

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR

**1442<sup>nd</sup>** MEETING: 22 AUGUST 1968

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

*Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.*

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 22 August 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. João Augusto DE ARAUJO CASTRO  
(Brazil).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1442)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 21 August 1968 from the representatives of Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8758).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 21 August 1968 from the representatives of Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8758)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken yesterday, I propose now, if there is no objection, to invite the representative of Czechoslovakia to take a place at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.
2. There being no objection, I invite the representative of Czechoslovakia to take a place at the Council table.
3. The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the question before it.
4. Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): If the Ethiopian delegation has kept quiet so far in this crucial debate, it is because we felt that those of our colleagues who had taken the initiative of asking for a meeting of the Council, and those directly concerned, should speak first, in order that we may be able to get as full a picture as possible of the tragic situation that prevails in Czechoslovakia.
5. The urgency that we attach to the problem and our attitude towards the role of the Security Council in matters affecting international peace and security were clearly demonstrated by our affirmative vote on the issue of the

inscription of this item in our agenda yesterday. We supported the inscription of this item on our agenda because we believe that this is a kind of situation which can affect the very foundation of international peace and security and of international law.

6. My delegation has given careful attention to all statements and submissions made so far in the Council, and we listened with particular attention to the Acting Representative of Czechoslovakia who presented to us a number of communications received from authorities and organs of his Government. We attach, needless to say, special importance to the communication brought to us by the representative of Czechoslovakia because we recognize his voice as the voice of a Member Government exercising its right to speak for the people of a State Member of the United Nations. What we have heard so far confirms, in short, that the military forces of four Member States and of East Germany have by a concerted move crossed the state boundaries of the Czechoslovak Republic. That this has been done is not even denied by the Member States which have undertaken the military action.

7. We heard in a number of statements made before the Council yesterday that the Soviet Union and certain of its Warsaw Pact allies had in fact been obliged to undertake the said military action in order to forestall and frustrate the so-called action of reactionary forces both within Czechoslovakia and from other parts of the world. We were also told that the military action of the Soviet Union and of certain other members of the Warsaw Pact was undertaken at the invitation of the duly constituted authorities of Czechoslovakia. But we find no justification for or substantiation of the claim, which is in fact contradicted by the statements received from Czechoslovak leaders that the armed forces of certain of their Warsaw Pact allies moved into their territory without invitation and/or authorization.

8. It is in the light of this situation and in confirmation of Ethiopia's faithful dedication to the cause of peace and peaceful settlement that my august Sovereign His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I made the following official declaration which is self-evident in its expression of Ethiopia's position on this vital issue affecting international peace and security. I have the honour to read this declaration into the records of the Security Council. His Imperial Majesty's declaration reads as follows:

"Throughout my life I have constantly supported the basic principle that one State should not interfere in the internal affairs of another State. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another State is a basic principle that should always govern international

relations. The corollary of non-interference is that solutions to all disputes and misunderstandings among nations must be sought through peaceful means. This is a necessary condition for the maintenance of international peace as envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity. Thus the events in Czechoslovakia in the last few days have saddened me much. What took place against Czechoslovakia is a sad and unfortunate repetition of the misfortune that befell many other small States in the past and might recur until all States learn that the consequences of disturbing basic conditions of harmonious inter-State relations is in the end harmful to the interests of all States. I urge that all foreign troops that have been introduced into Czechoslovakia should be withdrawn forthwith and that the misunderstanding between Czechoslovakia and her immediate neighbours should be settled by peaceful means."

9. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): The debate in the Council yesterday was memorable for many reasons. Outstanding was the dignified and courageous bearing of the representative of Czechoslovakia. The statements by his Government which he read to us were historic declarations. They have won and deserved the admiration of the world.

10. In circumstances of crisis and confusion, in the face of overwhelming odds, with the future of their country at stake and immediate dangers crowding round them, the leaders of Czechoslovakia spoke out to all the world. We are fortunate that we have here in Minister Muzik a worthy representative of such brave men. The declarations which he read to us dominated our debate; they cannot be questioned; their appeal is strong, and their eloquence is completely convincing. The justice of the case they put is unanswerable.

11. The Czech leaders call for a withdrawal of the invading troops, for the preservation of their sovereign independence and the integrity of their country. We join with all those who love freedom and honour courage in paying tribute to Minister Muzik, to his Government and to all the leaders of his brave country who have refused to bow down before the forces of invasion and suppression.

12. Where are those leaders now? In recent weeks, the Soviet leaders have met and dealt with them as equals. We are told that the meetings were in a spirit of fraternal respect. But from yesterday night we have all been gravely concerned for their freedom and for their safety.

13. And on this I ask a direct question of the Soviet Ambassador. Let Ambassador Malik tell us now that the President and the First Secretary of the Communist Party, and other acknowledged leaders of Czechoslovakia, are free and safe. Let Ambassador Malik confirm that they will not be arrested and will not be molested. Let him confirm that they will be permitted to continue to speak and work for their people.

14. Mr. LIU (China): The armed invasion of Czechoslovakia by countries of the communist bloc, led by the Soviet Union, is a negation of all the principles and purposes of the United Nations, a threat to world peace, a

repudiation of all the accepted norms of international behaviour, as well as a violation of its own pledges and declarations. This is the unanimous verdict of the whole world.

15. Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter defines the necessary condition for a community of independent peoples:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

16. In resolution 2131 (XX), of which the Soviet Union was the prime mover, the General Assembly declared the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States. Operative paragraph 1 of that resolution states:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned."

17. Thus the Soviet armed intervention in the internal and external affairs of Czechoslovakia stands condemned, both by the United Nations Charter and by a General Assembly resolution. Yet the Soviet Union tries to strike a pose of superior rectitude and cynically justify its brutal intervention in the internal and external affairs of Czechoslovakia on the ground of collective and individual self-defence. Self-defence against what? The familiar spectre of imperialist interference has been dragged out as an excuse. It even has the effrontery to claim that the invasion was made at the request of the Czechoslovak Government and Communist Party leaders, notwithstanding all evidence to the contrary.

18. It is all too clear that the Soviet Union cannot tolerate the existence of any semblance of freedom and democracy inside the Soviet bloc. In its view, all forms of dissent are a threat to the Soviet system and to Moscow's iron control.

19. The Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia, in his factual statement yesterday before the Council, made it clear that Czechoslovakia has not repudiated socialism, has not repudiated the Warsaw Pact, and has not violated the principle of socialist internationalism. All it has done has been an attempt to improve and strengthen socialism by giving the people more freedom.

20. If this merits the armed intervention of the Soviet Union, then, what value can we attach to Soviet professions about democracy, freedom, and about equal rights and self-determination of peoples?

21. In recent years, we have been told time and again that the Soviet Union has matured and that it no longer expects unquestioning obedience from its satellites. This has been

belied by the tragic invasion of Czechoslovakia. The world has been given depressing proof of what the Soviet Union really means by such slogans as "socialist solidarity" "proletarian internationalism" and "war of liberation". The significance of this should not be lost on all those who have been seeking so-called accommodation with communism.

22. The prevention and suppression of acts of aggression is the keystone of the United Nations Charter. The Charter, however, does not state what constitutes aggression. We are indebted to the Soviet Union for the following definition, which it has time and again enunciated since the League of Nations days. Aggression, according to the Soviet Union, involves, among other things, the following elements: (1) invasion by armed forces of the territory of another State; (2) attack by its land, naval or air forces on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State; (3) no political, military, economic or other considerations may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to above.

23. Judging by its own definition, the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia is aggression, simple and unadulterated.

24. The Charter, as we know, enjoins all Member States to suppress aggression by collective action. If this is out of the question, the least the Security Council can do is to condemn the Soviet aggression in the strongest terms and call upon the Soviet authorities to withdraw their armed forces immediately from the territory of Czechoslovakia and to cease all interference in the affairs of that unfortunate country.

25. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): The position of Denmark with respect to the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and certain of its allies was stated clearly and fully by the Danish representative in the Council yesterday, and I have nothing in substance to add to that statement. Since I left Denmark only after the tragic news had reached my country, and since before leaving I had the opportunity of attending meetings between members of the Government and in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Danish Parliament, I would wish once again to underline the dismay and sorrow with which the news of the events in Czechoslovakia was met in my country.

26. Denmark has followed the developments of the last weeks with the deepest compassion and anxiety. We have also observed with respect the restraint and moderation shown by the Czechoslovak Government and the whole Czechoslovak people. This same attitude of dignified restraint and resolve was once again reaffirmed in the address of the Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires to the Council yesterday.

27. Precisely on that background and against the background of the great understanding which has marked the relationships between the peoples of Europe during the last years, we did think that there was ground for hope, that Czechoslovakia would be allowed to pursue its course to the ultimate benefit of everybody concerned. What happened was felt the more deeply.

28. Once again, we felt that across borders, irrespectively of different social systems, there exists a deep bond—a

bond of deep sympathy—between my country and the Czechoslovak people. The fate of Czechoslovakia is and must be at the centre of our attention. To the call for respect for the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia my country adds an appeal to the Soviet Union not to damage all the patient, painstaking efforts to build up a new and better relationship among the countries of Europe, between East and West.

29. In the course of our debate yesterday and during the informal conversations we have had with a number of other delegations, we observed on essential points widespread agreement which could form the basis for a resolution of this Council. Acting upon this basis, seven delegations—those of Brazil, Canada, France, Paraguay, the United States, the United Kingdom and Denmark—have submitted a draft resolution which I shall now read out to the Council and introduce on behalf of the seven delegations, it being understood that the text will shortly be circulated by the Secretariat.

30. The text of the draft resolution reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

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

*"Gravely concerned that, as announced by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, troops of the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact have entered their country without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Czechoslovakian Government,*

*"Considering that the action taken by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other members of the Warsaw Pact in invading the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a violation of the United Nations Charter and, in particular, of the principle that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State,*

*"Gravely concerned also by risks of violence and reprisals as well as by threats to individual liberty and human rights which cannot fail to result from imposed military occupation,*

*"Considering that the people of the sovereign State of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have the right, in accordance with the Charter, freely to exercise their own self-determination and to arrange their own affairs without external intervention,*

*"1. Affirms that the sovereign, political independence and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be fully respected;*

*"2. Condemns the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and calls upon them to take no action of violence or reprisal that could result in further*

suffering or loss of life, forthwith to withdraw their forces, and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs;

"3. *Calls upon* Member States of the United Nations to exercise their diplomatic influence upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other countries concerned with a view to bringing about prompt implementation of this resolution;

"4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to transmit this resolution to the countries concerned, to keep the situation under constant review, and to report to the Council on compliance with this resolution."

31. The draft resolution, we believe, speaks for itself. It is based upon three basic considerations. First, the inadmissibility of intervention in and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact. Second, our deep concern for the fate of the people of Czechoslovakia and their legitimate leaders in this serious hour. And, third, our demand that the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact cease to pursue their present course, withdraw all their military forces from Czechoslovakia, and desist from any further intervention in the internal affairs of that country. On those principles, then, the substance of the draft resolution is based.

32. It then goes on to call upon Member States to exercise their diplomatic influence, with a view to bringing about prompt implementation, and requests the Secretary-General to transmit the resolution to the countries concerned and to keep the situation under constant review and to report to the Council on the compliance with the resolution.

33. The right of each and every country to shape its own destiny is at stake. The seven delegations hope that the Council will act swiftly and adopt the draft resolution with the broadest support.

34. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): The latest news from Czechoslovakia has done nothing to dispel our fears and our anguish at the fate of Czechoslovakia, including the safety and well-being of its leaders and its people. It is poignant that even now, when Soviet tanks are in the streets of Prague and thousands of Warsaw Pact troops occupy the country, voices are still being raised in Czechoslovakia in support of the right of this small European State to arrange its own affairs without external intervention.

35. Taking into account the debate which took place here yesterday, I now have the honour to support the draft resolution just read out and introduced on behalf of the delegations of Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, United Kingdom and United States. This resolution, in our view, reflects the least we can do if the fundamental principles of the Charter have any meaning; if the small States of this world are to have any hope of international sympathy and support at a time of threat, intimidation and intervention in their internal affairs.

36. The draft resolution reflects the principles of the Charter which many representatives cited in their statements yesterday. One is the sovereign equality of all

Members of the United Nations, the very first principle mentioned in the Charter. Another is that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. These two principles stand out in the preamble of this text, together with an expression of grave concern for individual liberty and human rights. The preamble also includes a statement of fact, confirmed in this Council by the legitimate representative spokesman for the Czechoslovak Government, namely that troops of the Soviet Union and certain other members of the Warsaw Pact entered Czechoslovakia without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Czechoslovak Government.

37. The draft resolution, in its operative section, first of all affirms the need for full respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It is also the view of the co-sponsors that the Council cannot at this time do less than condemn the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and certain other members of the Warsaw Pact, calling on them forthwith to withdraw their forces and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovak internal affairs. Likewise, those responsible for this unwarranted and shameful intervention in the affairs of a small State struggling to follow its own path towards a freer society within the context of a socialist system are called upon to refrain from any acts of violence and to refrain from any reprisal which could result in further suffering or loss of life.

38. It is indeed intolerable, in the view of this delegation, that the lawful authorities of the Czechoslovak Government should be subjected to the indignity of being removed forcibly from public office.

39. Finally, the draft resolution calls on Member States of the United Nations to exercise their diplomatic influence upon the Soviet Union and the other countries concerned with a view to bringing about prompt implementation of this resolution and requests the Secretary-General to transmit this resolution to the countries concerned and to report to the Council on their compliance.

40. My delegation and the other co-sponsors of this text are firmly convinced that it contains the essentials of the position which the Security Council is bound to take at this time on the basis of maintaining the integrity of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

41. Yesterday, the representative of the Soviet Union had occasion to remark that the present situation in Czechoslovakia can only become "another dead question on the extremely long list of dead questions on the Security Council agenda". I think it should become clear to him and to his Government, and to the Governments of the other countries concerned, that world public opinion cannot be easily diverted from the raw facts of this case by any amount of spurious argument regarding the nature and alleged justification of this intervention which has taken place in the affairs of Czechoslovakia during the last forty-eight hours. The Soviet Union and its collaborators in this adventure should not be allowed to think that the governments, the Parliaments, the peoples of the world, can

either ignore or accept or allow to die the issue of Soviet-led intervention in the affairs of Czechoslovakia.

42. The facts speak for themselves, and, like a jack-in-the-box, once they have jumped out they cannot easily be put back again. In the name of my delegation, I request my colleagues in this Council to give the text which has been introduced the support it merits.

43. Mr. BALL (United States of America): My Government is joining with others this morning in sponsoring the draft resolution which has just been introduced by the representative of Denmark. That draft resolution makes three simple points: an inexcusable international crime has been committed; the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has been invaded and occupied by armed forces of the Soviet Union and certain of its Eastern European satellites. This action has been taken in the face of explicit and publicly expressed opposition from the Czechoslovak Government and people, an opposition that is growing in volume, intensity and sense of urgency in spite of the brutality of the occupying forces.

44. This action by the Soviet Union and four of its Eastern European puppets must be judged and condemned for what it is: a violation not only of the most rudimentary elements of international morality but also of the United Nations Charter, in particular the central principle that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

45. There are steps—very simple steps—that can be taken to redress the present situation. We must affirm here beyond the possibility of ambiguity or misunderstanding the fundamental right of the people of the sovereign State of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic freely to exercise their own self-determination and to arrange their own affairs without external intervention. We must make it clear to the world that the communist Governments have no special immunity from the requirement of the Charter to respect the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of other States.

46. The Soviet Union has long called for peaceful co-existence among States of different social systems. Is it too much to demand the same for States of similar systems?

47. We must insist that the Soviet Union and its four Eastern European client States immediately withdraw their forces from the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and cease all other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of that country, and finally we must urgently call on these same parties to refrain from further killings and tortures and outrages in Czechoslovakia that could exacerbate the situation, and to desist from all actions of terror or reprisal that could result in further suffering or loss of life. The need for this latter call is, alas, though not unexpectedly, underlined by the dramatic headlines announcing events that have taken place in the few short hours since this Council met last night. The world press is beginning to report the number of patriotic Czechoslovak citizens being killed and wounded in small but courageous acts of defiance against the occupying

forces. Radio Prague is continuing to broadcast to the world reports of the seizure and detainment by the occupying forces of top Czech leaders—First Secretary Dubcek, Prime Minister Cernik and Defence Minister Dzur, to mention only three who have been consigned to undisclosed destinations and doubtful fates. And a Prague television broadcast last night reported that Premier Cernik, abducted by the Soviets, has been brutally mistreated and is reportedly ill and in need of medical assistance.

48. The Czech radio has announced that the USSR has proclaimed martial law in Prague, beginning at noon today. The Soviet Commander of the invading forces has forbidden the issuance of leaflets and has banned all meetings. He has ordered a curfew to extend throughout the night and has announced that violators will be shot on sight. Large-scale arrests of cultural leaders and intellectuals are being carried out. The Soviet invading forces are seeking frantically to choke off the normal constitutional machinery of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. And, most recently, early this morning Radio Prague broadcast the news that according to “military circles of the Soviet occupation army” a new Government is to be formed at the Soviet embassy in Prague this morning. In fact it seems clearly apparent that the Soviet Union is in desperation trying to find the quislings traitorous enough to put their names to the strange and incoherent document which the Soviet representative read to us last night at great length and in the original Russian. The ominous addendum to this report from Radio Prague is that the list of legally elected Czechoslovak representatives to be arrested has already been prepared by the secret police.

49. The draft resolution before us demands of the USSR and its four Eastern European allies only what common decency requires of them. It does not ask them to give up anything which is theirs, to refrain from anything which they have any right to be doing, or to desist from any action which, if taken by others, they would not be the first to deplore and condemn, to use their all-purpose words, as “outrageous imperialism”. It asks only they do no more than abide in deed by those principles to which they repeatedly and loudly proclaim allegiance in words, principles in the Charter of the United Nations, principles in the General Assembly’s Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States, in whose initiation and sponsorship the Soviet Union took such pride, principles included in article 1 of the Warsaw Pact, and principles sanctimoniously reaffirmed at Bratislava less than three weeks ago in an agreement concluded between Czechoslovakia and the same five parties that are cynically engaged in the rape of that unhappy country.

50. In the short time that has passed since the dark hours of the night of 20 and 21 August, there has been an unparalleled outpouring of governmental and public indignation and revulsion against this, the most recent despoiling of Czechoslovakia. From every corner of the globe, from every continent, from the most remote outposts to which the winds have carried the news of this crime, the reaction has been the same. The world is revolted by the attempt to justify the invasion and occupation of a sovereign country on the preposterous grounds that it was undertaken in the interests of peace and security. The world is disgusted by

the pious assertion that this invasion and occupation of a sovereign country are merely "fraternal assistance". It is extended to a fellow-communist State.

51. Let me read to you the meaning of "fraternal assistance" as it is interpreted by the leaders of the Soviet Union. This is from a broadcast from Czechoslovakia:

"The military command of the occupation troops has issued an ultimatum to the remaining members of the Party Central Committee Presidium and to the Secretaries—that is aside from Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Cernik, Spacek, Kriegel and Cisar—to form a Party leadership and respectively to submit a draft list of a new Government, which would not include the above-named comrades.

"This ultimatum expires tonight. The Soviet authorities concerned recommend the following composition: Bulak, Indra, General Rytir, Pavlovski, and Lenart. If this is not done an occupation Government will be imposed which will depend directly on the Soviet troops. The rump Presidium has begun—or was to have begun—its session at about 12.00 hours."

52. Again from Radio Czechoslovakia, the general staff of the Czechoslovak Army has criticized the USSR for having violated all norms of international law. The Czechoslovak general staff calls emphatically for the withdrawal of the foreign troops and the release of the interned Czechoslovak politicians, so that they can resume their constitutional duties. The members of the general staff express their full support for the leadership of our State, headed by General Svoboda and Alexander Dubcek.

53. This is what is called fraternal assistance. It is a very curious kind of fraternal assistance and if the Soviet representative will not be offended by my reference to the Holy Bible, I can point out to him one famous precedent that may illuminate the answer to the question of what he means by fraternal assistance. The kind of fraternal assistance that the Soviet Union is according to Czechoslovakia is exactly the same kind that Cain gave to Abel.

54. The resounding, even deafening, outcry echoing through the world can be summed up in three simple words of admonition to the Soviet Union and its puppets: stop your aggression! That is the plea this Council must address to those who have invaded and now hold in bondage the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

55. Now, in conclusion, let me, if I may, address a word or two specifically to the Soviet representative, Ambassador Malik. What shame your Government must feel to be a part to this callous and brutal assault on the unoffending and defenceless Czechoslovakian people. What fright the men of the Kremlin must feel to risk the disgust and obloquy of the whole world because they see their dominance of their client States imperilled not by any threat of force but by the first fresh breath of freedom. You have said, Mr. Ambassador, that only imperialists oppose and deplore these brutal acts of your Government. Let me call the roll of those imperialists. That imperialist the Prime Minister of India; that imperialist His Holiness, Pope Paul; that im-

perialist President Ceausescu of Romania; that imperialist President Tito of Yugoslavia; that imperialist President Nyerere of Tanzania; those imperialists the leaders of the communist parties in France and Italy. These are only a very few of a very long list, a list that is growing hour by hour and day by day.

56. What shocks us all is the low appraisal that the Soviet leadership places on human intelligence. How gullible, how childishly credulous does it think humankind really is. No, the whole world can recognize naked aggression when it sees it and the frantic and frightened leaders of the Soviet Union cannot conceal it or disguise it, for the world has already found them out. It has found them out and it despises and is disgusted by their furtive and fraudulent efforts to drape tyranny with sanctimony and anoint it with piety.

57. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): This debate has proved beyond all doubt that a Member State of our Organization, an independent and free State, has witnessed and continues to witness a violation of its sovereignty by the invasion of foreign troops. As a result of that military occupation, its people is prevented from exercising the first and most basic of its rights, that of carrying on its own national self-determination. Such is the case of Czechoslovakia, which has been invaded by troops of the members of the Warsaw Treaty, led by units of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

58. At this dramatic and ominous moment, when fundamental national rights are being enslaved, our minimum individual and collective obligation is to cry out as loudly as possible in forceful condemnation of these acts treading underfoot the State which is the victim of this aggression—which is perfidious—and to express unhesitatingly condemnation of those who have perpetrated it and are continuing to do so.

59. The very foundations of relations between States, and the principles incorporated in the Charter, which are universally valid, are at stake. Without the slightest hesitation, in full awareness of the seriousness of this moment when, I repeat, what is at stake is the entire structure of international law—the basis of the security of all States which, like Czechoslovakia, cannot adequately defend themselves in view of the vast disproportion between their defensive means and the invading forces—we at least want our condemnation to sound out vigorously and firmly.

60. And we want something else too: we want this Council, in the name of the United Nations, to take a stand, and to do so clearly and without delay. This is why my delegation has decided to collaborate as co-sponsor of the draft resolution which was introduced a short while ago by the representative of Denmark and which, in our opinion, is the least—I repeat, the very least—a shocked world expects of us.

61. Among the Members of the United Nations, recalling my own country's past I think few States have shown such firm adherence, carried to the utmost extremes of individual and national sacrifices, as has Paraguay for the preservation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The



passing of time since then has turned those events of our saga into mere historical facts, but our elementary duty to ourselves, our past, and our own traditions motivates the position we are adopting today.

62. The PRESIDENT: As I have no speakers on my list, I should like to address the Council in my capacity as representative of BRAZIL.

63. I wish to state quite briefly and quite clearly the position of the Government of Brazil on the matter under consideration. The Government of Brazil views the situation created by the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia by forces of the Warsaw Pact countries with the utmost concern. Not only does this act constitute a flagrant and unwarranted violation of the United Nations Charter and of the principles of international law, not only does this intervention evidence that the use of brutal force is still resorted to as a means of settling problems and questions, but likewise—and what may be more serious in the long run—it poisons the whole international atmosphere, inasmuch as it introduces a new element of distrust, animosity and resentment among nations.

64. Patient and enduring efforts exerted by both sides towards a better understanding and towards a *détente* in the world political situation are now nullified and invalidated by a wholly unjustifiable act of violent intervention which puts the clock back several years and reverts to the bitter days of the cold war.

65. It is with sorrow, consternation and apprehension that the Government of Brazil makes this assessment and this evaluation. My country wishes to state its position quite clearly. We condemn the action undertaken by the Warsaw Pact Powers against the legal Government and the people of Czechoslovakia. It is our earnest opinion that the United Nations should speedily act on such deplorable and violent deeds. We do not subscribe to any theory of the spheres of influence or to any Tordesillas-like reallocation of the world along certain geographical lines. That is why we cannot accept the theory advanced here by the Soviet Union, according to which Warsaw Pact Powers are the sole arbiters of the freedom and sovereignty of its members.

66. Without entering into the merits of the obligations and commitments under the Warsaw Pact, it is quite clear to my delegation that, under Article 103, the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations shall prevail. And one of the obligations imposed by the Charter is the respect for the freedom, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States. The Charter confers special prerogatives on the major Powers, but by no means is the right to interfere militarily included among such prerogatives. This action not only goes beyond the Charter; it clearly violates it.

67. The only sphere of influence my country recognizes is the sphere of the influence of law and peaceful association among all States of the world. For those very reasons my delegation does not hesitate to deplore and condemn the action now undertaken against the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia, who are entitled to freedom and to sovereignty and who are entitled to live in peace, unhampered by the presence of foreign military troops.

68. It is in this spirit and upon such premises that the delegation of Brazil joins the delegations of Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, the United Kingdom and the United States, as a co-sponsor of the draft resolution which has been tabled before this Council today by the delegation of Denmark.

69. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I shall confine myself to a short reply, reserving the right to speak later on at the next meeting and to show the groundlessness, the fictitious and slanderous nature of the whole so-called “reasoning” put forward here by the representatives of the NATO countries. No matter how the American delegate—the main orchestra conductor of the repulsive comedy begun yesterday—tries to deny the participation of imperialism in this whole business, he will never under any circumstances succeed in doing so. This shameful comedy begun yesterday goes on. The minor NATO members have performed as soloists. Then even the representative of the dead Chiang Kai-shek régime joined in the anti-Soviet, anti-communist chorus. The position of American imperialism is indeed weak, if it even resorts to this method, to this way of reasoning.

70. Today I shall confine myself to a report just received from Moscow, a Tass report, so that it may be obvious to everybody whence the American delegate derives his slanderous statements concerning the situation in Czechoslovakia, his insinuations and the so-called facts he refers to. They are all fabrications. All of them are prepared by clandestine radio stations and printing plants. They are all manufactured by the counter-revolutionaries. And these slanderous fabrications and falsehoods are snatched up by imperialist propaganda, which hastens to see them as the official expression of Czechoslovakia's position and of its public opinion.

71. Here, in the Security Council, these slanderous fabrications are snatched up by the American, British and other delegates of the NATO countries.

72. I shall now read the Tass report.

“According to reports coming in from Czechoslovakia, the situation in the country remains normal. Industrial and agricultural enterprises and State institutions are working as usual. The population of Czechoslovakia, obeying the call of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ludvik Svoboda, is displaying calm with a sense of its civic responsibility. The command of the allied troops, which is in contact with the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army, is co-operating to ensure the internal and external security of the Czechoslovak Socialist State.

“As reported earlier, the anti-socialist forces are trying to disrupt normal life in the country and to create complications, counting on inflaming national passions and hostility towards the healthy patriotic forces of Czechoslovakia which are devoted to the cause of socialism, and towards the fraternal countries which have come to the aid of the Czechoslovak people. . . .”

73. That's just it, Mr. Ball: “have come to the aid of the Czechoslovak people”; the fraternal countries have come to help against the threat of imperialism from the West.

"...The hostile elements are striving to aggravate the situation at all costs, committing grave crimes. Thus they arrested a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Rudé Pravo*, Comrade Svestka, and issued a special number of this newspaper—which is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—containing attacks on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Comrade Svestka was released from arrest by Soviet troops."

74. American propaganda, which is in the hands and defends the interests of the large-scale monopoly capital in that country, and which is the main spokesman of Wall Street, has seized upon this slanderous version and spread it in every possible way, claiming that Comrade Svestka was arrested by Soviet troops. But in fact, it was the Soviet troops who freed him from arrest by the counter-revolutionary forces, to whom the American delegate gave instructions and whom he incited in his statement yesterday.

"The counter-revolutionary forces, particularly in Prague, are resorting to dangerous actions. They organized sabotage in the central district of Prague: they burned four Soviet armoured personnel carriers and set fire to neighbouring buildings. These saboteurs are also trying to put means of communication and transport out of operation and to cut off the population's food supply.

"The counter-revolutionaries have put previously prepared clandestine radio transmitters and printing presses in operation. The slanderous fabrications and falsehoods manufactured this way by the counter-revolutionaries are being snatched up by imperialist propaganda, which hastens to view them as the expression of Czechoslovakia's official position and that of its public opinion. . . ."

75. It should be mentioned particularly in this connexion that the greatest activity in the dissemination, exaggeration and ceaseless repetition of this slanderous propaganda, coming from the counter-revolutionaries through their previously prepared clandestine radio transmitters, is displayed by American propaganda.

"Also in this connexion there is a groundless attempt of some of the Western Powers to drag the so-called 'question of Czechoslovakia' up for discussion by the Security Council of the United Nations."

76. And in this connexion it must be pointed out, in particular, that those who have been most active in trying to drag this question up for discussion in the Council are precisely the American representatives. They are trying to exploit to their advantage the wholly legitimate, well-founded and historically justified actions of the group of socialist States to provide aid and co-operation to a fraternal socialist republic and in defence of Czechoslovakia's socialist system against the threat of reaction and counter-revolution which is acting on directives and instructions from abroad and playing the specific role of imperialist agents in this country. This explains why the

American representative, in co-operation with the British, the Canadians and the other members of the NATO military aggressive bloc aimed against the socialist community in Europe, has displayed such frenzied and, I would say, uncharacteristic activity in order to drag this question into the Security Council for discussion.

77. However, I shall continue reading the Tass report.

"On the evening of 21 August the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic pointed out the groundlessness of the attempts to put this matter before the United Nations Organization, stressing that Czechoslovakia will not agree to a discussion of it in the United Nations, since questions of reciprocal relations between Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are settled among themselves within the framework of the socialist community."

78. And it should be further noted that the Czechoslovak Government, which was represented at this table yesterday, did not propose and did not insist on an examination of this question in the Security Council. The representatives of the NATO member countries were the ones who insisted on it. It was they who, making a laughing stock of themselves before the whole world, suddenly, unexpectedly became active defenders of socialism and communism, defenders of socialist Czechoslovakia. We may well ask Mr. Ball and Lord Caradon: which socialist Czechoslovakia are you defending? Those elements which have tried to make it suit your plans and plots or the one which is a genuine socialist country, an active, equal, free, sovereign State in the association of genuine socialist States?

79. Yesterday it was shown how false and hypocritical were these crocodile tears of the representatives of the imperialist Powers trying to act as though they are defending socialism in Czechoslovakia. The Security Council has never yet witnessed a more ridiculous and, I may say frankly, more repulsive spectacle than this, where the representatives of monopoly capital play the part of defenders of socialism and communism and, what's more, even of communist unity.

80. The socialist countries and their peoples declare aloud, positively, officially and for all to hear: the imperialists are not to stick their noses into socialist and communist affairs. Otherwise, they may have no noses left.

81. The reciprocal relations between Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries have been, are and will continue to be settled by the peoples and countries of the socialist community themselves, and the peoples and countries of socialism will not tolerate any outside interference. And appropriate and effective measures will be taken against anybody who tries to interfere.

82. I shall continue the Tass report:

"On the evening of 21 August, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ludvik Svoboda, spoke again over the Czechoslovak radio, making a speech in which he addressed a plea to the country's population to maintain calm and guard the mainstays of socialism, freedom and democracy."

83. I consider it possible to confine myself to this brief reply at the present meeting, reserving the right to speak at greater length at the next meeting.

84. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I had intended to make a short statement on the draft resolution which has now been presented to us, but I would also wish to say a word in reply to the speech we have listened to from the Ambassador of the Soviet Union.

85. He has referred to our proceedings here as "a repulsive comedy"; but all of us are much more concerned, of course, with the repulsive tragedy which is taking place in Czechoslovakia as a result of the evil intervention of the Soviet Union. He asked us what Czechoslovakia we support. I would simply answer him by saying that when we wish to be informed about Czechoslovakia and the wishes of its people, we prefer to listen to the acknowledged leaders of Czechoslovakia: to the President, to the First Secretary of the Communist Party, to the Premier, and to the well-known leaders who have been speaking for their country. When we wish to be informed about Czechoslovakia we go to the Czechoslovakians and not, as he does, to Tass. The Czechoslovakia of Tass is not the Czechoslovakia which we wish to hear. It is the Czechoslovakia of the people of Czechoslovakia who have made their wishes and their views exceedingly plain even in these days of intervention and suppression. Their statements are the statements which have dominated our debate. The statements of the Czechoslovak leaders have exploded, more effectively than any academic debate could possibly do, the arguments put to us by the Soviet Union. What are those arguments?

86. First, the Soviet Union has been seeking to argue that Czechoslovakia was threatened by the West. My Government has, throughout the crisis of recent months, been at pains to avoid any comment on the affairs of Czechoslovakia or any action which might be misunderstood or which might increase tension in the area. It has been our steadfast view, in the words of my Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons on 18 July, that "it is not for us to order the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, not for us or for anyone else except the people of Czechoslovakia". It is perfectly plain that the only real threat to Czechoslovakia has been in the fear of brutal action by its allies.

87. Second, the Soviet Union has argued that a threat existed to Czechoslovakia from within. The plain fact is that the Soviet bullying in recent months has made it quite clear to the world that the Czechoslovak people have been more united behind their leaders recently than they have been at any time in the last twenty years.

88. Third, the Soviet Union has claimed that the invasion was in response to a request from the Czechoslovak Government. The clear and repeated statements from the Czechoslovak leaders themselves have utterly destroyed that claim. No one in the world believes it. The Czechoslovak leaders have themselves made it perfectly plain that the Soviet Union's action not only conflicts with the United Nations Charter and with the principles of international law, but violates as well the terms of the Warsaw Pact and the agreements between Czechoslovakia and its neighbours. And no one is a better judge of that than Czechoslovakia itself.

89. The Soviet Union has repeated its adherence to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States. Their intervention has made a mockery of this, particularly coming, as it does, a bare fortnight after their public reaffirmation of that principle in Bratislava.

90. I should like to say one further word about the wider significance and repercussions of this evil invasion. We have all recognized that it is a tragedy: a tragedy for Czechoslovakia, a tragedy for Europe, a tragedy for the world. There have been so many patient and persevering efforts over recent years to end the futility and frustration of the cold war and to establish an effective, working understanding between East and West. My country has consistently and sincerely worked for that purpose. Many others have laboured with us to establish the confidence which is necessary for world progress. Many of us had hoped that we were making advances towards a better understanding and towards more effective co-operation between East and West. The Soviet actions have now dealt a heavy blow at that confidence, and unless the actions of the past forty-eight hours are promptly reversed the cause of better relations between East and West will have been thrown right back.

91. Can this really be in the interests of any of us? Is the Soviet Union so indifferent to the hopes and desires of mankind? Are the Soviet leaders so blind to the consequences of their action as far as the welfare of their own people is concerned?

92. Our duty here in this Council is clear. We should not hesitate to adopt the draft resolution and to adopt it without delay. Some people say that there is no force or effect in resolutions. Not so. It is clearly of the utmost necessity and urgency that the invasion should be immediately condemned in the clearest terms. So the Czechoslovak leaders believe, and they are the best judges. That is our immediate duty. We should not fail to do it. We should not fail to do it now.

93. Mr. BALL (United States of America): I want to avail myself of the right of reply since a great deal of what the representative of the Soviet Union has said this morning has been aimed at me and at my Government.

94. First, let me say to him that I am not defending socialism and communism as he insists, as he accuses my Government of doing. What we are seeking to do is to defend freedom and freedom is very, very different from the kind of socialism and communism with which the representative of the USSR is all too familiar.

95. Let me point out also, to underline what Lord Caradon has said, that it is rather remarkable that the Soviet representative has made no attempt to reply to the utterly damning statements which were made by the leaders of the Czechoslovak Government and which were read to us last night by the Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia.

96. I was struck also by the fact that the Soviet representative read a statement from Tass referring to a speech by President Svoboda. But what he neglected to say

was what the real content of that speech was, because what President Svoboda said was:

"Dear fellow citizens,

"I am addressing you for the second time during this fateful day. We are going through exceptionally grave moments in the life of our nation. Military units of the Soviet Union, together with units of the Polish People's Republic, Bulgarian People's Republic, German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic have stepped on the soil of our Republic. This took place without the agreement of the constitutional bodies of the State, bodies which, however, proceeding from their responsibility to the nations of our homeland must speedily solve the situation thus created and achieve a departure of the foreign troops soon."

97. Finally, let me observe how struck I have been again and again during these past two days in listening to the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Government, to detect the psychological undertones which he discloses when he speaks about the reactions of the brave people of Czechoslovakia to this invasion. All of them who take any steps to interfere with this invasion are, I believe the term is, "counter-revolutionaries obviously propped up by imperialists". I am getting very familiar with this terminology—all too familiar, I am afraid.

98. It was evident to me, as I remarked last night, that the Soviet Government regards Czechoslovakia as a Soviet colony and insists that it be treated as such. But as regards the attitude which the Soviet representative displays toward the people of Czechoslovakia and their reactions, I can only recall an anecdote told by a very famous English writer, Dean Swift. What he said was this: "This dog, Sir, is vicious and dangerous and should be destroyed. When attacked he defends himself."

99. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary): At this moment I should only like to point out that yesterday evening the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry made a statement and pointed out that Czechoslovakia does not agree to the discussion of the matter at the United Nations and considers that the relations between Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries are decided by themselves within the framework of the socialist community. In this connexion I should also like to point to the fact that no Czechoslovak representatives appeared this morning in the Security Council. They did not answer the call of the President. These two facts are closely connected. Of course it should be substantiated, but it may happen that yesterday, at the time when the Acting Representative of Czechoslovakia spoke, his instructions were quite different. Their absence underlines the opinion of the most interested party in this discussion, Czechoslovakia.

100. It seems to me that the draft resolution which would be adopted by the Security Council would not render any help to the Czechoslovak people; it would only aggravate the situation and only do harm.

101. The PRESIDENT: I wish to acquaint the members of the Council with the fact that the Permanent Repre-

sentative of Bulgaria has addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council which was received a short time ago. The letter reads as follows:

*(The speaker continued in French.)*

"Mr. President,

"On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you that, in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter, I should like to participate, without right to vote, in the debate on the question now before the Security Council.

"I have the honour to be, etc.

"Yours, etc.

*"(Signed) Milko TARABANOV*

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
and Permanent Representative of Bulgaria  
to the United Nations."*

*(The speaker continued in English.)*

102. In accordance with the normal practice of the Council, and if there is no objection, I propose to invite the representative of Bulgaria to participate in the discussion at our next meeting, without the right to vote, pursuant to his request under the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

103. The PRESIDENCY has held some consultations as to the time of our next meeting. A majority of delegations is in favour of our meeting at 4 o'clock this afternoon. The opinion has been advanced by two or three delegations that we might meet at a later hour, say 6 p.m. I wonder if we could find a compromise solution by meeting at about 5 p.m. or 5.30 p.m.

104. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) *(translated from French)*: If I have understood you correctly, Mr. President, there is no speaker on the list for the meeting proposed for 4 p.m. this afternoon?

105. The PRESIDENT: That is correct.

106. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) *(translated from French)*: If there were any speakers on the list for the 4 p.m. meeting, my delegation would have no objection to the meeting being held at that time as you, Mr. President, have proposed.

107. The practice is that, if delegations express their wish to speak, the Council and the President comply with that wish. The President has been kind enough to inform me that no delegation has expressed its desire to speak. Furthermore, each of the delegations present here is aware of certain important developments which might assist some delegations in defining their final positions. We are among those who are concerned above all with respect for the Charter, for international law, and not with the establishment of a cold war situation which is always detrimental to

our peoples, including, in this case, the Czechoslovak people.

108. My delegation considers it necessary respectfully to draw your attention to the fact that, for known and obvious practical reasons, the French text of the draft resolution could not be submitted to my Government. By the same token, my delegation feels that consultations could be undertaken immediately, in keeping with a rightly established tradition. I recall that on several occasions certain delegations—and not the smallest—have been accused of wishing to act without prior consultations and without having made the necessary efforts by every means in their power to arrive at the broadest agreement possible.

109. I am convinced that my delegation has always shown the concern which prompts us all, namely, with the attempt to combine the twofold imperative of rapid action and of agreement which is equally broad and effective.

110. For all these reasons, my delegation would very much wish that, unless there are representatives who wish to speak, the members of the Council may immediately engage in the widest possible all-embracing consultations and that they remain on call to attend any meeting which may be convened as soon as it becomes necessary.

111. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Algeria has proposed, if I understood him correctly, that we adjourn this meeting now, with no set time for the next meeting, and that that meeting would be convened as soon as possible after consultations have been made.

112. Are there any comments on this suggestion of the representative of Algeria?

113. Mr. BALL (United States of America): The matter we are concerned with is one of very great importance to the whole world, and the world is watching this body to see how it responds to the very dangerous and grievous situation with which it is presented. Meanwhile, the occupation is being consolidated in Czechoslovakia; people are being imprisoned; people are disappearing; the troops are imposing martial law.

114. I think, under the circumstances, for this Council to adjourn without a fixed date would be a very great mistake and could lead to enormous misunderstanding concerning the seriousness of our purpose. I appreciate the interest and desire of the representative of Algeria to consult, but I do not see why that consultation could not take place between now and 5 p.m., and I would propose that we adjourn until 5 p.m.

115. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (*translated from French*): In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I wish to make it clear that I had no intention of asking that the meeting of the Council be adjourned *sine die*. It is customary, when the Council deals with such serious situations, for all the members of the Council to remain constantly at the disposal of the President of the Security Council so that they may be called to meet at any hour of the day or night.

116. It has been brought to my attention—and, I believe, to that of many other delegations around this table—that new events might be placed before us in the course of the afternoon. Moreover, my Government has not yet taken note of the text of the draft resolution which will be the subject of governmental consultations in my capital, and of consultations with friendly delegations and members of the Security Council.

117. For all these reasons, and in the light of my short and modest experience, I find it difficult to imagine that these consultations could lead to any results between now and 5 p.m. or even between now and 6 or 7 p.m. However, if these consultations should lead to any conclusions before 5 p.m., my delegation would be perfectly willing to attend a meeting of the Security Council when it is convened by the President.

118. It is not a question of adjourning *sine die*, but of allowing the delegations to communicate with their Governments; of enabling certain delegations to take note of certain information which they are awaiting with the greatest impatience; of allowing certain delegations to continue the consultations they have already begun this morning, and it is also a matter of remaining constantly at the disposal of the President of the Security Council and of attending any meeting which may be called as soon as this becomes necessary.

119. The PRESIDENT: Are there any further comments?

120. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): We are aware that there are new elements. They have been only too frequently referred to, that is, that the Government of Czechoslovakia is in the process of being changed, in the process of being changed today.

121. I do hope that we are not going to wait until we receive representations from a new government which says, and confirms the statement, which the representative of Hungary has made, that the new government would of course not wish to continue this discussion. I would suggest that the custom is, as our colleague from Algeria says, that, in a situation as fraught with dangers and followed with such anxiety by so many people, we should continue the consultations and should call the meeting of the Council, as you have suggested, Mr. President, for 5 o'clock. If the consultations do not permit the actual beginning of the meeting—this has happened before, I am afraid—we will have to continue consultations until they do, but I think that we should have an understanding that, when we adjourn today, the consultations start forthwith and that we meet at 5 o'clock. If the formal meeting has to be delayed, it will not be the first time this has happened in similar situations.

122. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary): I would like to say that I feel that the logic and argumentation of the representative of Algeria are very valid, and I fully agree with his argumentation.

123. I should like to add that there is really more than one delegation among the members of the Council that has not expressed itself and has not addressed the Council, and if

there are no speakers for the next meeting this is an indication that, at present, they are not in a position to make statements and to declare their stand. Therefore it is fair, I think, not to convene the meeting too hastily and to press a decision. And I should like to add the problem of the difference in time between New York and some of the capitals—it is sometimes eight hours or more. Therefore, there are certain problems in communication with Governments and in getting instructions. So I appeal to you, Mr. President, to take these problems into consideration.

124. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): First of all, I am sure that we would all welcome what the representative of Algeria has put to us, that it is necessary for us to continue in urgent consultation—very valuable, very necessary—but it is also essential that we should proceed with our work with urgency, and show that we are proceeding with our work with a sense of due urgency.

125. Therefore, I believe it is right that we should fix a time for our next meeting, and I hope that we shall now do so. Consultations can and will proceed, of course, and, as the representative of Canada has pointed out, if the consultations were at a critical stage, it would of course be perfectly possible for us to postpone the meeting beyond the time arranged.

126. With that in mind and in order that we should not unduly delay on a simple procedural matter, I would formally propose that this Council should adjourn until 5 o'clock this afternoon, on the understanding that if consultations make it desirable we can postpone the meeting from that time.

127. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United Kingdom has formally moved that we adjourn now the meeting until 5 o'clock, with the understanding he has stated. According to rule 33, any motion for the suspension or for a simple adjournment of the meeting shall be decided without debate.

128. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (*translated from French*): I am afraid that I did not receive the entire interpretation of the statement you just made, Mr. President. I thought that the representative of the United Kingdom mentioned the understanding that if consultations reached a critical stage then the meeting could be postponed. That was my understanding.

129. The PRESIDENT: I ask the representative of the United Kingdom to clarify his motion.

130. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I thought that you had already stated it perfectly clearly, Mr. President—that I formally proposed that we should adjourn until 5 o'clock this afternoon and meet again at that time, but that if consultations which will proceed in the interval made it desirable, it would of course be within our power to adjourn that meeting at that time. My proposal was a formal one, that we adjourn until 5 o'clock.

131. The PRESIDENT: I intend to put it immediately to the consideration of the Security Council.

132. The representative of the Soviet Union has asked for the floor. I understand it to be on a point of order.

133. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I regret that in bending over your table you did not notice my hand, which was raised to signify my request for the floor. I had asked for the floor before you said you were proceeding to a vote. I should therefore like to say a few words to state the views of the Soviet delegation on the question mentioned by the Algerian representative.

134. According to established practice, proposals and wishes of this kind, and the arguments advanced by the Algerian representative and subsequently added to and strengthened by the Hungarian representative, deserve attention. Proposals and wishes of this kind deserve to be taken into consideration inasmuch as they are reasonable, logical, well-founded and entirely in accordance with the established practice in the work of the Security Council from way back. This is a matter of respect, of courtesy towards sufficiently well-founded requests and wishes (the arguments advanced were substantiated) to which the other members cannot but agree. And usually, as a rule, according to established practice, wishes of this kind have been considered and taken into account. And in view of this objective fact, and considering the established and accepted practice in the work of the Security Council, nothing so very terrible would happen if, for example, the Security Council were to meet tomorrow in consideration of the wishes of those representatives who, for the reasons they have given, prefer that no meeting be held today, even in the evening.

135. Of course, the American representative's statement, in which he demands and insists on having the Security Council convened perforce, makes a rather strange impression. And the impression it creates is that he has a burning desire to exert pressure both on the members and on the President of the Council. Such a practice is hardly appropriate under the conditions of the established practice in the work of the Security Council. The proposals and considerations expressed by the Algerian representative and strengthened by the representative of Hungary are fully justified and wholly appropriate.

136. Why does the American representative ignore them? As for the British representative, he goes even further: he is already proposing a formal vote, expecting to have a majority. But this is not the accepted way of settling such questions. I see no reason to disregard the wishes of the representative of Algeria, and to force this matter to be put to a vote. If such a proposal is being made, and if the representative of the United Kingdom insists on this, then we can draw only one conclusion: he is pursuing some special ends of his own. He has said nothing about that; he has referred to the Canadian representative. But the Canadian delegate was franker about the reasons for haste, about why he is in a hurry. He revealed the reason. He is afraid the end has come for the counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia.

137. And no matter how much haste there is here, you will not succeed in giving any aid. Therefore, you have put your cards on the table, you have explained the reasons. But this is not a sufficiently respectable reason for disregarding the reasonable considerations expressed by the

Algerian representative. Even if you are in such a hurry, nothing will happen if the meeting is set for tomorrow, taking into account the wishes of the representative of Algeria, supported by the Hungarian representative.

138. The PRESIDENT: On the point raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, I wish to reassure him that the President of the Security Council is not subject to pressure of any kind from any member, permanent or non-permanent. The only pressure that is exerted on the President is the pressure of the rules of procedure, and that is the only pressure I recognize and admit to.

139. I understand that it has been the general practice to have informal consultations as to the holding of the next meeting. Those informal consultations were held. All delegations were consulted, and the result of the consultations is that twelve delegations agreed that we should meet at 4 o'clock and three delegations proposed a later hour. Quite frankly, I stated that although there was a tentative majority agreement on having a meeting at 4 p.m., I realized that some delegations had expressed the view that we could meet at a later hour. I therefore acquainted the members of the Security Council with the results of my consultations.

140. A formal proposal was then made to the effect that we adjourn until 5 p.m. this afternoon. According to rule 33, when a motion is made for the suspension or temporary adjournment of a meeting, it shall be decided upon without debate. Therefore, according to the rules of procedure, which exert a certain pressure on the President, I propose that we come to a decision. I think the simplest procedure will be for me to ask those who are in agreement with the motion advanced by the representative of the United Kingdom so to indicate by raising their hands.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Paraguay, Senegal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Algeria, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*The motion for adjournment was adopted by 10 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

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