of the sixth preambular paragraph by a provision noting the overwhelming demand of the Hungarian people for the cessation of intervention of foreign armed forces and the withdrawal of foreign troops; (3) replacement of operative paragraph 1 by a declaration that intervention of Soviet armed forces in Hungary should cease and that arrangements for their withdrawal should be made so that violence and non-co-operation would cease and the restoration of peaceful con-
ditions be rendered possible; (4) replacement of operative paragraph 2 by a provision whereby the Assembly would urge the Governments of Hungary and the USSR to promote the realization of that declaration in accordance with the purposes of the Charter and the declared intentions of the two Governments; (5) replacement of operative paragraph 4 by three new paragraphs. By the last amendment the Assembly would: (a) declare that recent events in Hungary had shown that the use of force and violence could not bring about or promote a solution of the grave situation in Hungary, but had aggravated it and imposed severe privations and denials of freedom on the Hungarian people; (b) express its firm conviction that the interests and freedom of the Hungarian people could only be furthered if there was neither foreign intervention nor the apprehension of external pressure from any quarter; (c) request the Secretary-General to initiate efforts both with the Hungarian and the Soviet Governments through their representatives at New York and to consider without delay the question of visiting Moscow in addition to the efforts he was making in regard to Budapest, to assist in promoting a speedy solution with the co-operation of all concerned.

Also on 10 December, a joint draft resolution was submitted by Burma, Ceylon, India, and Indonesia. By the preamble to this draft resolution, the General Assembly would: (a) express deep concern over the tragic situation in Hungary; (b) state that it had received the Secretary-General's report of 30 November and his note of 7 December; (c) note the overwhelming demand of the Hungarian people for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the cessation of foreign intervention, (d) note that the failure to agree to and arrange for the withdrawal of Soviet forces was responsible for and had resulted in widespread non-co-operation, particularly by the workers of Hungary, and was preventing the emergence of peaceful conditions; (e) note further the declaration of the USSR of 30 October regarding the withdrawal of their forces from Hungary and that the United Nations and world opinion had repeatedly asked for such withdrawal; (f) recognize that any improvement in the present situation in Hungary required the urgent initiative and co-operation of the Governments of the USSR and of Hungary. By the operative part of this four-Power draft resolution, the Assembly would: (1) deplore that no steps had been taken in pursuance of the above-mentioned Soviet declaration and to meet the overwhelming demand of the Hungarian people in respect of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and that, in consequence, there had been a further deterioration of the situation and continued non-co-operation by the Hungarian people; (2) declare that the intervention of armed forces in Hungary had not only resulted in violence and bloodshed but had aggravated the situation and prevented the approach to a solution, that it should cease forthwith, and that immediate arrangements should be made for the withdrawal of foreign forces so that peaceful conditions could be promoted in Hungary; (3) declare that recent events in Hungary had conclusively shown that force and violence provided no answer to the demands of a people; (4) express its firm conviction that the interests of the Hungarian people, of the United Nations and of world co-operation would be best furthered by the cessation of the existing foreign intervention and by the assurance that there would be no external intervention or pressures, armed or otherwise, from any quarter. The fifth and final paragraph of the operative section of this draft resolution contained provisions identical to those of the last paragraph of the three-Power amendments listed above.

On 10 December, the second of the three-Power amendments was incorporated as the seventh preambular paragraph of the 20-Power joint draft resolution. On 12 December, that draft resolution was further modified by its sponsors to include a new operative paragraph 5, under which the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to take any initiative that he deemed helpful in relation to the Hungarian problem, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Assembly.

Finally, on 11 December, the representative of Austria submitted a draft resolution under which the Assembly would authorize the Secretary-General: (1) immediately to undertake to achieve a constructive solution of the Hungarian problem, based on the principles of the Charter; (2) for this purpose to enter into
negotiations with Member States, as it seemed appropriate to him; (3) to report to the Assembly on the results of his efforts, if possible before the end of the first part of its session.

The General Assembly discussed the above proposals in the course of six meetings held on 10, 11 and 12 December.

The majority of speakers, supporting the 20-Power joint draft resolution, emphasized that the Assembly, far from displaying haste, had deliberated at length and had done everything in its power to get information. It could not defer any further the judgement which it was incumbent on it to pronounce. All else having failed, it must face the issue of voting a condemnation of the USSR for its actions against the Hungarian people.

A number of representatives, while agreeing with the majority as to the nature of USSR actions and responsibilities, noted that the position was that without the effective co-operation and initiative of the USSR no settlement could be brought about, and urged acceptance of the amendments to the 20-Power joint draft resolution.

The majority of speakers supporting the latter text either declared themselves unable to support these amendments or else opposed them. Among their arguments were the following: most of the ideas contained in the amendments had already been expressed in past resolutions; it was pointless merely to reiterate them at that stage, apart from the importance of not giving the appearance of retreating from principles agreed upon by an overwhelming majority. There were also various specific objections to the phraseology of several of the amendments.

The representative of the USSR, and a number of other representatives, described the 20-Power joint draft resolution as obviously provocative in character. They contended that the course of action it envisaged harmed the honour and authority of the United Nations, undermined its foundations and turned it into a narrow group of States headed by the United States. Further, despite any resolution that might be rubber-stamped by the Assembly, any attempt to overthrow the popular Government of Hungary was doomed to failure.

On 11 December, the representative of Hungary said that the delegations of the United States and of a number of countries influenced by the United States had been making a series of attempts to interfere in Hungary's domestic affairs. His delegation would continue consistently to reject such attempts. A number of delegations had offended his Government and delegation in a manner incompatible with Hungary's sovereignty and the national honour of the Hungarian people. The Hungarian delegation would not, therefore, participate in the work of the eleventh session of the General Assembly so long as the discussion of the Hungarian question did not proceed in the spirit of the Charter.

Both before and after this statement by the Hungarian representative, various representatives expressed their belief that the Kadar Government had been imposed by force and that it represented the USSR rather than the Hungarian people. A number of representatives had urged expulsion of the Hungarian delegation from the General Assembly.

On 12 December, the General Assembly, after rejecting the joint amendments, adopted the 20-Power draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 55 to 8, with 13 abstentions (resolution 1131(XI)).

The sponsors of the four-Power joint draft resolution and of the Austrian draft resolution then indicated that they would not press for a vote on their proposals.

In a note verbale dated 12 December to the Secretary-General from the Hungarian Mission to the United Nations, the Hungarian Government, referring to its expressions of willingness to conduct negotiations with the Secretary-General and to receive him in Budapest at a later date appropriate for both parties, stated that the date 16 December, which had been designated by the Secretary-General, was not appropriate for the Hungarian Government. The Hungarian Government would, at a later date, set forth a proposal on the visit of the Secretary-General (A/3435/Add.6).

In a report to the General Assembly, dated 5 January 1957, the Secretary-General included the text of a note expressing the views of the group of three established on 16 November 1956 on the nature of and conditions for the investigations with which it had been charged. In that note, it was stated that the Assembly's resolution of 4 November appeared to envisage
the process of investigation, observation and reporting as a unified one. However, the group had looked at available and generally known material, which did not put it in a position to add anything significant to what was common knowledge about the situation in Hungary. It had also noted that only one of the countries requested to offer facilities for observation had found it possible to do so. Until it was possible to open up further sources of reliable material through observation on the spot in Hungary and by the co-operation of the Governments directly concerned, there would be little purpose in attempting an assessment of recent events. In those circumstances, the question arose as to whether it was not best for the process of investigation to be suspended for the present.

The Secretary-General declared that under the circumstances the only source of new and direct information possibly available might be hearings with refugees from Hungary, conducted, in the first place, in neighbouring countries. The Government of Austria had declared itself prepared to receive observers for such a purpose. Offers to the United Nations to send observers for hearings had been received from the United States and Italy. Some additional points of significance might be established through hearings with refugees in those countries, but, in order to yield results of value, such hearings must be extensive and organized in a juridically satisfactory form.

The Secretary-General continued, on his part, to try to further the aims of the General Assembly, pursuant to paragraph 5 of the last Assembly resolution, 1131(XI), taken on the Hungarian question. He felt that it might be the proper time for a reconsideration of the form to be given to the investigatory activities. The Assembly might now wish to establish a special committee which would take over the activities of the group of investigators established by the Secretary-General and follow them up under somewhat broader terms of reference. Such a committee should obviously serve as an organ of the General Assembly for a continued observation of developments in relation to Hungary in all those respects which might be of relevance to the Assembly.

The General Assembly continued discussion of the question in the course of four meetings held on 9 and 10 January 1957. It had before it a draft resolution submitted jointly by Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liberia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. By the preamble to this draft resolution, as revised during the debate, the Assembly would: (a) recall its previous resolutions on the problem; (b) reaffirm the objectives contained therein and the continuing concern of the United Nations in the matter; (c) state it had received the Secretary-General's report of 5 January 1957; and (d) express its desire to ensure that the Assembly and all Members would be in possession of the fullest and best information about the situation created by the intervention of the USSR, through its use of armed force and other means, in the internal affairs of Hungary, as well as about developments relating to the recommendations of the Assembly on that subject.

By the operative part, the Assembly would: (1) establish for those purposes a special committee, composed of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, to investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate, in order to report its findings to the Assembly at its present session, and thereafter from time to time to prepare additional reports for the information of the Members of the United Nations and of the Assembly if it was in session; (2) call upon the USSR and Hungary to co-operate in every way with the special committee and, in particular, to permit the committee and its staff to enter the territory of Hungary and to travel freely therein; (3) request all Member States to assist the committee in any way appropriate in its task, making available to it relevant information, including testimony and evidence, which Members might possess, and assisting it in securing such information; (4) invite the Secretary-General to render the committee all appropriate assistance and facilities; (5) call upon all Member States promptly to give effect to the Assembly's resolutions on the Hungarian problem; (6) reaffirm its request that the Secretary-General continue to take any initiative
that he deemed helpful in relation to the Hungarian problem, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Assembly.

On 11 January, the Permanent Mission of Hungary to the United Nations addressed a note verbale to the Secretary-General transmitting a statement dated 10 January by the Hungarian Government. This protested most strongly against the 24-Power joint draft resolution, declaring that it represented an unprecedented gross interference into Hungarian domestic affairs. The Hungarian Government considered it inadmissible to pass such resolutions which violated the sovereignty of the Hungarian People's Republic. The note concluded that no committee of any kind had the right to conduct investigations into the so-called Hungarian question by collecting testimony from unauthorized and biased persons and to establish observation in Hungary in order to obtain information. It demanded that the question be deleted from the agenda of the Assembly and that the people of Hungary should be enabled, now that law and order had been restored, to shape their own destiny to achieve economic progress and a free, independent, socialist Hungary.

The joint draft resolution was supported by the great majority of speakers, who regretted and condemned the failure of the USSR and the Kadar Government to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Assembly regarding Hungary. A number of representatives deemed it essential that public opinion should have as objective and as complete information as possible on the revolt in Hungary and on the evolution of the situation in that country. The facts could then be contrasted with the version proclaiming that those events had only been the result of a counter-revolutionary plot. The United Nations had an imperative duty to continue to concentrate on the problem and to demonstrate that its law applied to all.

The representative of the USSR, supported by various other representatives, declared that the creation by the Assembly of a committee designed to intervene in the internal affairs of a Member State would be a gross violation of Article 2(7) of the Charter. Any acts and measures of that committee would lack any legal foundation whatsoever. The Soviet delegation could not fail to express regret about the rather unusual step taken by the Secretary-General, who had not confined himself to an exposition of the factual side of things, but had made a proposal to establish a special investigation committee. Since such a committee would represent a direct violation of the Charter, it appeared that the Secretary-General, in making that proposal, was acting not as an international official but as a party in a dispute among various Members of the United Nations.

On 10 January, the Assembly adopted the 24-Power joint draft resolution by 59 votes to 8, with 10 abstentions, as resolution 1132(XI). On 15 January, the representative of Hungary transmitted to the Secretary-General a memorandum on the question of Hungarian citizens who had left the country in connection with the events of 23 October 1956 (A/3504). Comments on that memorandum were transmitted to the Secretary-General in a letter dated 22 January from the representative of the United Kingdom (A/3510). By a letter dated 26 January, the representative of Austria transmitted a memorandum on the question of Hungarian refugees in Austria (A/3513).

On 4 February, the representative of Hungary transmitted to the Secretary-General a memorandum on the question of Hungary in connection with the events of 23 October 1956 and after, in which the Hungarian Government regretted that the attitude of the General Assembly had until then made it impossible for Hungary to take part in the work of the eleventh session of the Assembly as a State with equal rights.

On 13 February 1957, the Credentials Committee reported that on 12 February it had adopted by 8 votes to 1 a United States motion "that the Committee take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary". On 21 February, the General Assembly approved the report of the Credentials Committee.

By a note dated 26 March 1957, the representative of Hungary transmitted to the Secretary-General a note verbale concerning the question of credentials, in which it was stated that the Hungarian Government considered the fact that the Assembly had not so far reached a positive decision on the credentials of the
Hungarian delegation a discriminatory procedure, without precedent in the history of the Organization, against which it most strongly protested.

On 8 March, the General Assembly decided to adjourn its eleventh session temporarily and to authorize its President, in consultation with the Secretary-General and the Member States, the representatives of which were serving on the General Committee, to reconvene the Assembly as necessary in order to consider further the Middle Eastern and Hungarian items.

INTERIM REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PROBLEM OF HUNGARY

On 20 February, the Special Committee established by General Assembly resolution 1132(XI) submitted an interim report to the Assembly. Among other matters, it was noted in the report that the representative of Hungary had informed the Secretary-General that his Government was not in a position to permit the members of the Committee and its staff to enter into the territory of Hungary because it held that the Committee violated, in its function, the Charter of the United Nations. The Committee stated that it would persevere in its efforts to fulfil the mandate of the General Assembly to obtain information by direct observation in Hungary, including securing the co-operation of the Hungarian Government in seeing and talking to Mr. Imre Nagy.

The Committee stated that the central stress of its investigation would be on: the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights; the precise facts about the circumstances of the intervention by the USSR in Hungary through its armed forces and by other means; and the consequences of that intervention on the evolution of the constitutional, economic, social and political conditions in Hungary, on its international commitments and on the fulfilment of the wishes of its people. The Committee would attempt, in particular, to clarify the nature of the relations between the USSR and its representatives in Hungary with the Nagy Government, the origin and significance of the communications addressed by that Government to the United Nations, as well as the role of the USSR in the removal of that Government and the setting up of the existing regime.

The Committee added that it had not been in a position within the time available to it to formulate any final findings. It was still in the process of gathering and studying available information and hearing witnesses. It therefore included in the interim report only a brief statement of developments in regard to the salient aspects of its enquiry.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

SECURITY COUNCIL
PLENARY MEETINGS, 746, 752-754.

S/3690. Letter of 27 October 1956 from representatives of France, United Kingdom and United States to President of Security Council requesting inclusion in agenda of Security Council of item entitled "The Situation in Hungary".

S/3691. Letter of 28 October 1956 from representative of Hungarian People's Republic to Secretary-General, transmitting declaration of Hungarian Government of 28 October.

S/3692, S/3695. Letters of 27 October 1956 from representatives of Italy and Spain.

S/3693, S/3696-S/3699. Letters of 28 October 1956 from representatives of Argentina, Turkey, Austria, Thailand and Ireland.


A/3251. Cablegram of 1 November 1956 to Secretary-General from President of Council of Ministers of Hungary.


S/3708, S/3714, S/3715. Letters of 30 October 1956 from representatives of Ecuador, Dominican Republic and Portugal.

S/3717, S/3725, S/3732, S/3734, S/3735, S/3737. Letters of 31 October 1956 from representatives of Pakistan and Bolivia; cables of 2 and 3 November 1956 from representatives of Honduras and Colombia; letters of 2 and 3 November 1956 from representatives of Chile and Paraguay.

S/3723. Letter of 2 November 1956 from representatives of France, United Kingdom and United States to President of Security Council.

S/3726. Note of 2 November 1956 from Permanent Mission of Hungarian People's Republic to Secretary-General transmitting letter of 2 November 1956 from President of Council of Ministers and Acting Foreign Minister of Hungarian People's Republic.

S/3730 and Rev.1. United States draft resolution and revision. Not carried because of negative vote
by USSR, a permanent member of Council. The vote was 9 to 1, with 1 abstention.

S/3731. Cable of 3 November 1956 from Chairman of Council of Ministers of Hungarian People's Republic to Secretary-General.

S/3733. Resolution, as orally proposed by United States, adopted by Council on 4 November 1956, meeting 754, by 10 votes to 1.

"The Security Council,

"Considering that a grave situation has been created by the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights;

"Taking into account that because of a lack of unanymity among its permanent members the Security Council has been unable to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security;

"Decides to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly, as provided in General Assembly resolution 377(V) in order to make appropriate recommendations concerning 'The Situation in Hungary'."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY — 2ND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION
PLENARY MEETINGS, 564, 568-571, 573.

A/3251. Cable of 1 November 1956 from President of Council of Ministers of Hungarian People's Republic to Secretary-General requesting inclusion in agenda of 11th General Assembly session of item entitled: "The question of Hungary's neutrality and the defence of this neutrality by the four great Powers".

A/3280. Convocation of 2nd emergency special session of General Assembly. Letter of 4 November 1956 from President of Security Council to Secretary-General.

A/3281. Provisional agenda of 2nd emergency special session.

A/3285. Note verbale of 4 November 1956 from Permanent Mission of Hungarian People's Republic to Secretary-General.

A/3286. United States draft resolution.

A/3300. Communications relating to representation of China.

A/3311 (S/3739). Cable of 4 November 1956 from Prime Minister of Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary and from Minister of Foreign Affairs to Secretary-General.


RESOLUTION 1004(ES-II), as submitted by United States, A/3286, and as amended by France, adopted by Assembly on 4 November 1956, meeting 564, by roll-call vote of 50 to 8, with 15 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: 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, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.

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

"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 of 30 October 1956 by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 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 negotiations immediately on the 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,

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

"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;

"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 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 to suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention 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."

A/3315. Aide-mémoire of 8 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.

A/3316. Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan, Peru draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1005(ES-II), as submitted by five Powers, A/3316, and as amended by sponsors, adopted by Assembly on 9 November 1956, meeting 571, by roll-call vote of 48 to 11, with 16 abstentions, following a series of roll-call votes on separate paragraphs. The roll-call vote on draft resolution as a whole was as follows:

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

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Austria, Brazil, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen.

"The General Assembly.

"Noting with deep concern that the provisions of its resolution 1004(ES-II) of 4 November 1956 have not yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

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

"Considering that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing their national aspirations,

"Considering that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers,

"Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

1. Calls again upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay;

2. Considers that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored, to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country;

3. Reaffirms its request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate, through representatives named by him, the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report at the earliest possible moment to the General Assembly;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report in the shortest possible time to the General Assembly on compliance herewith."

A/3318. Letter of 8 November 1956 from Chairman of delegation of China to President of General Assembly.

A/3319. United States draft resolution.

A/3325. Ceylon, India, Indonesia amendments to United States draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1006(ES-II), as proposed by United States, A/3319, adopted by Assembly on 9 November 1956, meeting 571, by roll-call vote of 53 to 9, with 13 abstentions. (For text and details of voting, see below, DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES under HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE.)

A/3324. Austria draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1007(ES-II), as proposed and amended by Austria, A/3324, adopted by Assembly on 9 November 1956, meeting 571, by roll-call vote
of 67 to 0, with 8 abstentions. (For text and details of voting, see below, DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES under HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE.)

A/3330. United States draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1008(ES-II), as proposed by United States, A/3330, and as amended by Italy, adopted by Assembly on 10 November 1956, meeting 573, by 53 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions.

"The General Assembly,

"1. Decides to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its second emergency special session;

"2. Refers to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its second emergency special session;

"3. Decides that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the second emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly."

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GENERAL COMMITTEE, meeting 106.

A/3334. Request for inclusion of additional item in agenda of 11th regular session. Item proposed by 2nd emergency special session of General Assembly: The situation in Hungary. Resolution adopted at meeting of 2nd emergency special session held on 10 November 1956.

A/3335. Aide-mémoire of 10 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Government of Hungary, and reply from Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary of 10 November 1956.

A/3336. Aide-mémoire of 10 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Government of USSR.

A/3337. Note verbale of 10 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.

A/3340. Telegram of 11 November 1956 from Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.

A/3341, A/3345. Cables of 12 and 13 November 1956 from Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.

A/3346. Gable of 13 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.

A/3347. Note verbale of 13 November 1956 from Permanent Mission of USSR to Secretary-General.

A/3357 and Rev.1 and 2. Cuba draft resolution and revisions.

A/L.211. El Salvador amendment to revised draft resolution, A/3357/Rev.2.

A/L.212. Philippines amendment to revised draft resolution, A/3357/Rev.2.

RESOLUTION 1127(XI), as submitted by Cuba, A/3357/Rev.2, and as amended with acceptance by sponsor of El Salvador's amendment, A/L.211, adopted by Assembly on 21 November 1956, meeting 587, by roll-call vote of 55 to 10, with 14 abstentions, following separate votes, including one roll-call vote, on various parts of resolution. The roll-call on draft resolution as a whole was as follows:

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

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 1004(ES-II) of 4 November 1956 and 1005(ES-II), 1006(ES-II) and 1007(ES-II) of 9 November 1956, adopted at the second emergency special session,

"Noting that the Secretary-General has been requested to report to the General Assembly on compliance with resolutions 1004(ES-II) and 1005(ES-II),

"Having received information that the Soviet army of occupation in Hungary is forcibly deporting Hungarian men, women and children from their homes to places outside Hungary,

"Recalling the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principle embodied in Article 2, paragraph 4, the obligations assumed by all Member States under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, the principles of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, in particular article II (c) and (e), to which Hungary and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are parties, and the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, in particular the provisions of article 2,

"1. Considers that the information received adds urgency to the necessity of prompt compliance with resolutions 1004(ES-II) and 1005(ES-II) of 4 and 9 November 1956 calling for the prompt withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary and for the dispatch of observers to Hungary by the Secretary-General;

"2. Urges the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to take immediate steps to cease the deportation of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those who have been deported from Hungarian territory;

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly informed as to compliance with
THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION

this as well as the above-mentioned resolutions, so that the Assembly may be in a position to consider such further action as it may deem necessary.

A/3358. Cable of 15 November 1956 from Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.
A/3359. Communication of 15 November 1956 from Secretary-General to members of General Assembly.
A/3362. Cable of 16 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.
A/L.213. Belgium amendments to joint draft resolution, A/3368.

RESOLUTION 1128(XI), as submitted by four Powers, A/3374, and amended by sponsors, adopted by Assembly on 21 November 1956, meeting 587, by roll-call vote of 57 to 8, with 14 abstentions, as follows:
In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.
Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.
Abstaining: China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

"The General Assembly,

"Noting that certain Member States have affirmed that Hungarian nationals have been forcibly deported from their country,

"Noting further that certain other Member States have categorically affirmed that no such deportations have taken place,

"Recalling paragraph 5 of its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956, in which the Government of Hungary is asked 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,

"Noting that the Secretary-General is pursuing his efforts in this regard with the Hungarian Government,

"Noting further that the Secretary-General has urged Hungary as a Member of the United Nations to co-operate with the great majority in the clarification of the situation,

"1. Urges Hungary to accede to the request made by the Secretary-General without prejudice to its sovereignty;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly without delay."

A/3373. Cable of 20 November 1956 from Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.
A/3374. Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, United States draft resolution.
A/L.214. Hungary amendments to joint draft resolution, A/3374.

RESOLUTION 1129(XI), as submitted by four Powers, A/3374, and amended by sponsors, adopted by Assembly on 21 November 1956, meeting 587, by roll-call vote of 69 to 2, with 8 abstentions. (For text and details of voting, see below, DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES Under HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE.)

A/3390. Note by Secretary-General transmitting communication received on 23 November 1956 from Director-General of ILO.
A/3406, A/3407. Letters of 19 and 20 November 1956 from Acting Chairman of Chinese Delegation to President of General Assembly.
A/3413. Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Thailand, United States draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1130(XI), as submitted by 14 Powers, A/3413, adopted by Assembly on 4 December 1956, meeting 608, by roll-call vote of 54 to 10, with 14 abstentions, as follows:
In favour: 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, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.
Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.
Abstaining: Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 1004(ES-II) of 4 November 1956, 1005(ES-II), 1006(ES-II), and 1007 (ES-II) of 9 November 1956, and 1127(XI) and 1128(XI) of 21 November 1956 relating to the tragic events in Hungary,

"Having received and noted the report of the
Secretary-General that United Nations observers have not been permitted to enter Hungary.

"Noting with deep concern that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has failed to comply with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions calling upon it to desist from its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to cease its deportations of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those it has already deported, to withdraw its armed forces from Hungary and to cease its repression of the Hungarian people, "1. Reiterates its call upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to comply with the above resolutions and to permit United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

"2. Requests the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to communicate to the Secretary-General, not later than 7 December 1956, their consent to receive United Nations observers;

"3. Recommends that in the meantime the Secretary-General arrange for the immediate dispatch to Hungary, and other countries as appropriate, of observers named by him pursuant to paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 1004(ES-II) of 4 November 1956;

"4. Requests the Governments of all Member States to co-operate with the representatives named by the Secretary-General by extending such assistance and providing such facilities as may be necessary for the effective discharge of their responsibilities."

A/3414. Cable of 3 December 1956 from Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.

A/3435 and Add.1-6. Note by Secretary-General. Annexes: Letters of 8, 9, 10 and 12 December 1956 from Permanent Representatives of Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania, from Chairman of Delegation of USSR, and from Permanent Mission to Hungary.

A/3436 and Add.1. Rev.1. Rev.1/Add.1. Rev.2. Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United States draft resolution and revisions.

A/L.216. Ceylon, India, Indonesia amendments to 20-Power draft resolution, A/3436 and Add.1.

RESOLUTION 1131(XI), as submitted by 20 Powers, A/3436/Rev.2, and incorporating one of 3-Power amendments, A/L.216, adopted by Assembly on 12 December 1956, meeting 618, after series of votes on individual paragraphs, by roll-call vote of 55 to 8, with 13 abstentions, as follows:

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

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Cambodia, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

"The General Assembly,

"Deeply concerned over the tragic events in Hungary,

"Recalling those provisions of its resolutions 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956, 1005(ES-II) of 9 November 1956, 1127(XI) of 21 November 1956 and 1130(XI) of 4 December 1956, calling upon the Government of the United Nations observers to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary-General,

"Having received the report of the Secretary-General of 30 November 1956, stating that no information is available to the Secretary-General concerning steps taken in order to establish compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly which refer to a withdrawal of troops or related political matters, and the note of the Secretary-General of 7 December 1956,

"Noting with grave concern that there has not been a reply to the latest appeal of the General Assembly for the admission of United Nations observers to Hungary, as contained in its resolution

"Considering that recent events have clearly demonstrated the will of the Hungarian people to recover their liberty and independence,

"Noting the overwhelming demand of the Hungarian people for the cessation of intervention of foreign armed forces and the withdrawal of foreign troops,

1. Declares that, by using its armed force against the Hungarian people, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is violating the political independence of Hungary;

2. Condemns the violation of the Charter of the United Nations by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in depriving Hungary of its liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental rights;

3. Reiterates its call upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary;

4. Calls upon the Government of the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics to make immediate ar-
rangements for the withdrawal, under United Nations
observation, of its armed forces from Hungary and
to permit the re-establishment of the political in-
dependence of Hungary;
"5. Requests the Secretary-General to take any
initiative that he deems helpful in relation to the
Hungarian problem, in conformity with the prin-
ciples of the Charter and the resolutions of the
General Assembly;"

RESOLUTION 1132(XI), as submitted by 24 Powers,
A/3487 and Rev.1. Argentina, Belgium, Canada,
Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador,
France, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Netherlands,
New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines,
Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United King-
dom, United States draft resolution and revision.

A/3437. Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia draft re-
solution.
A/3441. Austria draft resolution.
A/3485. Report of Secretary-General.

RECALLING its previous resolutions on the Hun-
garian problem;
"Having received the report of the Secretary-Gen-
eral of 5 January 1957,
"Desiring to ensure that the General Assembly and
all Member States shall be in possession of the fullest
and best available information regarding the situa-
tion created by the intervention of the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics, through its use of armed

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE

The urgent needs of the Hungarian people
for food, clothing, medicine, and other similar
supplies and the plight of the large numbers of
refugees leaving Hungary in order to seek asy-
lum in neighbouring countries came up for
consideration in the General Assembly early in
November 1956 at its second emergency special session.

On 9 November, the General Assembly decided, by resolution 1007(ES-II), to undertake large-scale and immediate aid for alleviating the suffering in Hungary. Five days before that, by resolution 1004(ES-II), it called on Member States and on national and international humanitarian organizations to make available the supplies needed by the Hungarian people. At the same time, the Secretary-General was asked to undertake the necessary measures immediately — including an enquiry, in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies, into the needs of the Hungarian people.

Also on 9 November and again on 21 November, the Assembly urged Governments and non-governmental organizations to make contributions for the care and resettlement of the refugees (resolutions 1006(ES-II) and 1129 (XI)). The Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees were authorized to make joint appeals for this purpose and the High Commissioner was asked to make speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary in consultation with appropriate international agencies and interested Governments.

RELIEF TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE IN HUNGARY

On 15 November 1956, the Secretary-General, following up on General Assembly resolutions 1004(ES-II) and 1007(ES-II), issued an urgent appeal to Governments for contributions for relief in Hungary. At the same time, he consulted with the heads of specialized agencies, who expressed readiness to co-operate in appropriate ways as and when required.

The Secretary-General considered that his main functions following this appeal were to enquire into relief needs and to act as a coordinating centre, as far as possible, for receipt of contributions, particularly from Governments, or of information and advice on the channeling of these contributions. It was not considered either practicable or desirable for the United Nations itself to set up operational machinery for the distribution of relief supplies in Hungary. For this purpose, the Secretary-General undertook urgent negotiations with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which, on 16 November 1956, had concluded an agreement with the Hungarian Red Cross to establish machinery for distributing relief supplies from abroad. On 4 December 1956, an agreement was concluded between the United Nations and ICRC for the latter to be the sole agency to carry out the relief programme on behalf of the United Nations with the contributions made in response to the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The following paragraphs briefly describe the relief needs of the Hungarian people, the international response to those needs and to the General Assembly's appeal, and the relief programmes of ICRC.

RELIEF NEEDS

By a note dated 10 November 1956, the Secretary-General asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary for information about the needs of the Hungarian people for medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes from abroad. On 13 November 1956, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs cabled a list of supplies most urgently needed to the Secretary-General.

On 7 December, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) informed the Secretary-General about the "traditional" emergency relief programme it had set up in Hungary, i.e., one involving direct distribution of relief to the victims of the events in Hungary, and about the immediate requirements for that programme. The programme and the needs were described in an interim report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly on 12 December 1956 (A/3443). ICRC subsequently proposed the establishment of an expanded programme of emergency relief to cover the more general needs of the Hungarian people.

Early in January 1957, a joint United Nations and Food and Agriculture Organization mission visited Hungary to enquire, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1004 (ES-II), into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine and other similar relief supplies. The general findings of that mission, together with a list of items considered necessary to ensure an adequate food supply until the next harvest, were submitted to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General (A/3503). Consultations with Governments for
these and other relief requirements were undertaken by the Secretary-General, the Director-General of FAO and ICRC.

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

From the contributions received or promised up to the end of February 1957, it was clear that the international response to the needs of the Hungarian people and to the appeals of the Assembly was a generous one, which helped to alleviate the suffering of the Hungarian people.

In addition to contributions from several Governments, a very large volume of the aid channelled through ICRC came from national Red Cross societies and other voluntary agencies. Many private organizations and individuals sent contributions of their own accord. Governmental and non-governmental contributions, promised or received either directly by the ICRC or channelled through it by the United Nations and FAO up to the end of February 1957 may be roughly described as follows.

A considerable volume of relief supplies, valued at several millions of dollars, had already been received or promised, and further aid was expected. These included foodstuffs, food parcels, clothing and textiles, seed for spring sowing, and other miscellaneous supplies such as coal and window glass. A large quantity of medical and health supplies was being provided by national Red Cross societies and by Governments. In addition, the Executive Board of UNICEF, on 11 December 1956, had approved a sum of $700,000 for layettes, diapers, blankets, clothing and soap.

Contributions in cash received or promised before the end of February 1957 were expected to exceed $1 million.

In addition to the supplies provided internationally for distribution by ICRC in Hungary, several Governments, according to information they gave to the Secretary-General, provided relief assistance through the Hungarian Government. This included large quantities of foodstuffs, medical supplies, fuel, building materials and various commodities as well as credit in the form of goods and convertible currency. The national Red Cross societies of some countries also sent assistance direct to Hungary.

A significant part of the contributions of some religious organizations was sent direct to their affiliated organizations or congregations in Hungary, and one international trade union organization sent consignments to Hungarian workers direct.

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF PROGRAMMES

The resources made available to the International Committee of the Red Cross were distributed in Hungary as described below.

Projects initiated by ICRC under its "traditional relief" programme provided for: (1) distribution of powdered milk and cod-liver oil in child-care centres for children between the ages of one and six. Recipients: approximately 173,000 mothers and children; (2) distribution of food for main meal in schools for children. Recipients: approximately 60,000 children; (3) distribution of relief packages made up in ICRC stores at Budapest from supplies from national Red Cross societies and donor Governments. Recipients: Some 150,000 selected from persons whose dwellings were destroyed or damaged, families who lost their means of support, large families, the disabled, the sick and the aged. Two packages per month per recipient; (4) distribution of medical supplies, blankets and coal to hospitals; (5) delivery of large stocks of drugs to the Hungarian Red Cross Centres for distribution to the needy; (6) distribution of clothing in Hungarian Red Cross Centres; (7) delivery to the Hungarian Red Cross of medical supplies, pharmaceutical products, instruments, equipment and textiles for hospitals (medical and social programme).

The process of receiving relief supplies at Vienna, forwarding them to Hungary, first by road and then by rail and water transport, and controlling distribution in Hungary required the establishment of a large-scale operational machinery. Two delegations were set up for this, one at Vienna and the other at Budapest, under the control of a general director.

Side by side with these "traditional" relief activities of ICRC, several relief operations of a more general character were undertaken, also under ICRC's general supervision. These operations were designed to alleviate some of the food shortages facing the Hungarian people. They included the provision of a supply of flour for sale to bakeries and of seed for spring sowing for sale to individual farmers. Both flour and seed were to be made available by
Governments for distribution under the auspices of ICRC, the seed being distributed partly with the help of technical staff made available by FAO. The proceeds from the sale of flour and seed were to be paid into a special account of the Hungarian Red Cross, to be used, in agreement with the ICRC, for the traditional relief programmes already described, to defray distribution costs incurred by the Hungarian Red Cross and to help in the re-equipment of hospitals and the prosthesis programme.

ASSISTANCE TO HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

In pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 1006(ES-II) and 1129(XI), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees assumed over-all responsibility for coordinating international action for the Hungarian refugees.

THE INFUX OF REFUGEES

The influx of refugees from Hungary into Austria began on 28 October 1956. On 4 November, the rate of influx increased sharply. By the following day, an estimated 10,000 Hungarian refugees had crossed the frontier. The peak of the influx was reached during the week of 20-26 November, during which more than 46,000 Hungarian refugees arrived in Austria. By 1 March 1957, the total influx into Austria had amounted to 170,700 refugees. Of these, about 117,400 had gone to other countries of asylum. Hungarian refugees also entered Yugoslavia from the end of October 1956, but the influx only assumed large proportions in the second week of January 1957. By 1 March 1957, a total of 17,000 Hungarian refugees had entered Yugoslavia, some 240 of whom had moved on to other countries. As of 1 March, the Austrian Government estimated that about 53,300 Hungarian refugees remained in Austria. Of those remaining in Yugoslavia, an estimated 15,600 were in camps or centres.

INTERNATIONAL APPEALS AND RESPONSE

As asked by General Assembly resolution 1129(XI) of 21 November 1956, the Secretary-General and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees issued, on 30 November 1956, a joint appeal to Governments and non-governmental organizations for assistance to Hungarian refugees. A further joint appeal, authorized both by this resolution and by resolution 1039(XI), of 23 January 1957, was issued on 11 March 1957. Governments were requested in these appeals to provide financial assistance and opportunities for resettlement.

Over 40 countries and many private organizations offered or provided assistance in one form or another in response to these appeals.

Considerable financial and material assistance was provided by Governments, voluntary agencies and through individual donations. The value of this aid amounted, by March 1957, to tens of millions of dollars. Financial contributions promised or paid to the Secretary-General or the High Commissioner's Office alone at that date came to about $6,052,900; this figure included the estimated value of contributions in kind. Bilateral assistance was provided, paid or promised directly to the Austrian Government by other Governments, chiefly for the care and maintenance of the refugees in that country. The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) expected to receive about $15 million from over 25 countries by the end of 1957 for the transportation of refugees. Meanwhile several Governments had paid the full cost of transporting refugees to their territory. In addition, large sums were incurred for the reception and integration of refugees in countries of resettlement. No over-all figure is available, but the total expenditure made or anticipated for this purpose is known to have reached many millions of dollars.

Emergency aid supplied by voluntary agencies played an essential part in the reception of refugees, particularly in Austria. Supplementary assistance was also given to refugees both in camps and in private accommodation. Food, clothing, blankets and medical supplies were delivered in large quantities at a cost believed to amount to several million dollars.

CO-ORDINATION OF EMERGENCY AID

At the High Commissioner's initiative, a Co-ordinating Committee was established in Geneva, including representatives of ICEM, the United States Escapee Program Administration, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies and other voluntary agencies working for refugees.
The provision of emergency aid within Austria was co-ordinated by the High Commissioner's Branch Office, in conjunction with the Austrian Ministry of the Interior. Within Yugoslavia, the plan was that the distribution of relief supplies be carried out by the Yugoslav Red Cross under a special co-ordinating committee, including representatives of the Yugoslav Government and Yugoslav Red Cross, the High Commissioner's representative acting as chairman.

RESSETTLEMENT

The resettlement of Hungarian refugees from Austria was organized by Governments, in most cases with the help of ICEM. After the High Commissioner had established a provisional branch office in Belgrade, ICEM officials were authorized by the Yugoslav Government to operate in Yugoslavia, within the framework of the activities of that branch office.

ICEM estimated that resettlement prospects, as of 1 March 1957, would allow all but 8,000-10,000 Hungarian refugees to leave Austria by 31 December 1957. The remaining group, it was estimated, would consist largely of refugees who wished to stay in Austria or who could not be resettled in other countries. It was also estimated that over 5,000 refugees in Yugoslavia who wished to emigrate would be compelled to remain in Yugoslavia unless further resettlement opportunities were made available to them.

REPATRIATION

Repatriation missions from Hungary, accompanied by observers from the Office of the High Commissioner, visited camps and centres to interview refugees seeking repatriation. By early March 1957, approximately 4,000 Hungarian refugees had been repatriated directly from Austria and about 1,400 from Yugoslavia. In addition, a number of refugees were repatriated from countries of second asylum.

The High Commissioner had also interceded with certain governments to facilitate the payment of transportation charges for refugees desiring repatriation but without the necessary funds to reach the borders of their country of origin.

CARE AND MAINTENANCE

The responsibility for providing care and maintenance to the Hungarian refugees in Austria and Yugoslavia was assumed by the two Governments concerned.

A notable international contribution was made by the League of Red Cross Societies. This organization undertook to provide food, clothing and medical care to the refugees in certain designated camps in Austria. This operation, carried out by teams of specialists from national Red Cross societies, was progressively extended to include all camps with a capacity of more than 500 refugees. Although considerable financial help was given by the Office of the High Commissioner, the majority of the expense entailed was borne by the League of Red Cross Societies and national Red Cross societies.

In Yugoslavia, the League of Red Cross Societies, in conjunction with the Yugoslav Red Cross, undertook to supply basic foods, clothing and medical supplies for up to 17,000 refugees. Responsibility for the distribution of these supplies was assumed by the Yugoslav Red Cross.

TRACING

The International Committee of the Red Cross set up in Geneva a central card index of Hungarian refugees, on the basis of information given by the authorities and the Red Cross societies of the host countries. This card index has enabled refugees who were separated as a result of events to be put in contact with one another, in some cases making it possible to reunite scattered families.

LONG-TERM NEEDS

Besides the basic needs for accommodation and care and maintenance, certain other needs of the Hungarian refugees had to be met. Emergency projects were therefore devised to provide counsellors and case-workers to advise and assist the refugees and to give scholarships for young refugees; also projected was a preliminary study on a housing programme.

Plans for the establishment of a permanent solutions programme by 1 March 1957 were being considered for approval at the fifth session of the UNREF Executive Committee in June.

(See also below, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUERIES, CHAPTER XI, REFUGEES.)
RESOLUTION 1006(ES-II), as proposed by United States, A/3319, adopted by Assembly on 9 November 1956, meeting 571, by roll-call vote of 50 to 8, with 15 abstentions. (For voting details and text of resolution see above, DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES under THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY.)

A/3324. Austria draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1007(ES-II), as proposed and amended by Austria, A/3324, adopted by Assembly on 9 November 1956, meeting 571, by roll-call vote of 67 votes to 0, with 8 abstentions, as follows:

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

Against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that the military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

"1. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;

"2. Calls upon the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as with other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

"3. Urges the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives in the carrying out of the tasks referred to above."

"Considering that, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly large numbers of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries,

"1. Requests the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

"2. Urges Member States to make special contributions for this purpose."

A/3325. Ceylon, India, Indonesia amendments to United States draft resolution.
THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION

GENERAL ASSEMBLY — 11TH SESSION

A/3337. Note verbale of 10 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.
A/3341, A/3345. Cables of 12 and 13 November 1956 from Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.
A/3346. Cable of 13 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Acting Minister, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.
A/3358. Cable of 15 November 1956 from Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to Secretary-General.
A/3362. Cable of 16 November 1956 from Secretary-General to Acting Minister, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.
A/3371 and Corr.1 and Add.1. Interim report by Secretary-General on refugees from Hungary.
A/3374. Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, United States draft resolution.
A/L.214. Hungary amendments to joint draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 1129(XI), as submitted by four Powers, A/3374, and as amended by sponsors, adopted by Assembly on 21 November 1956, meeting 587, by roll-call vote of 69 to 2, with 8 abstentions, as follows:
In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.
Against: Hungary, Romania.
Abstaining: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sudan, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.

"The General Assembly,
"Noting the grave situation described in the report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the Secretary-General in the interim report of the Secretary-General on refugees from Hungary,
"Considering that the flow of refugees from Hungary continues at a high rate,
"Recognizing the urgent need of these tens of thousands of refugees for care and resettlement,
"1. Takes note with appreciation of the action taken by the Secretary-General to determine and help to meet the need of the Hungarian refugees, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to assist these refugees and to bring about co-ordinated action on their behalf by Governments, intergovernmental agencies and non-governmental organizations;
"2. Requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue their efforts;
"3. Urges Governments and non-governmental organizations to make contributions to the Secretary-General, to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or to other appropriate agencies for the care and resettlement of Hungarian refugees, and to co-ordinate their aid programmes in consultation with the Office of the High Commissioner;
"4. Requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to make an immediate appeal to both Governments and non-governmental organizations to meet the minimum present needs as estimated in the report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the Secretary-General and authorizes them to make subsequent appeals on the basis of plans and estimates made by the High Commissioner with the concurrence of his Executive Committee."

A/3403. Report of Secretary-General.
A/3405. Note by Secretary-General. Humanitarian activities to assist Hungarian people. Annex: Letter of 29 November 1956 from Chairman of USSR delegation to Secretary-General.
A/3443. Interim report of Secretary-General containing agreement between United Nations and International Committee of Red Cross. Humanitarian activities to assist Hungarian people.
A/3464 and Add.1 and 2. Note by Secretary-General. Humanitarian activities to assist Hungarian people.
A/3503/Add.1. Note by Secretary-General transmitting report prepared by International Committee of Red Cross. Humanitarian activities to assist Hungarian people.

PLENARY MEETING, 643.
THIRD COMMITTEE, meetings 689-697.
A/C.3/L.510 and Add.1 and Rev.1. Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States draft resolution, adopted by Third Committee by roll-call vote of 49 to 0, with 19 abstentions.
A/3434. Report of Third Committee, draft resolution A.

RESOLUTION 1039 A (XI), as recommended by Third Committee, A/3434, adopted by Assembly on 23
CHAPTER III

DISARMAMENT

CONSIDERATION BY SUB-COMMITTEE OF DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

On 16 December 1955, The General Assembly urged the States concerned, particularly those on the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, to continue their endeavours to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan and, as initial steps, to give priority to early agreement on and implementation of certain definite measures. Resolution 914(X) to this effect also suggested that the Disarmament Commission reconvene its Sub-Committee and that both pursue their efforts.

On 23 January 1956, the Disarmament Commission reconvened its Sub-Committee, which held eighteen meetings in London between 19 March and 4 May 1956. The Sub-Committee adopted its third report to the Disarmament Commission and decided to make public the records of its meetings. Annexed to the report were the working papers, proposals and declarations submitted to it (see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below).

CONSIDERATION BY DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

The report of the Sub-Committee was considered by the Disarmament Commission at 11 meetings between 3 and 16 July 1956.

Opening the debate on 3 July, the United Kingdom representative pointed out that his Government, together with that of France, had on 19 March submitted a revision of the Anglo-French plan of 1954 comprising all disarmament measures, both conventional and nuclear, which could be effectively controlled. These measures were spread over three stages to enable a broad disarmament programme to begin without delay and to proceed step by step along with the settlement of the major causes of international tension. The new Anglo-French plan was, furthermore, designed to meet criticisms by the USSR that previous Western proposals had contained too much inspection and too little disarmament in their early stages. It was also intended as a response to the anxiety of India and other countries for measures to deal with nuclear test explosions.

The new Anglo-French plan, he said, differed from the 1954 plan in four respects. First, it dropped the provision for the elimination of nuclear stockpiles, which was agreed to be unrealizable because it could not be scientifically controlled. Secondly, it dealt with the pro-