

*Comment.*

I have doubts like Dr. MacKay's. It seemed to me that the great majority of the Asians and Africans, after some hesitation, reacted quite strongly against Soviet action and that they were deeply affected by the debate. One result was that the Soviet position was considerably weakened during the rest of the Assembly. An important reason for Arab and Asian hesitation on this issue was the realization that the French and British were deliberately trying to divert attention from Egypt to Hungary — a tactic the latter admitted privately.

J.W. H[OLMES]

[PIÈCE JOINTE/ENCLOSURE]

*Note*

*Memorandum*

CONFIDENTIAL

HUNGARY

I have reported from time to time on the developments during the past four months with regard to Hungary at the United Nations. In this brief memorandum I should like simply to record a few impressions and comments on the virtual failure of the United Nations to accomplish anything very concrete.

2. On March 6 a meeting was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Lodge to discuss the possibility of introducing another resolution on Hungary at the end of the Assembly. Most of those present, including ourselves, supported the initiative but with marked lack of enthusiasm, and outside the meeting soundings of other delegations revealed even greater reluctance to become involved in another debate on Hungary. The Irish representative said quite frankly that it would be a kind of "danse macabre" over the corpse of Hungary. The Italian said that we should not confess publicly our failure in the Hungarian question, and Sir Leslie Munro compared it to a Maori "tangi" or wake. Only Mr. Lodge protested that the United Nations had not failed completely. As he said, we had not accomplished our primary aim of driving the Russians out of Hungary, but at any rate we had focussed the attention of the world on their iniquities, and we had established a Committee of Investigation which was functioning efficiently and with remarkable unanimity.

3. Nevertheless I think we must agree that the action of the United Nations on Hungary was largely a failure, even if one concedes that it was never likely to achieve its primary aim of forcing the withdrawal of the Russians. Certainly United Nations action on Hungary stands in very sorry contrast with that taken in the Suez crisis. The one lesson which might profitably have been learned by the Arab-Asian group concerning the nature of the Soviet system has been obstinately refused. Though there are no doubt exceptions, I find it difficult to believe, however, that the majority of the Arab-Asian officials and ordinary people have seriously changed their minds about the USSR as a result of Hungary. The efforts of the United Nations may possibly have helped in some way, but I am not convinced of it.

4. Nor has the concomitant been accepted either by the Arab-Asian group, or by the Western nations, except in a rather academic way — that is, that for all practical purposes the USSR will not accept decisions of the United Nations when its own vital interests are involved. Equally we are unable to draw the necessary conclusion which in theory might have to be drawn. Indeed, it is doubtful that anyone seriously wishes to draw this conclusion, because, first, it is not necessarily in our interests to force the USSR out of the United