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**Chairman:** Mr. Selim SARPER (Turkey).

**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 (A/3442, A/SPC/10, A/SPC/L.14) (continued)**

1. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia) described the efforts his Government had made to reduce international tension and to promote peaceful international co-operation and refuted the United States representative's (36th meeting) allegation that Czechoslovakia had separated itself from the world by means of the "Iron Curtain".
2. Unfortunately the recent relaxation of international tension brought about by the efforts of peace-loving forces throughout the world had not been to the liking of the ruling circles in western countries and particularly in the United States. The military preparations and hostile acts of those countries were directed above all against the Soviet Union, the peoples' democracies and those nations which had shaken off the colonial yoke and were now fighting for freedom and national independence. Their policy had culminated in the aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary and plans for the colonial domination of the Near and Middle East by means of the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine. Such reckless interference in the internal affairs of other States was but one aspect of the "from the position of strength" policy and was inconsistent with United Nations principles.
3. International imperialist circles, obviously afraid of a further expansion of socialism and of the rapid growth of the liberation movement in Asia and Africa, were trying to consolidate and extend their domination throughout the world and increase international tension. The ruling circles of the United States in particular had spared no effort to divide the socialist countries since the end of the Second World War.
4. In 1951, for example, the United States Mutual Security Act had been adopted in order to "assist" Western European and Asian countries. Yet the bulk

of the vast sums appropriated every year for that purpose was used for military purposes. Unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of other States was carried out under that Act, and never before had a State in time of peace proclaimed as its official policy the promotion of subversive activities designed to overthrow régimes in other countries. The purpose of the Kersten amendment to that Act was to organize refugees from communist countries in armed units which, together with the armed forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, would fight against their own countries, and to assist persons "behind the Iron Curtain" who were trying to overthrow their socialist Governments. A sum of \$100 million was appropriated every year under the Kersten amendment to promote subversive activities in the socialist countries, and to recruit and train adventurers who had fled from those countries as spies and diversionists. There could be no doubt about the real purpose of the Kersten amendment for its author himself had stated, shortly after its adoption, that the United States must take the offensive in the cold war and organize national legions of escapees from Eastern European countries. A few days later he had stated that it would be unrealistic to say that terror would play no part in an Eastern European liberation movement. The Kersten amendment had become an enduring part of United States legislation; it had been amended several times since 1951 and the original amounts appropriated under it to finance subversive activities in the socialist countries had been increased.

5. The preamble of the Mutual Security Act, which referred to assistance to friendly nations in the interest of international peace and security was quite misleading, for the Act was an expression of United States "containment" and "liberation" policy and provided a kind of theoretical basis to justify interference in and hostile activities against the socialist countries. The so-called "liberation" policy was an integral part of United States foreign policy and United States interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries had not ceased even during the period of the temporary relaxation of the international tension. On the contrary, it was during that period that the United States had laid plans for the most flagrant form of intervention, military intervention.

6. At the beginning of 1955, for example, a so-called Czechoslovak Guard Unit, composed of criminals and people hostile to the Czechoslovak Republic and unlawfully using the Czechoslovak flag, had been organized by United States forces in Western Germany. On 19 April 1955 the Czechoslovak Government had therefore sent a note of protest to the United States Government stating that its organization in time of peace was contrary to the United Nations Charter. Czechoslovak citizens who had been recruited for such units and had subsequently returned to Czechoslovakia had made clear what their purpose was.

7. Hungary was a case in point. The entire Hungarian counter-revolution had been based on a plan drawn up by the United States Intelligence Service, and had been financed by the United States Congress; weapons and specially-trained Fascist gangs had been sent into Hungary from Western Germany. Organizations receiving United States support had even found ways of using International Red Cross airplanes and cars for smuggling arms and armed units into Hungary.

8. The United States had also abused its position as an occupying Power in Western Germany by directing espionage and diversionary activities against Czechoslovakia. It had recruited agents, terrorists and adventurers from among the criminals who had fled Czechoslovakia after 1945. They were selected, principally in refugee camps, received instruction in espionage, intelligence and terrorist activities, at training centres in Western Germany were provided with false documents, money and weapons, and despatched by United States authorities into Czechoslovakia to commit various crimes. Dozens of peaceful Czechoslovak citizens had already suffered at their hands, but many of them had, however, voluntarily surrendered to Czechoslovak security forces.

9. An important part in the campaign of hostility against the socialist countries was played by so-called private United States organizations, such as the Free Europe Committee and the Crusade for Freedom. Their nature and aims had been described by Senator McCarran some years ago when he had stated that the Free Europe Committee could do things that a Government could not do openly in peacetime. Other important instruments for interference in the internal affairs of the Eastern European countries were the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and the Berlin broadcasting station Radio in the American Sector (RIAS). Modern means of propaganda, particularly broadcasting, reaching wide sections of the population, could do much to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security, and both the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace (Geneva, 1936) and General Assembly resolution 841 (IX) had called upon countries to refrain from broadcasting inflammatory appeals or slander. In Czechoslovakia information media were used to promote international co-operation and understanding, and the dissemination of war propaganda was punishable by law. The imperialist forces, on the other hand, were using the radio to disseminate war propaganda and to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Czechoslovakia had for many years been the target of hostile propaganda and the United States had used broadcasts to organize espionage, sabotage and subversion and as a means of issuing its agents with orders and directives.

10. Such activities had been increased, particularly during the Hungarian revolt. Radio Free Europe had become the headquarters of the counter-revolution. It had issued orders to the armed counter-revolutionaries, promised them military aid from the Western Powers and had intensified its attempts to provoke unrest in the other peoples' democracies. Its broadcasts had produced a storm of indignation not only in Hungary but also in other countries. West German newspapers, for example, had condemned the provocative activities of Radio Free Europe and had called upon the Government to withdraw its licence.

11. Radio Free Europe, like the official United States Voice of America, had been established by the United States Government which directed the operation of

both stations and financed their activities. The broadcasts of both stations were the expression of the policy of the United States Government which was responsible for all their actions. The establishment of Radio Free Europe had been carefully prepared, for even before 1950 the United States Government had called for plans to set up broadcasting stations with more freedom of action than official government broadcasting stations, and a "Marshall Plan in the ideological field" had been proposed. The official character of the Free Europe Committee, which controlled Radio Free Europe, was obvious for its chief organizers and top officials had always been, and still were, United States Government officials, and it made no attempt to hide the fact that it followed the instructions and directives of United States Government officials in its activities.

12. A specific form of United States hostile activity against the countries of Eastern Europe was the permanent violation of their air space by balloons. Despite repeated protests by the Czechoslovak authorities, the territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Republic had for years been violated by balloons delivering pamphlets containing propaganda against the legitimate Government. Those hostile activities had recently been intensified. In 1956, military organs of the United States had proceeded to launch special types of large balloon equipped with automatic cameras and radio transmitters and receivers. On 7 February 1956, the Czechoslovak Government had informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the violation of its sovereignty by balloons bearing propaganda material and equipment for military espionage. It had also complained that the balloons were endangering the lives of Czechoslovak and foreign citizens and constituted a danger to civil aviation. Several persons had been injured by the sudden descents and explosions of balloons on Czechoslovak territory and in January 1956, a transport plane of the Czechoslovak airlines had crashed with much loss of life after colliding with balloons, which were observed in great quantity in the vicinity of the accident.

13. The Director-General of the International Air Transport Association (IATA) had sent all Members of the United Nations a report on his investigation concerning the danger to air transport. In a letter to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) the Director-General of IATA had stressed the need to take action to eliminate danger. The Council of ICAO had placed the Czechoslovak Government's complaint concerning the violation of Czechoslovak air space and the threat to air transport constituted by the launching of balloons over the territory of other States on its agenda.

14. The balloon campaign constituted a gross violation of Czechoslovak sovereignty, the principles of international law and existing international treaties to which the United States was a party, in particular the Convention on International Civil Aviation of 7 December 1944 signed at Chicago, to which both the United States and the Czechoslovak Republic were parties. The United States Government tried to evade responsibility for the violation of its own contractual obligations by contending that the balloons were launched by private organizations. However, some of the balloons were dispatched by military organs of the United States from bases in Western Germany, in which case that argument could not apply. The United States Government also bore full responsibility for the hostile activities of the so-called private organizations for as had already been demonstrated, they had been created and

were directed, financed and controlled by the Government or its agencies. Moreover, if the rules of international law were violated through the activities of private persons or organizations, their Government bore the responsibility for having failed in its duty to prevent such infringements. It was universally known that the United States Government not only did not prevent the subversive activities of the so-called Committee for Free Europe, but that those activities were carried on with its consent and full support.

15. The release of balloons, the radio propaganda and the activities of the Committee for Free Europe were all part of the attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic, and of the hostile activities systematically undertaken by the Government of the United States against the Czechoslovak Republic for the purpose of overthrowing the popular democratic régime.

16. The United States representative had referred at the 36th meeting to the socialist States as satellites and captive nations: that was the policy of the United States Government. Nevertheless, all its talk of liberation was merely an expression of its disappointment over the régimes freely chosen by the people and its determination to make every effort to replace them by systems more to its liking. The United States was unwilling to accept the fact that the countries of Eastern Europe had freed themselves once and for all from capitalism and were shaping their international relations on the basis of equality, independence and non-interference. The United States representative had not denied the annual government appropriation for subversive activities nor had he offered any facts in rebuttal of the evidence regarding the launching of balloons and the violation of Czechoslovak air space. Instead, he had merely asked the Special Political Committee to believe unfounded contentions.

17. The Czechoslovak people and Government were determined to oppose all foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic. All the attempts of the United States Government to incite unrest and disturb the peaceful development of political, economic, cultural and social life in Czechoslovakia had foundered upon the determination of the Czechoslovak people to build up their economy peacefully and ensure for themselves a peaceful life. The futility of the imperialist endeavours to overthrow the peoples' democracies in Eastern Europe had been revealed during the counter-revolutionary conspiracy in Hungary, when the external pressure on Czechoslovakia had also been intensified. The prudence and political maturity displayed by the Czechoslovak people and the firm stand they had taken contributed greatly to the preservation of peace and security in Eastern Europe.

18. The United States Government's constant interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries was complicating the international situation, increasing international tension and endangering peace and security. Its subversive activities were incompatible with the principles of the Charter and the United Nations could not pass them over in silence. The General Assembly should condemn the United States hostile activities as contrary to the Charter and call upon the Government to cease its subversive activity and its intervention in the domestic affairs of other States and to develop its relations with them in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The Czechoslovak delegation would therefore

support the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the USSR (A/SPC/L.14).

19. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) said that the item under discussion had been proposed at the 109th meeting of the General Committee by the USSR delegation during the first half of the eleventh session. The Bulgarian delegation and a number of others, including that of the Soviet Union, had pressed for its early consideration. However, the United States had succeeded in having the item relegated to the end of the session and as little time as possible allowed for its discussion. Had the item been discussed immediately, there would have been clear proof of subversive activities of the United States, which would have hampered the putting into effect of certain other plans conceived and drawn up during the current session, such as the Eisenhower Doctrine on the Middle East.

20. During the debate on the inclusion of the item in the agenda of the eleventh session, some delegations had asked why the matter had been brought up again. A number of attempts had already been made to put an end to those activities of the United States. The Government of the USSR and the Governments of the peoples' democracies had made several protests and appeals to the United States. During the last seven years, the Bulgarian Government had addressed several notes to the Government of the United States urging that the Bulgarian people should be left in peace, and it had also sent a number of communications to the United Nations regarding the subversive activities of the United States against Bulgaria; when it had become clear that the United States was extending its activities instead of halting them, the only course had been to appeal to the United Nations to take steps to prevent such activities in future. The matter had become still more urgent after the revelation of the part played by the United States and its Fascist agents in events in Hungary. It was therefore essential that the United Nations should examine the complaint of the USSR and the peoples' democracies. After listening to the facts, the General Assembly would undoubtedly condemn those activities as contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and would press for their immediate cessation.

21. During the last few years, scarcely a week had gone by without some subversive act being committed by the United States in one or other of the peoples' democracies or in the USSR. It had recently been revealed that apart from spies directly connected with the United States information services, another form of espionage was being carried on by the so-called foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Crusade for Freedom and so on.

22. The German Democratic Republic was one of the targets for subversive activities by the United States. United States' opposition to the peaceful unification of the German people was embodied in a widespread campaign of espionage and subversion designed to prevent the people of East Germany from enjoying peace and security. Some of the destructive activities of the United States had been described in the *aide-mémoire* addressed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General on 21 December 1956. Unfortunately, despite the German Democratic Republic's request that it should be circulated to all delegations, it had not yet been distributed. The subversive activities of United States espionage organizations in the German Democratic Republic were worthy of special attention because the German question was important not only to the peace of Europe but to that of the whole world.

The United Nations should do all it could to end the subversive activities of the United States against the peaceful aspirations of the German people and their movement towards national unification.

23. In September 1944 the Bulgarian people aided by the Soviet army had freed themselves from the monarcho-fascist yoke and had begun building a socialist order. However, leading circles in the United States had seized every opportunity to prevent the development of the Bulgarian people towards socialism. Their subversive activities had continued from 1944 to the present day, on an ever larger scale. Although the principle had been set forth in the 1945 Yalta Agreements and in the Charter of the United Nations, leading circles in the United States had been unwilling to respect the right of the liberated peoples to choose their own form of government.

24. When the first parliamentary elections after the liberation had been announced for August 1945, the United States Government, afraid that its agents, whom it had chosen from among reactionary Fascist elements, would be unable to defeat the socialist candidates, had demanded the postponement of the elections, and threatened that it would not re-establish diplomatic relations with Bulgaria unless the Bulgarian Government agreed. In the interest of good relations, the Bulgarian Government had agreed to postpone the elections. When new elections had been fixed for November 1945 the United States had again demanded their postponement. On that occasion, the Bulgarian Government had rejected the interference of the United States and the voters had elected the democratic and progressive candidates, by an enormous majority repudiating the puppet candidates supported by United States agents.

25. Under the 1944 armistice agreement and the 1946 Peace Treaty, the Bulgarian Government had undertaken to remove all remnants of the Fascist régime. The Bulgarian Government had complied strictly with its obligations but instead of receiving help from the United States, it had met with resistance. The United States Government had given asylum to the Bulgarian Fascist leader Tzankov and refused to extradite Bulgarian war criminals who had taken refuge in the United States occupation zones in Austria and Germany. Those Fascists had later been used to recruit anti-Bulgarian forces in the countries of Western Europe and in the United States.

26. Inside Bulgaria, a number of neo-Fascist paramilitary organizations had been formed with United States assistance. After they had been discovered and dealt with, it had become clear that in their efforts to overthrow the popular régime in Bulgaria, the interested circles in the United States had cast all scruples aside, using every means at their disposal and even recruiting avowed supporters of Hitler.

27. After the failure of its plans to carry on large-scale subversive activities inside Bulgaria, the United States had proceeded to the establishment of pro-Fascist and anti-Bulgarian groups in West Germany, Austria, France and the United States. Their task was to enter Bulgaria in order to commit sabotage, assassination and espionage. It had been proved conclusively that those groups had been established by interested circles in the United States and were financed and instructed directly by them.

28. Under the Kersten Amendment, the United States allotted a sum of \$100 million per year, apart from the millions spent on the counter-intelligence agency headed by Allen Dulles, for subversive activities in the Soviet

Union and the peoples' democracies. The text of the amendment clearly stated the nefarious purposes to which those funds were to be applied. The Bulgarian delegation was in a position to support all its charges against the United States with facts and documentation showing the extremes to which the ruling circles in that country were pushed in their hatred for the peoples' democracies.

29. He proceeded to quote the testimony of United States agents and saboteurs, including common criminals, who had been arrested by or had given themselves up to the Bulgarian authorities. Their statements revealed that they had been instructed in the techniques of espionage, sabotage, recruitment of agents, dissemination of subversive propaganda, and terrorism. They had been trained in special schools situated in Austria, West Germany and France.

30. The United States had resorted to two other forms of subversion on a large scale: transmission of slanderous propaganda by radio, and the sending of balloons equipped for the dissemination of propaganda and for aerial photography over the air space of the peoples' democracies.

31. The main sources of radio propaganda against the People's Republic of Bulgaria were the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. They transmitted a steady stream of fantastic fabrications and hostile propaganda designed to arouse hatred against the Government and to incite the Bulgarian people to resist, and ultimately, to overthrow, the existing régime. It should be noted by those who argued that the United States Government could not be responsible for the activities of those radio stations, that the Voice of America was subsidized by the United States Government and there was ample evidence to show that it was an official organ. Moreover, one of the founders of Radio Free Europe had been the commander of the United States forces in West Germany. In addition, coded instructions were issued to espionage agents inside Bulgaria. The activities of those radio networks constituted open interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic.

32. The most recent form of United States interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs was the sending of propaganda balloons equipped for aerial photography. In the period 1954-1956, more than 1,750 such balloons had been brought down in Bulgaria alone. They had scattered hundreds of thousands of propaganda leaflets issuing instructions on sabotage and the organization of clandestine anti-government resistance groups and urging all sectors of the population to obstruct the Government's programmes. Large numbers of the balloons captured by the Bulgarian authorities were equipped with special aerial cameras which plainly bore United States trade-marks. They had been launched from United States bases in West Germany and they violated the air space of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The weight of the evidence was such as to debunk the United States' argument that the balloons were intended to collect scientific data for the International Geophysical Year 1957-1958. Indeed, if scientific data was required, it could be obtained directly and openly from Bulgarian scientists and officials.

33. It must be concluded from the consistently hostile policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of Bulgaria that the United States was obsessed with hatred for the people's democracies and was bending every effort to overthrow their régimes. Towards that end, it had imposed economic sanctions on Bulgaria in violation of its undertakings under the Treaty of Peace,

it was holding millions of dollars in blocked accounts belonging to Bulgarians, it had denounced its 1932 trade agreement and imposed an embargo on exports to the peoples' democracies. Its action was self-defeating, for the United States would benefit by good trade relations with those countries of Eastern Europe. Moreover, it had not succeeded in checking their economic progress. In fact, none of the methods employed by the United States to subvert the régime of the People's Republic of Bulgaria could crush the zeal of the Bulgarian people to build a prosperous socialist State.

34. By its reactionary activities, the United States did sometimes succeed in disturbing the relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with its neighbours. There was all the more reason, therefore, to put an end to those activities. They threatened the security of several nations and could lead to serious international friction. If Hungary, for example, had not taken steps, with the help of the Soviet Union, to put down the United States-assisted Fascist counter-revolution, the peace of the world would have been seriously jeopardized.

35. The people and the Government of Bulgaria desired good economic and cultural relations with all States, including the United States, regardless of their political régimes. Only on a basis of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States could the atmosphere of co-operation and understanding be created which would ensure peace.

36. The United States, by its direct intervention in Hungary's internal affairs, had made itself responsible for the recent tragic events in that country. It had been hoped that those events would bring about a change in United States policy. Unfortunately, it was clear from the remarks of the United States representative

at the 36th meeting that his Government not only had no intention of renouncing its subversive policy, but planned to strengthen and continue it. It was the task of the United Nations to take urgent steps to put an end to that policy in the interests of peace. Accordingly, the Bulgarian delegation fully supported the USSR draft resolution (A/SPC/L.14).

37. Mr. LIU Chieh (China) recalled that proposals similar to that laid before the Committee by the Soviet Union had been rejected by an overwhelming majority at previous sessions of the Assembly because they were obvious propaganda moves. The latest version had clearly been designed to divert attention from Soviet brutalities in Hungary and to confuse public opinion on the real issues in the Hungarian situation. The arguments with which the delegations of the Soviet bloc attempted to substantiate the USSR's charges against the United States merely confirmed the fact that the uprisings in the so-called peoples' democracies were the natural reaction against Soviet misrule and domination.

38. It was ironic to hear the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe under its domination complain of intervention and subversion when the strategy of the Soviet Union had been to subvert the Governments of all the free nations. That strategy had enabled the Chinese Communists to seize the Chinese mainland; it had caused the Soviet Union to mutilate Korea and Viet-Nam, to impose Communist dictatorships on the Eastern European countries, and to crush the Hungarian patriots. Those were incontrovertible facts. It would be ludicrous for the Special Political Committee to take the Soviet charges seriously. They should be dismissed with the contempt they deserved.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.