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President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 25

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/3519)

Mr. Makiedo (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

1. Mr. GREENBAUM (United States of America): The delegation of the United States welcomes this opportunity to state its warm support of the two draft resolutions contained in the Rapporteur's report [A/3519, para. 11] calling for the early admission of the Republics of Korea and of Viet-Nam to the United Nations. The history of the long struggle of these two States to establish their sovereignty and independence is well known to all of us. In that struggle they had the sympathy and support of most of the countries represented here. That struggle has been crowned with success.
2. Today the Republics of Viet-Nam and Korea occupy a highly-respected place in the community of free nations. They have repelled the forces of aggression and are progressing towards recovery from the destruction of war. In their relations with other countries and in their active participation in many of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, they have demonstrated convincingly that they fully meet the standard for admission laid down in the Charter. It is only natural that the people of these two Republics

should aspire to join the United Nations. These aspirations have been recognized and endorsed by this body in the past. It cannot deny or ignore them now. In 1956 the United Nations was invigorated by the admission of new Member States.

3. The time has come for the Assembly to reaffirm its previous findings in favour of the admission of the Republics of Korea and Viet-Nam and to urge the Security Council to reconsider their cases in the light of its determination. That is the essence of the two draft resolutions now before the Assembly. We strongly urge that they be given wide approval.

4. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation deems it necessary to explain its vote on the draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/3519, para. 11]. As is known, the question of the admission of new Members to the United Nations has for a number of years remained at a deadlock brought about by the United States and certain other countries, which were determined to prevent the admission to the United Nations of States whose social and political structure did not appeal to them, despite the fact that these States fully meet the requirements of the United Nations Charter in respect of new Members.

5. But this approach to the question of the admission of new Members is fundamentally contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations, which from the earliest days of its existence has had Member countries with differing social systems. The principle of the universality of the United Nations has gradually gained the recognition of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization. The General Assembly resolution of 8 December 1955 [918 (X)], adopted by a decisive majority of votes, confirmed this principle of universality, which excludes any manifestation of a policy of favouritism towards some countries and discrimination against others with regard to admission to the United Nations. Accordingly, sixteen new Members were admitted to the United Nations at the end of 1955 and several other new Members were admitted during 1956.

6. The adoption of decisions to admit these countries both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly fully complied with the general support of the universality of the Organization, as expressed by Members of the United Nations. That approach to the settlement of a problem of vital importance to the United Nations evidently does not suit the United States, which is taking the course of aggravating international tension. By pursuing the old policy of discrimination against States whose internal structure does not meet with the approval of certain circles, the United States managed to prevent a decision being reached in the Security Council to admit the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations. Now the United States is trying to impose upon the General Assembly

an unacceptable decision on the question of the admission of South Korea and South Viet-Nam to the United Nations.

7. As we know, the question of the admission of Korea and Viet-Nam is complicated by the fact that a problem of unification arises in the case of both these countries. Accordingly, the majority of delegations to the tenth session of the General Assembly spoke against discussing the admission of these countries in the existing circumstances. Many representatives pointed out in their statements that the vital interests of the peoples of these countries called for peaceful unification as rapidly as possible and rightly stressed that the United Nations should primarily direct its efforts to promoting such unification. This point of view was reflected in the General Assembly resolution of 8 December 1955.

8. It is obvious that, in these circumstances, the wisest course would be to comply with that resolution and not to raise the question of the admission of these countries prematurely, but to spare no effort to promote their unification, with a view to admitting the unified States to the United Nations. However, the United States delegation and the other sponsors of the thirteen-Power draft resolutions took a different course. These representatives have submitted a proposal for the admission of only one part of Korea, namely, South Korea [A/SPC/L.7 and Add.1], and of only one part of Viet-Nam, namely, South Viet-Nam [A/SPC/L.8 and Add.1].

9. It is obvious that such a one-sided approach to the question of the admission of Korea and Viet-Nam to the United Nations, which places South Korea and South Viet-Nam in a privileged position, is due exclusively to the hostile attitude of the United States towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Realizing the weakness of their position, the real aim of which is to perpetrate the division of Korea and Viet-Nam, the United States representative and certain other representatives in the Special Political Committee let loose a flood of slander against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, attempting to present matters as if it was the fault of those countries that the unification of Korea and Viet-Nam was being held up. But facts cannot be refuted by slander, and the fact is, as has already been approved by the statements of several representatives in the Special Political Committee, that it is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that is making every effort to establish and develop many-sided political, economic, and cultural ties between the two parts of Korea, in order to achieve the peaceful unification of the country on the basis of such ties. However, these efforts only meet with the stubborn refusal of the Syngman Rhee authorities.

10. Furthermore, the fact is that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has often made proposals to the authorities of South Viet-Nam to begin negotiations, in accordance with the Geneva agreements of 21 July 1954, for general elections to be held throughout Viet-Nam. However, the administration of South Viet-Nam does not even wish to hear about any negotiations.

11. The proposals of the United States delegation and of other countries actually condone the expansionist plans of the Syngman Rhee government with regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

and the attempt of the administration of South Viet-Nam to prevent the implementation of the Geneva agreements. These proposals can only hamper the peaceful unification of Korea and Viet-Nam.

12. If we decide to consider the question of the admission of Korea and Viet-Nam to the United Nations at the present time, the only correct solution of the problem in the existing circumstances would be the simultaneous admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam to the United Nations, as is proposed in the Soviet Union draft resolution [A/SPC/L.9] submitted to the Special Political Committee.

13. The participation of both parts of these countries in the work of the United Nations would promote the establishment of practical contacts and friendly relations between them, would create a favourable atmosphere for negotiations and would thus promote a *rapprochement*, followed by the unification of the two countries. However, certain delegations, particularly the United States delegation, have chosen another course, that of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, ignoring the generally-recognized principle of the Charter relating to the admission of new Members. In view of the above considerations, the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolutions which provide for the admission of South Korea and South Viet-Nam to the United Nations.

14. Mr. WINKLER (Czechoslovakia): During the discussion of the item in the Special Political Committee, the Czechoslovak delegation had already expressed its position on the question of the admission of new Members. At the tenth session of the General Assembly the way to the enlargement of United Nations membership was opened wide. This was made possible as the result of common effort and because of the fact that the Western Powers abandoned at last the policy of discrimination against some States and favouritism as regards others. Thus we were able to welcome among us twenty new Members from different parts of the world. It is, however, to be regretted that the decision of the last General Assembly [resolution 918 (X)] has not, until today, been fully carried out and that the People's Republic of Mongolia is still awaiting admission to the United Nations. It is regrettable that in the present session of the General Assembly tendencies revived for favouring some States and discriminating against other States applying for membership. This is the more serious in view of the fact that the proposals submitted by the United States delegation concern countries temporarily divided and not yet unified.

15. Resolution 918 (X) of 8 December 1955, adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization, expressed the view that it was improper to discuss the applications of divided States for admission to the United Nations as long as these States are not unified. This solution, adopted by the tenth General Assembly, fully reflects the political realities, the requirements of justice and the provisions of the Charter.

16. The admission of only one part of a divided State, be it Korea or Viet-Nam, would unfavourably affect the efforts for a *rapprochement* of both parts of the divided country and would only strengthen the efforts for a perpetuation of its division, and in its consequences would thus produce a detrimental effect upon the interests of the country's own people.

17. The General Assembly has repeatedly declared that the aim of the United Nations is, and must remain, the unification of Korea by peaceful means and on a democratic basis. Now, when the continuation of the country's division and the consequences of war render a peaceful unification more difficult, it is necessary to seek the achievement of an ultimate agreement by way of a *rapprochement* of the two parts of the divided country. It is the task of the United Nations to support the efforts of the Korean people towards unification and to assist in creating such conditions as would be conducive to the achievement of an agreement on the creation of a unified, independent and democratic Korea.

18. The admission of South Korea to the United Nations without the simultaneous admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea can by no means promote the success of such efforts. Such a procedure could only mean that the United Nations did not take into consideration existing facts and that it stood for a permanent division of the country. It would not facilitate the peaceful unification of Korea; on the contrary, it would strengthen the position of those who wish to bring about the unification of Korea by war. It is known that the South Korean Government did not abandon its plans for a "march to the North" and is ever exhorting, even in the United Nations, the revival of the warlike adventure.

19. A similar situation prevails in Viet-Nam. Also it is necessary to depart from the criterion of how it would be possible to attain the principal objective laid down in the Geneva agreements of 1954, namely, the peaceful unification of Viet-Nam, which is the spontaneous desire of the Viet-Nameese people in both the northern and southern parts of the country. However, the efforts of the Viet-Nameese people are still being frustrated by the attitude of the authorities of South Viet-Nam, who are consistently violating the Geneva agreements and preventing the holding of free elections. The admission of only South Viet-Nam to the United Nations as proposed in the United States draft resolution would, in its consequences, only promote the consolidation of the country's division.

20. If the United Nations does not want to create new obstacles to a peaceful unification of Korea and Viet-Nam, it must not support a solution which aims at the admission to the United Nations of only part of the divided country. Dealing with the admission of Korea and Viet-Nam, the principle must prevail that only the simultaneous admission of both parts of these countries can contribute to their peaceful unification. For these reasons the Czechoslovak delegation will vote against the draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee and contained in its report [A/3519, para. 11].

21. Mr. TSIANG (China): My delegation heartily supports the two draft resolutions [A/3519, para. 11] recommended by the Special Political Committee. The difficulty that the Committee met in the discussion of this question was the insistence of the Soviet Union that Northern Korea and North Viet-Nam should be admitted simultaneously. These two puppet régimes—Northern Korea and North Viet-Nam—are typical results of the subversion and aggression by international communism. If the United Nations should ever consider the claims of these puppet régimes to membership, it would be promoting the purposes of international communism and defeating the principles of the United Nations. It is obvious, to my delegation at

least, that these two puppet régimes should not be considered for membership.

22. One of these two draft resolutions recommends that we should admit the Republic of Korea. The Republic of Korea is a child of the United Nations. Its Government has been certified repeatedly by United Nations Commissions to be the result of the free choice of the people of Korea. It was the victim of aggression, and the United Nations heroically went to the aid of the young Republic in repelling aggression. Since then, the young Republic has made remarkable progress with the aid of the United Nations and also of the United States.

23. Viet-Nam has gone through a period of difficulties similar to the difficulties of the Republic of Korea. We who are neighbours of Viet-Nam have watched with admiration the progress that that country has made in recent years. These two applicants have been found by this Assembly to be qualified for membership. Their admission, in our judgement, would materially strengthen peace and freedom throughout East Asia.

24. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the two draft resolutions A and B recommended for adoption by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/3519, para. 11].

Draft resolution A was adopted by 40 votes to 8, with 16 abstentions.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 40 votes to 8, with 18 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/3562)

Mr. Makiedo (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

25. Mr. MAKIEDO (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: The Special Political Committee was most fortunate in having the assistance in its deliberations of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, Mr. Labouisse. Thanks to the patient efforts of the sponsors of the joint draft resolution [A/SPC/L.13/Rev.2] and the representatives of the host Governments, I am happy to be able to report that the draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly at the close of the Special Political Committee's report [A/3562, para. 12] was adopted without a dissenting vote and with only one abstention.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

26. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (*translated from French*): The problem of the Palestine refugees is all too familiar to every Member of the United Nations and there is no need for me to go over it again. A whole population has been decimated and forced to abandon its homes by a policy which was, to put it mildly, very far removed from the principles of justice and the established rules of international law.

27. My delegation believes that the only real remedy for the problem, which comes before the General As-

sembly every year, is to repatriate the Palestine refugees in conformity with resolution 194 (III). Nothing would be gained by repeating what has already been said on the subject. Nevertheless, the question is of primary importance and every effort must be made to solve it. Our vote for the draft resolution [A/3562, para. 12] before the General Assembly does not mean that we have changed our position on the question. The repatriation of the refugees continues to be our principle concern. However, my Government is fully prepared to go on co-operating with the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and granting the officials of that organization all the facilities they need to discharge their duties, provided they do not interfere in the internal affairs of my country or further the propaganda of imperialistic foreign Powers.

28. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Special Political Committee in its report [A/3562, para. 12].

The draft resolution was adopted by 68 votes to none, with one abstention.

AGENDA ITEM 70

Complaint by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of intervention by the United States of America in the domestic affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and its subversive activity against those States

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/3564)

Mr. Makiedo (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

29. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly has before it for approval the report of the Special Political Committee [A/3564] on the results of its consideration of an item proposed by the Soviet Union delegation, entitled: "Intervention by the United States of America in the domestic affairs of the people's democracies and its subversive activity against those States." The Soviet delegation would like to explain its position with regard to the Committee's report.

30. In submitting this question to the Assembly for consideration, the Soviet Union was guided by the desire to remove the obstacles which are now hampering the development of normal co-operation between nations and thus to promote the improvement of international relations and to relax international tension.

31. During the discussion of this question in the Committee, it was irrefutably proved that ruling circles in the United States are using hostile and subversive activities against a number of States as an integral part of their aggressive foreign policy, the objective of which is world mastery, and have raised these activities to the level of a State policy.

32. The United States Congress annually allocates hundreds of millions of dollars under the so-called

"Mutual Security Act" for subversive activities against the USSR and the people's democracies. Under this Act, which is unprecedented in contacts between States maintaining diplomatic relations, the allocated funds are to be spent on financing "any selected persons who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania . . . either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes". Senator McCarran frankly explained the criminal purpose of those objectives. He stated that United States "propaganda by word and deed would begin to bear fruit when it would pursue the simple and bold aim of overthrowing the Soviet dictatorship through the use of means available to us . . ." and, in particular, "by the maximum support of subversive anti-governmental organizations in areas under Communist control."

33. Many other documents and statements by United States Government spokesmen confirm and elaborate on the aforesaid principles of United States subversive policy towards socialist countries. According to a special White House statement of 30 December 1955, the so-called "liberation" of the inhabitants of the People's Democracies "has been, is, and, until success is achieved, will continue to be a major goal of United States foreign policy". By "liberation" these Government spokesmen mean the abolition of the people's democratic order in the socialist countries and the re-establishment of the rule of landowners and capitalists. Mr. Dulles, the Secretary of State of the United States, made the following statement at a press conference on 2 December 1956, confirming the policy of the "liberation" of the people's democracies: "We believe that that rule can and must be ended."

34. In accordance with the above mentioned principles, ruling circles in the United States have developed widespread activities in carrying out their subversive work in the people's democracies. In the United States and in Western Europe, many espionage and diversionist organizations have been established which are maintained by United States Government bodies and work on their instructions. All the counter-revolutionary flotsam and jetsam expelled by the peoples and all the enemies of the socialist countries find shelter in the United States. These outcasts from society are suitable material for United States intelligence agencies, which organize and direct diversionist activities against the people's democracies.

35. Among the centres of subversive organizations flourishing in the United States are such bodies as the American Committee for Liberation, the Committee for Free Europe and the Crusade for Freedom. Quite recently, in February of this year, another subversive organization, the Citizens Foreign Relations Committee, was set up in Washington. The aims of these and similar committees may be seen from the example of the "American Committee for Liberation". The policy declaration of this organization openly states that the Committee is carrying on subversive activities in the firm belief "that the struggle for the overthrow of the Soviet régime is its foremost duty." What would the ruling circles of the United States say if other countries replied to their subversive activities by undertaking similar activities, with a view to so-called "liberation"?

36. During the discussion in the Special Political Committee, many facts were adduced to confirm that the subversive organizations were training spies and

diversionists and sending them into the territory of the people's democracies and were also setting up and financing subversive underground groups in those countries. Particulars of a number of cases of criminal activities by United States diversionist bodies, which were recently brought to light at a press conference held in Moscow, have been circulated to representatives at the General Assembly. A letter, transmitting a collection of documents [A/SPC/10] confirming the crude violation of the air space of the Soviet Union by United States military and civil aircraft, has been circulated to representatives, together with official information concerning the sending of balloons carrying reconnaissance apparatus or seditious literature.

37. The memorandum dated 21 January 1957 from the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning interference by the Government of the United States in the domestic affairs of the German Democratic Republic contains many examples which prove the extent of the subversive activities undertaken by the United States against that peace-loving State. In particular, reference is made to the unprecedented violation of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic in Berlin. United States military authorities dug a tunnel 350 metres long and between four and five metres underground in the territory of the German Democratic Republic. This tunnel was equipped with United States apparatus for attachment to communication cables, but it could also have been used for diversionist purposes.

38. Recent events in Hungary have shown particularly clearly the results of the implementation of United States policy of interference in the domestic affairs of other States. It has now been proved that the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary riots in Hungary were provoked by internal reactionary elements and from outside by international imperialistic circles, and primarily by those of the United States. Whatever may be said here by United States representatives concerning the events in Hungary, and whatever slander they may spread against the Soviet Union, it must be admitted that the responsibility for the bloodshed in Hungary and the harm done to the economy of the country is borne by the authors and organizers of the criminal policy of so-called "liberation".

39. The many facts and documents adduced during the discussion convincingly prove that the intervention of the United States in the domestic affairs of other States is proceeding on an ever-increasing scale. No objective and unprejudiced person who has studied the documentation and is not guided by extraneous considerations can draw any other conclusion. The socialist countries are, of course, quite capable of dealing with hostile subversive activities, and they are doing so, as was proved, for example, in the case of Hungary.

40. However, the USSR delegation felt obliged to draw the attention of the United Nations to this question, since the interference of the United States in the domestic affairs of other States aggravates the international situation and intensifies the threat to peace and security. At the same time, consistent observance by all States Members of the United Nations without exception of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States is one of the most essential conditions for the relaxation of existing tensions and the establishment of a normal atmosphere in international relations. The United Nations, which is

called upon to promote the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of security, should not overlook activities which are contrary to the aforesaid principle, whoever the author of these activities may be.

41. At the same time, the report submitted by the Special Political Committee omits any recommendations for the prevention of such activities by the United States, which are dangerous to peace. The majority of the members of the Committee did not support the draft resolution [A/SPC/L.14] submitted by the Soviet delegation on that subject. In view of the above considerations, the Soviet delegation feels obliged to state that it cannot agree with the position of the Special Political Committee concerning the intervention of the United States in the domestic affairs of other States. At the same time, the Soviet delegation would draw attention to the responsibility borne by the United States as a Member of the United Nations, for continuing its malevolent subversive work against other countries.

42. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is determined to continue to base its foreign policy on the principle of the possibility and necessity of the peaceful co-existence of States, irrespective of the social structure prevailing in any country. The Soviet Union is determined not to deviate from its policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and to achieve the development of normal relations of co-operation with all countries which are in favour of such relations, on a mutual basis. Only such a policy will meet the interests of the peoples and the interests of strengthening peace.

43. Mr. DE BARROS (Brazil) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly has before it a report [A/3564] from the Special Political Committee which records the rejection, by an overwhelming majority, of a draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union [A/SPC/L.14] condemning alleged intervention by the United States in the domestic affairs of the people's democracies. I shall merely say that wherever the United States flag has flown the principle of human dignity has been reaffirmed and a new freedom has been proclaimed. Where else in the whole world is there a freer people, a people more devoted to the principles of human freedom?

44. Even apart from its unceasing and active support of the United Nations, there is the fact that twice in the space of half a century the flower of United States youth has gladly crossed the ocean to die in the defence of Europe's humanist civilization, whose calm and glorious heir it is. These armies and the nation they represented fought for the preservation of principles without which life is hardly worth living. Is there anyone in the whole world who can give this country lessons in democracy and freedom? No, there is no one—certainly not those who, today, are terrified of newspapers, broadcasts, discussion, thought. Here, in these United States, the press is free and powerful; radio space is open for the propagation of all ideas. Words and thoughts are unshackled.

45. At the end of two great wars in which the United States, led by Wilson, by Roosevelt, by Truman, was compelled to intervene, its triumphant armies at once returned to their own land and were demobilized, their soldiers sent back to their peace-time occupations, instead of exploiting their victory at the expense of the vanquished—a rare event, as history records. The well-polished boots of the United States soldiers left no

mark on the lands they liberated. These victors even held out their hands to the vanquished to help them recover from their defeat.

46. The Assembly will be no more in doubt and no more perplexed than was the Special Political Committee in deciding how to deal with the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union. To suggest that the General Assembly should condemn the United States for intervention in the domestic affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union itself is to attempt to invert the facts and to reverse the course of current history which we regard sometimes with bewilderment. Could anyone here mention, with a clear conscience, a single act of aggression committed by the United States against any one of the countries so extraordinarily listed in the draft resolution? Quite to the contrary, the United States exercises no influence whatsoever, either political, economic or cultural in these countries that move in another orbit. I wonder if the Soviet Union could say the same?

47. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): During the discussions in the Special Political Committee, the Czechoslovak delegation adduced a number of facts which attested to the subversive activities of the United States and its interference in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic. The Czechoslovak delegation produced ample documentary and other evidence in support of these charges. The discussions in the Committee showed clearly that all the facts and evidence adduced by us remained unrefuted, and equally unrefuted remained the facts testifying to the hostile activities directed against the other socialist countries, facts which were adduced and proved by their respective delegations.

48. The delegation of the United States and the other delegations supporting it chose rather to pass over in silence the concrete data and information presented, and to resort to their already notorious tactics of denying all the objective facts and describing them as mere propaganda. They tried to divert attention from these facts by means of slander, but, however, facts are stronger than words.

49. The Czechoslovak authorities possess abundant data and evidence on the activities carried out by United States intelligence organs against Czechoslovakia. In the Committee, the Czechoslovak delegation produced concrete data on the terrorist, subversive and espionage activities carried out against Czechoslovakia under the orders and guidance of those organs. An important part in carrying out these hostile activities against the countries with socialist systems is being played by so-called "private" United States organizations, such as the so-called Committee for Free Europe or the so-called Crusade for Freedom, as well as by broadcasting stations such as the station of the Free Europe Committee, called Radio Free Europe, and by various agencies which specialize in interfering in the domestic affairs of the German Democratic Republic and others.

50. During the discussions in the Committee we demonstrated by means of a particularly detailed analysis the hostile activities carried out by the United States against Czechoslovakia and other countries of Eastern Europe, activities which are conducted by means of the launching of balloons in a continual violation of their air space. These balloons drop pamphlets on the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic contain-

ing subversive material against the social order existing in Czechoslovakia and against its legitimate Government. By these so-called "balloon campaigns" the United States Government is committing a gross violation of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty, of the principles of international law, and of the contractual obligations assumed by it, in particular, under the Convention on International Civil Aviation signed at Chicago on 7 December 1944.

51. Under the burden of this evidence, the United States delegation did not even attempt in the Committee to refute the grave accusations and charges raised against the United States. This testifies not only to the truth of the facts which were revealed, but also to the determination of the United States to continue its subversive activities and its attempts at interference. The Czechoslovak delegation considers itself duty bound to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the growing danger threatening peace and security as a consequence of the intensified aggressive activities of the imperialist circles. The hostile activities of the United States and its unceasing interference in the internal affairs of the countries with socialist systems complicate the international situation, aggravate the tension in relations between States, and endanger peace and security.

52. The Czechoslovak delegation sincerely regrets that the draft resolution [A/SPC/L.14] submitted by the Soviet delegation was not adopted by the Special Political Committee, in spite of the fact that it was impossible to refute the evidence given of the subversive activities carried out by the United States against the socialist countries. The Czechoslovak delegation believes it would be in the interests of the strengthening of international peace and security and of co-operation among nations if the General Assembly condemned the hostile activities of the United States and urged the United States Government to discontinue its subversive activities and interference in the internal affairs of other States and to shape its relations with those States in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

53. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): In spite of the fact that here at the United Nations we deal almost exclusively with what is wrong with the world, we should not lose sight of the fact that humanity is moving ahead and that all peoples do have it in them to improve their lot. In paying this tribute to the perfectability of peoples, I of course include the Russian people, for whom we in the United States have sentiments of sincere friendship. There are also encouraging signs in the world of the perfectability of Governments, but, unhappily, when one notes the present Soviet propaganda item one cannot say very much about the perfectability of the Soviet Government.

54. It goes without saying. I think, that this unsuccessful attempt to smear the United States does not contain any truth and that it is not new. What should be set down is that it is not even clever. It fails even in its own terms. It is not even effectively untrue Communist propaganda, and when I say that I am saying a good deal. If the Soviet representatives would stop being bemused by the rumble of their own speeches, and if they looked at the facts of life right in the face, they would see that one of the biggest facts of this General Assembly is that the countries which in the past did not doubt Soviet peaceful intentions have been so appalled by what they have learned of Soviet acts in Hungary, for example, that they now regard the

Soviet Government as an assassin of human liberty. There has been a complete change round in the attitude towards the Soviet Union of many countries here in the last four or five months, and that is a bigger fact than all this canned oratory that we have been getting.

55. To this concern can be added the suspicion which has been aroused by the unwillingness of the Soviet Union to accept the "open skies" plan, for example, for aerial photography of military installations, and thus these countries ask themselves, and some of them have asked me, why the Soviet Union refuses to accept this beneficent peace-promoting plan if it is truly willing to abandon its capacity for surprise attack. That is a very good question, but it is one to which no satisfactory answer has ever been given by a single Soviet statesman. I mention these two illustrations out of the many which I could cite in order to show that if the United States wished to take up the time of the General Assembly with attacks on the Soviet Union, it could make an attack by staying wholly within the bounds of provable truth that would make your hair stand on end, but we are not going to do that.

56. This Soviet item, though, does raise another question, and a very grave question and one which I should discuss for a few minutes. That question is the tragic situation in Eastern Europe. How this situation came to be is a grim story, but it is one that can be most instructive to all of us, from whatever part of the world we may come. Almost forty years ago a small group of conspirators, by force and by fraud, seized power in the largest country in Eastern Europe, and the history of this is plain for all to read. They immediately embarked on a long-term programme to bring the entire world under their domination. To achieve this, they set up, and they now maintain, the largest apparatus for overt and covert propaganda, subversion and sabotage that the world has ever known. It is safe to say that there is no country represented in this hall which has not felt the harmful effects of this international Communist machine. But history has shown that this machine was not enough to bring those Communist conspirators the success they craved. It was only when they were able to bring into operation their enormous Red Army that they began to make headway. Then, in violation of their most solemn obligations, including those enumerated in the United Nations Charter, the Soviet Communists succeeded in taking over, in whole or in part, ten small European countries, annexing some outright and imposing puppet rulers on others.

57. Thereupon they proceeded to the systematic exploitation of their victims for the specific purpose of building up the Moscow empire. To accomplish this, it was necessary to resort to extremes of violence, terror and oppression of the type which has so often marked Russian history. It is no exaggeration to say that for years the masters of the Soviet Union have been engaged in bitter warfare with their own peoples and with the peoples of the captive countries. It is a tribute to those peoples to say that the issue of that struggle is still in doubt.

58. From the Soviet point of view, an indispensable element in that warfare is control, control over the minds of the subject peoples. Ancient roots of culture and learning must be eradicated. Old bonds of friendship must be severed. Religious faith must be suppressed, or else it must be manipulated. All these must be replaced by a mechanistic, materialistic philosophy of blind obedience to orders handed down from above.

59. It is this Communist need for complete control over the minds and bodies of men, in accordance with an utterly materialistic formula that denies the divine nature of man, which explains the formidable barriers to freedom of thought and information which the Soviet Union has erected in Eastern Europe. The censorship, the radio-jamming, the travel controls, the border guards, the rewriting of history, the falsification of news—those are the conditions which prevail today in Eastern Europe. Those are the conditions which the Soviet Union would like the rest of the world to ignore or to forget.

60. The essence of the present Soviet complaint—and indeed, of all the past Soviet complaints like it—is that the United States people and the other peoples of the free world refuse to forget and refuse to ignore those conditions. And the United States people, let me say, cannot accept with indifference or with apathy the situation which the Soviet Union has created in Eastern Europe. We will not reconcile ourselves to this relentless Soviet assault on human dignity and freedom; and I hope that there will be no misunderstanding about that.

61. Like all civilized countries, the United States has received a valuable heritage from the culture of Eastern Europe. Many of our citizens have come from there. It is natural that we should be interested in Eastern Europe and concerned about the fate of its people. We desire to see them free and independent, able to live their own lives and pursue their own destinies; and when I say independent, I mean independent of Soviet control, independent of United States control, independent of any type of control. But as long as this independence remains unachieved, as long as the Soviet Union continues to intervene in the affairs of these countries, we cannot and we will not remain silent and unprotesting; and there is no reason why we should.

62. We will do what we can, always in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to show these hapless victims that they are not forgotten, that they are not lost. We will carry on, in collaboration with others in the free world, the task of helping them to preserve their spiritual and cultural traditions. We will continue to supply these people with the truth about our world and the truth about their world. At every opportunity we will assure them that, no matter what they hear from their masters of today, the old ties of kinship and friendship have not been broken, that this is but a long night, and that the end of that long night is the dawn.

63. There is nothing sinister or subversive in what I say. We do not call for violence; we do not call for subversion; we do not call for sabotage. No human being has ever been incited to violence by anything that the United States has done. We do not plot aggression against the Soviet Union or any other country. Such actions are abhorrent to our natures and inconsistent with our democratic system. We have no territorial ambitions in Eastern Europe, and no territorial ambitions anywhere nor do we seek to impose our economic and social views on others. If they want to maintain State capitalism instead of free capitalism, that is their business. On this point I can do no better than to repeat the solemn words of President Eisenhower on the occasion on his second inauguration in January of this year:

"We honour the aspirations of those nations which, now captive, long for freedom. We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of

our society, and they can know the warmth of the welcome that awaits them, when, as must be, they join again the ranks of freedom.”

64. That is the policy which guides all our activities with regard to Eastern Europe. Far from being inconsistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter, this policy seeks to promote in every way those principles; for we are convinced that once freedom, independence and respect for human rights have returned to this vital part of Europe, a major source of international tension will have been removed and the world will have progressed enormously towards the genuine peace which we all want.

65. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I am asking to speak again, in order to reply briefly to the United States representative's last statement. I shall not embark on a detailed analysis of the fantastic lies and slander contained in the statement just made by the United States representative.

66. As everyone knows, the Soviet people overthrew the rule of tyrants, capitalists and landowners forty years ago. The Soviet people then defended its freedom, weapons in hand. It defended this freedom against the invasion of fourteen imperialist States; troops directed by the ruling circles of the United States were among those which tried to annihilate the Soviet Union at that time. The United States monopolists wanted to annihilate the young Soviet republic, but the Soviet republic stood firm. After a heavy ordeal, the Soviet people expelled all the interventionists from its territory. Since then, for forty years, the Soviet people has been building its new society, a society where there are no exploiters and where there is no oppression of man by man; so to come to this forum and to slander the Soviet people, who bore the brunt of the struggle against the German Fascists, is more than slander, it is the utterance of a savagely angry man, who is wholly ignorant of history.

67. The United States representative said here that there is respect in the United States for the Soviet people. I can confirm that the United States people have kindly and friendly feelings for the Soviet people. I have personally seen evidence of that. I may say that the Soviet people have even more friendly feelings towards the people of the United States. But we distinguish between the people of the United States and the ruling circles of that country. The present ruling circles of the United States are pursuing hostile and

subversive activities against the Soviet people. All the hypocritical statements that have been made here are completely divergent from the deeds which the ruling circles of the United States are perpetrating.

68. I would ask the United States representative whether or not there is a law involving a hundred million dollars. Is there not a law under which one hundred million dollars are allocated yearly for subversive activity in the people's democracies? If there is no such law, tell us so. Is it not a fact that a 350-metre tunnel was dug for subversive activities? This is a fact, and nothing you say can refute it. If this is not so, I would ask you to come forward and say that it is not so.

69. The United States representative further tried to accuse the Soviet Union of isolating itself from other countries, and especially from the United States. This is a case of trying to shift the blame on to the innocent party. The United States—and I mean the ruling circles of the United States—has recently completely suspended even those insignificant contacts which were planned and were beginning to take shape in 1955. The Government of the United States now forbids its citizens to go to the Soviet Union; it forbids United States delegations to visit the Soviet Union. I have a list, which I can show to anyone who wishes to see it, of some ten delegations which wanted to go to the United States and the Soviet Union, on an exchange basis, but could not do so because the United States Government forbade them to do so.

70. If you sincerely wish to develop contacts—by all means do so. We are ready to do so as from today, if you wish. But the fact of the matter is that, while you speak of these contacts and of their expansion, you are following a policy of isolation and obstructing contacts, in order to isolate the Soviet Union, as you think, to create difficulties for it. I must point out, however, that experience has shown such a policy to be harmful above all to those countries which pursue it.

71. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has consistently pursued, and will continue to pursue, a peaceful policy, directed towards the development of contacts between all countries, including countries with different social systems. Our policy is directed towards the development of co-operation and the strengthening of economic, cultural and other ties, since in this alone lies the guarantee that international tension will decrease and that the cause of peace will be consolidated.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.