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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1441)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
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)	12

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-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 21 August 1968, at 5.30 p.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/1441)

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).

1. The PRESIDENT: The 1441st meeting of the Security Council is called to order.

2. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

3. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, in connection with document S/8758 of 21 August 1968¹ which was distributed to the members of the Security Council, I would like to read the letter addressed to you by the Soviet delegation concerning the above-mentioned letter of the six delegations:

"The Governments of the United States of America and of several other countries which are allies of the United States have addressed a letter to you requesting the convening of a meeting of the Security Council to consider the question of the present situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

"There is, however, no basis for consideration of this matter by the Security Council. As you are aware, military units of the Socialist countries have entered the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic pursuant to a request by the Government of that State, which appealed to allied Governments for assistance, including assistance in the form of armed forces, in view of the threat created by foreign and domestic reaction to the socialist social order and the constitutional State system of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Government and the Governments of other allied States decided to meet the

Czechoslovak Government's request for military assistance in conformity with mutual treaty obligations and on the basis of the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

"Needless to say, the above-mentioned military units will be withdrawn from the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as soon as the present threat to security is eliminated and the lawful authorities find that the presence of those units is no longer necessary.

"The actions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are prompted by concern for strengthening peace and ensuring that the foundations of European security are not undermined. Attempts to present these actions in a different light can in no way alter our peaceful intentions or diminish the right of the socialist countries to individual and collective self-defence.

"The Soviet Government has repeatedly warned that the attempts of imperialist reaction to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and in relations between the socialist countries will not be tolerated and will be firmly rebuffed. It takes this opportunity to call once again upon all States to observe strictly the principles of respect for sovereignty and independence and of the inadmissibility of direct or indirect aggression against other States and peoples.

"On the instructions of the Soviet Government, I wish to inform you that the Soviet Union vigorously opposes consideration of this question by the Security Council, since that would serve the interests of certain foreign circles, which represent forces of aggression. The events in Czechoslovakia are a matter that concerns the Czechoslovak people and the States of the socialist community, which are bound by appropriate mutual obligations."

4. I request you, Mr. President, to circulate this letter as an official Security Council document.

5. The PRESIDENT: The document will be circulated as requested.²

6. This afternoon's meeting of the Security Council has been convened after consultations with the members of the Council pursuant to the urgent request which I received earlier this afternoon.

Adoption of the agenda

7. The PRESIDENT: The first item on the agenda is the adoption of the agenda [S/Agenda/1441].

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1968, p. 136.*

² Later circulated as document S/8759.

8. Mr. BALL (United States of America): Six Governments have requested that the item, the present serious situation in Czechoslovakia, be inscribed on the agenda of the Security Council. There is not the slightest doubt that this request is proper, that it is demanded by the present crisis and that its inscription should be promptly effected if the Council is to live up to the responsibilities given it by the Charter.

9. The situation the world faces tonight is an affront to all civilized sensibilities. Foreign armies, without warning, have invaded a Member State of the United Nations. If the Security Council does not seize itself of this gross violation of the Charter and deal with it promptly and incisively, its vitality and integrity, its very seriousness of purpose, will be subject to serious question.

10. Rarely has a situation come before the Council where the ugly facts of aggression have been written so large and in such unmistakable characters. The Soviet Union has arrogantly announced to the world that it has sent its armies into Czechoslovakia, and the evidence is beyond question that it and its clients have done so in order to impose by force a repressive political system which is plainly obnoxious to the people and leadership of Czechoslovakia.

11. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European accomplices have not even tried to conceal the fact of this invasion. How could they? Rather—in a feeble and futile effort at self-justification—they have fabricated the claim that this invasion was requested by Czechoslovakia, with the contention that what we confront is an internal matter which is none of the business of the Security Council. We all know that this claim is a fraud, an inept and obvious fraud.

12. Only a few days ago the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact Allies which joined with it in last night's aggression met with the Czechoslovak Communist Party at Bratislava. The whole world took note of the astonishing fact that present at the meeting was almost the entire Soviet Politburo and that the Czechoslovak representatives included the leading members of the Politburo of that country. This was a situation, therefore, in which the Soviet leaders and the leaders of its allies were sitting down in solemn conclave with what they clearly recognized as the authoritative leaders of Czechoslovakia. And at the conclusion of the meeting they all joined in a communiqué affirming their "unbreakable friendship" and their "firm resolve to do everything in their power to deepen the all round co-operation of their countries".

13. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Hungary on a point of order.

14. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary): I should like to know whether the statement of the representative of the United States is an explanatory statement, because it seems to me that he is trying to explain the substance of the letter of the six countries—what is not written in that letter—and it seems to me that the agenda has not been adopted.

15. The PRESIDENT: On the point of order raised by the representative of Hungary, I ask for his patience and

forbearance due to the fact that we are now discussing the matter of the adoption of the agenda. So, although I expect all representatives to be very brief and to the point, I cannot take the position that the representative of the United States is out of order, all the more so since I have allowed the representative of the Soviet Union to state his objections at the beginning in reading a letter.

16. I ask the representative of the United States to proceed.

17. Mr. BALL (United States of America): What was most piquant about this communiqué was that they made this affirmation "on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence".

18. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

19. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I am inclined to consider that the statement of the representative of Hungary is fully justified. We are in fact discussing the question of the agenda.

20. You referred to the fact that I had read a letter. Yes, but that letter was addressed to you in reply to the letter of the six Government delegations. I have not yet entered into a discussion of the substance of this question, since I consider that this is premature. However, the representative of the United States, taking advantage of the fact that we are discussing only the question of the inscription of the six-delegation proposal on the agenda has already begun to deal with its substance—as he sees it, of course—although that is really a misinterpretation of it.

21. We shall present the relevant provisions of the Bratislava Conference communiqué which consider United States policy regarding Viet-Nam, the Middle East and Europe, as well as many other parts of the world; in the light of this it is odd, to say the least, for the American representative to play the part of advocate of the declaration of the six Communist parties, and even more so for him to mention it at the beginning of a discussion on a question of procedure.

22. Therefore, it seems to me that we should consider very carefully the question raised by the representative of Hungary, bearing in mind that the point of the discussion is a procedural question in connexion with the proposal made by the six delegations concerning the agenda.

23. The Soviet delegation has expressed its objections not only to the inscription of the above-mentioned matter on the agenda, but to the convening of the Security Council as well, since this matter does not come within the purview of the Council. Therefore, at the present stage the speakers should confine themselves to the procedural aspect of the problem.

24. I do not insist on consecutive interpretation on the usual understanding.

25. The PRESIDENT: On the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, I can only state that as

President I hope that all the statements on the adoption of the agenda and all the points of order raised will be brief and to the point.

26. Taking that into consideration and in this spirit I should like to ask the representative of the United States to proceed. It is my intention that we should reach a decision on the agenda as soon as possible so that we may know where we stand. I call on the representative of the United States.

27. Mr. BALL (United States of America): I want to say very emphatically that we are deeply concerned to get on with the agenda tonight. It is perfectly normal, however, when Governments sponsor the inscription of an item on the agenda that they explain the reasons why they do, particularly when the inscribing of the item has been challenged, as it has been, by the representative of the Soviet Union.

28. What I am doing is to explain the reasons why it is not only proper but imperative that this item be inscribed so that we can get on to the serious consideration of the very great crisis that we face tonight. I can well understand, I may say, why the representative of the Soviet Union is disturbed by my quoting the Bratislava communiqué—if I were he, under those circumstances I should also be ashamed of it.

29. Tonight the most piquant aspect of that communiqué is that the affirmation was made "on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity and fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity". Tonight most, if not all, of the Czechoslovak representatives who met at Bratislava are under detention.

30. The Soviet Government, having shown its customary respect for their "sovereignty and territorial integrity" by invading their country, is claiming that they do not speak for their country—that that privilege belongs to some vague and unnamed individuals. At Bratislava there was no question in the minds of the Soviet Union as to who were the leaders of Czechoslovakia, nor could there be for the whole world knew the facts. Yet, did those leaders request that their country be attacked and overrun by foreign troops?

31. Last night, when the invasion occurred, Radio Prague, the official Government station, broadcast the following statement with regard to the invasion: "This (the invasion) happened without the knowledge of the President of the Republic, the Chairman of the National Assembly, the Premier or the First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee". This morning the Permanent Mission to the United Nations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic released a declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Government. That declaration stated that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the endorsement of the President of the Republic, lodged with the embassies of the Soviet Union and its puppets in Prague a "resolute protest with the requirement that the illegal occupation of Czechoslovakia be stopped without delay and all armed troops be withdrawn from Czecho-

slovakia". The declaration expressed the hope that the offending Governments "will understand the seriousness of the situation created by this action which cannot be explained in any way and all the less may stand to reason, and will make it immediately possible for the Czechoslovak people and its legitimate representatives to continue their activities without delay".

32. The issuing of this declaration was a brave act which all free men must applaud. For where are the responsible officials of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry while their country is occupied?

33. Last night, as the invading forces poured into Prague, the embassy of a respected neutral country found itself surrounded. When the embassy officials protested by telephone to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry they were told that the officials of the Foreign Ministry could do nothing to help "since they were prisoners themselves".

34. Just before the Council met this evening, the Permanent Mission of Czechoslovakia issued an additional declaration which reads as follows:

"The deputies of the National Assembly met and unanimously accepted the following declaration at a time when the Government and other organs cannot exercise their functions.

"(1) We identify ourselves with the declarations of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Presidium of the National Assembly protesting against the occupation of Czechoslovakia by armies of the five countries of the Warsaw Treaty and considering it as a violation of international law, provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and the principles of equality among nations.

"(2) We request that the constitutional representatives, primarily President of the Republic Ludvík Svoboda, Prime Minister Oldřich Černík, Chairman of the National Assembly Josef Smrkovský, First Secretary Alexander Dubček, Chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front Dr. František Kriegel, Chairman of the Czech National Council Cestmír Císar and others be released from internment and thus could exercise their constitutional functions with which the sovereign people of this country entrusted them. The delegation of the National Assembly, which we sent to the Soviet Embassy this morning, has not returned so far. We protest against the fact that the National Assembly, Government, institutions of the National Front and their representatives are prevented from exercising their legitimate rights and further from freedom of movement and assembly.

"(3) We categorically request immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the five States of the Warsaw Treaty and full respect for the State sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

"(4) We appeal to parliaments of all countries and to the world public opinion and ask them to support our legitimate requirements.

"(5) We entrust the delegation of the National Assembly, composed of Marie Miková, Josef Macek, Josef

Vallo, Pavel Repos, Josef Pospíchal and Václav Kucera to contact Chairman of the National Assembly Josef Smrkovský, President of the Republic Ludvík Svoboda and Prime Minister Černík, in order to inform them about this decision and agree with them on further proceeding. The delegation of the National Assembly will report to the Czechoslovak people on the result of the negotiations without delay.

“(6) We call on all people not to resort to forcible actions against occupation armies, not to be provoked by various forces, which try to get proofs justifying the intervention, and to misuse the situation to arbitrary actions.

“Working people, citizens! Remain on your working places and protect your enterprises. For further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia make use of all democratic means. If necessary, you will be able to defend yourself also by a general strike. We are confident that we will overcome these serious moments with pride and character.”

35. Conscious as they must have been of the heavy burden of guilt and responsibility they are taking on themselves, the Soviet Union and the other invading Powers made foolish mistakes of a kind that are so often committed by guilty conspirators.

36. In their efforts to create the patently false impression that the Czechoslovak Government was requesting its own destruction and the Czechoslovak peoples were asking for the occupation of their country, they trapped themselves by clumsy discrepancies. An official Soviet statement published in Tass asserted, for example, that the request to invade Czechoslovakia came from certain unnamed “party and State officials of the Czechoslovak Government”.

37. The Polish Government, getting the message only dimly, described these ghostly officials as “party and State activists”.

38. The East German régime, clumsily missing the whole legal point, mutated this reference into “party and State personalities in Czechoslovakia who are loyally devoted to socialism”.

39. And confounding the issue still further, the Bulgarian Government referred to “party and State leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic”.

40. These shadow figures who allegedly requested that their country be despoiled by foreigners have not yet been given names by Moscow. The facts are clear that the duly constituted leaders of the Czechoslovak Government, the President of the Republic, the Chairman of the National Assembly, the Premier and even the First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee made no such request. In fact, they knew nothing of this invasion nor of the duplicitous designs which brought it about. Yet these were the men which Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Brezhnev conferred with in solemn council and with whom they declared unbreakable friendship a few days ago. And let us not forget that leaders of all the other invading nations

were also at the Bratislava meeting and endorsed this touching sentiment.

41. The voices that the Soviet leaders heard calling on them to invade were, if they existed at all, the voices of a new breed of quislings. The invitation on which the Soviet case depends, if indeed there were anything which could be described as an invitation, was, as is so patently clear, a document of treason invented and written by frightened men in Moscow reacting to their own dark nightmares.

42. There are many poignant aspects to this tragedy, but not the least must be the disgust and revulsion felt by the brave and honest people of Poland and Hungary who tried themselves a dozen years ago to break free from the tyranny of Moscow, disgust and revulsion that their own soldiers are associated in such a brutal and despicable enterprise.

43. I trust, indeed I am confident, that this Council will not take much time to dispose of this doomed and desperate effort to frustrate its procedures. Often in discharging the responsibilities entrusted to the Council by the United Nations Charter, we face grave and difficult problems, but that is not what we face this evening. The question of inscription, which the Soviet Union has challenged, is not a grave problem—not a grave problem, but a minor one, because even the Soviet Union knows that its effort to block the Council from considering this question is both futile and absurd. Nor is it a serious question because the issue is so clear and the answer so plain.

44. Let us then get on with our business. In Czechoslovakia tonight the dark and ugly visage of the Soviet intention has been sharply revealed. It is the intention to destroy, to sap, to deter free debate, to prevent mankind from uttering or facing the truth. I know that the responsible Governments represented around this Council table will never be party to such a shoddy business.

45. There was no Western conspiracy against communist rule in Czechoslovakia. There was no Czechoslovak Government request to the Soviet Union and its allies to interfere in its internal affairs. There was no request, as Moscow would have the world believe, to install a puppet régime in the capital of Masaryk, Benes and Dubcek.

46. This Council has a heavy responsibility, as do all Members of the world Organization, to condemn this brazen violation of the United Nations Charter and to call on the Soviet Union and its allies to withdraw its forces immediately from Czechoslovakia. I urge, therefore, the immediate adoption of the agenda, so that the Council can get on with the important task it has before it. Time is wasting. In the light of the Soviet objection, I request that the question of the adoption of the agenda be put to a formal vote.

47. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the representative of Canada has asked for the floor to speak on the question of the adoption of the agenda. I now call on him.

48. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): I should like to intervene briefly with regard to the objections which had been raised

by the representative of the Soviet Union regarding the inscription on the agenda of the letter addressed to you, Mr. Chairman, in the name of six delegations which included that of Canada.

49. I believe that all Members of this Organization, and particularly members of this Council who are charged under Article 24 with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must be conscious of the importance of upholding certain principles which are the foundation of the Charter. One of these principles is the sovereign equality of all Member States. Another is 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. These principles, which reflect fundamental concepts of international law, not only stand by themselves as foundation stones for mutual relations among Members of the United Nations and our efforts to reconcile positions when they are in conflict; but they have also been quoted as guidelines in the context of many difficult international situations and they have inspired a variety of resolutions and statements of position, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

50. So, in explaining why, in our view, this item should be inscribed on the agenda I need only cite at this time resolution 2131 (XX), a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States for the protection of their independence and sovereignty. That resolution, which was adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority as the result of a Soviet initiative, included the following declaration as its very first operative paragraph:

"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."

51. It is in the light of these broad considerations, based on Charter principles and resolutions, that we in this Council have quite properly met today to consider the item proposed for inscription in the agenda. It seems to my delegation—indeed, there can be no serious dispute about the facts of this case, for late on 20 August statements were issued by, on the one hand, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and, on the other, by the Tass News Agency on behalf of the Soviet Government. While differing about the background to the latest developments, both these statements clearly confirmed one stark fact: that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and some of its allies have intervened with armed force in the affairs of Czechoslovakia. Notwithstanding the assertion in the Tass release, repeated by the representative of the Soviet Union, in objecting to the adoption of the agenda, that this intervention has been undertaken at the request of unidentified party and Government leaders of Czechoslovakia, all indications are patently to the contrary. In addition to the quotation given by the representative of the United States, there is the following statement, which is

much briefer, issued on 21 August by the Presidium of the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia:

"The Presidium of the National Assembly expresses a deep and entire disagreement with the occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the allied armies. This act has outrageously interfered into the sovereignty of our State. We demand an immediate departure of your troops from our country."

52. The intervention by force of the Soviet Union and some of its allies in the affairs of Czechoslovakia is completely contradictory to the Charter principles I have cited. It brutally negates the right of a State to take those steps which it considers to be in its best interests and in the interests of the economic and social development of its people. It is a blow to the self-respect and dignity of all Member States, particularly the small States which constitute the majority of Members in this Organization.

53. At a time like this the Council cannot possibly remain silent. We must make clear, in this Council, on behalf of the United Nations where the weight of world public opinion stands on the issue. We must make clear to the Soviet Union and certain of her allies that their actions infringe upon basic rights of sovereign States to decide their own affairs, and that the situation can only be rectified if they desist immediately from intervention by means of armed force and withdraw all their forces without delay from Czechoslovakia.

54. These are the cogent reasons why the Canadian delegation joined in requesting inscription of this item on the agenda, and why we believe that consideration of this important matter should be pursued as a matter of urgency.

55. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I, too, wish to speak shortly, to show why my Government considers that this subject should be inscribed and why we consider that the objection of the Soviet Union cannot be sustained. And I would wish to add that it is right that we should do so, and it is necessary that we should do so, in view of the formal objection raised by the representative of the Soviet Union.

56. Since we heard of the terrible news last night, and as confirmation was received through the night and this morning, there was an immediate reaction of consternation here at the United Nations—and so there should have been. We came together, particularly members of the Council, with an immediate concern to call the Council. We had no doubt that this was necessary; we had no doubt that it was urgent.

57. Meanwhile, the statements of shock and condemnation came in from one capital after another, and from countries of every kind and every continent. My own Government at once described the action taken by the Soviet Union and some of its allies in invading Czechoslovakia as a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and all accepted standards of international behaviour. The statement of my Government went on to say:

"The action is also in sharp conflict with the often repeated statements by the Soviet Government about

non-interference with the sovereign rights of independent States. This is a tragedy not only for Czechoslovakia but for Europe and for the whole world. It is a serious blow to the efforts which so many countries have been making to improve relations between East and West."

Those were the words of my Government's statement this morning.

58. That was the word which came first to so many who stood appalled to see such tragic events: the word tragedy. It is, indeed, a tragedy that has occurred, a tragedy for Czechoslovakia and a tragedy for Europe and a tragedy for the whole world.

59. The first reaction was clearly one of shock—how shocking was the impact of naked force, and how shocking that a small and brave people should be so bullied and so betrayed. How shocking that so much careful planning to create confidence between East and West should be recklessly disregarded and pushed aside. Indeed, I am amazed that so much should be destroyed by a single crude blow: hopes of greater freedom in Czechoslovakia; hopes of better understanding between Eastern and Western nations in Europe; hopes of closer international co-operation to take the place of the cold war; even the unity of communist countries. All these were jeopardized; all these were threatened by the evil invasion.

60. All of us must have felt a sense of compassion for Ambassador Malik who has today endeavoured to carry out such an unworthy task. We can picture his distaste, indeed his disgust, at having to defend such a disgraceful act. No wonder that in doing so he carried so little conviction.

61. As my Foreign Secretary said today: the United Nations is supposed to have a special responsibility to protect the rights of smaller nations. The invasion of Czechoslovakia puts at risk the rights of every small country. When we see what the Soviet Union can do to an ally, we shudder to think what it might do to anyone else.

62. Today, as you have pointed out, Mr. President, we are not discussing every aspect of the invasion of yesterday. We are discussing only the question of whether the United Nations has a right and a duty to debate the question which has been put to us. In justifying the inscription of the item on our agenda I shall quote only the words of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. Many of us will remember him saying:

"The front-line in the struggle against violations of national sovereignty is everywhere. This struggle is going on in all continents, at different levels of international relations, and in a variety of forms. It is one in which the United Nations is required to play an active role."

That is the judgement of Mr. Gromyko.

63. We have heard tonight the claim—the extraordinary claim—that the Soviet troops were invited and welcomed. We heard it claimed that the leaders of Czechoslovakia had applied for assistance. We heard reference to the phrase "imperialist reaction". The only imperialist reaction that

we have to consider tonight is Russia. We heard reference to the "lawful authorities". It is not necessary for us to speak on behalf of the lawful authorities. They have spoken courageously for themselves. The statements—some of which have been referred to this evening—made by the Czechoslovak Government and the leaders of Czechoslovakia are, I suggest to you, amongst the bravest statements that we know in history. They have spoken for themselves and they have made their declaration:

64. It is argued that the internal developments in Czechoslovakia had international implications which the Soviet Union could not tolerate, and the Tass statement of today makes this remarkable claim. The wording of the Tass statement says: "The further aggravation of the situation in Czechoslovakia affects the vital interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist States, the interests of the security of the States of the socialist community." It is an extraordinary claim, indeed, that principles of respect for sovereignty—the sovereignty of independent nations—do not apply to communist countries.

65. Moreover, the claim which is made is contrary to the Warsaw Treaty itself. In article 1, the parties undertook to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, and to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. The armed invasion carried out by the Soviet Union and other States stands condemned by the public policy of the Soviet Union itself. It is condemned by the United Nations Charter. It is condemned by the Government of Czechoslovakia. It is condemned by the text of the Warsaw Pact. It is even condemned by the public statements of the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

66. My Government unhesitatingly condemns the armed intervention of the Warsaw Pact forces. A clear call must go out from this Council to the Soviet leaders. Let them withdraw their troops and respect the sovereignty of a small and independent Member nation of the United Nations. There can be no more important and no more urgent call on the Council than that.

67. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Denmark, who wishes to speak on the adoption of the agenda.

68. Mr. MELLBIN (Denmark): I shall be brief. In opposing the adoption of the agenda, the representative of the Soviet Union invoked the principle of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty. This is a line of thinking which my delegation cannot share.

69. We fail to see how such arguments are compatible with the action undertaken by the Soviet Union and certain of its allies in the Warsaw Pact in invading and occupying Czechoslovakia against the wish and the will of its people and its lawful Government. To my delegation it seems that this action is an unequivocal example of intervention—armed intervention, at that.

70. These alarming developments have caused grave concern to my Government. We are in no doubt that the

Security Council is entitled to consider the item brought before it by six delegations, one of them mine. The invasion and occupation by foreign troops of a country, undertaken without the knowledge and without the consent of the lawful authorities of that country, is clearly a matter which is international in character and creates a situation which the Security Council is not only competent but, as a matter of fact, duty bound to consider.

71. My delegation therefore urges the speedy adoption of the proposed agenda before us.

72. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I have listened attentively to the very lengthy statements by the authors of the proposal that the Security Council examine the question of the situation in Czechoslovakia.

73. It would be no exaggeration to say that the most astounding and ridiculous thing about all these statements is that the imperialists are suddenly striking the pose of "defenders" of communism and socialism. Such is, to put it bluntly, the unusual role played by the representative of the enormous United States capital and by a British lord.

74. Mr. President, I wish to repeat once again that the request of the "six delegations" headed by the representative of the United States of America and a discussion of this matter by the Security Council lack any foundation whatever.

75. The attempt to deny the socialist countries' right to render assistance to fraternal socialist States, to the people of the socialist countries, is an old trick of the imperialists; its purpose is to shatter the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, to seek openings for such divisions. The military units of the socialist countries entered the territory of Czechoslovakia on the basis of a request by the Government of that State. It was that Government itself which appealed to the Governments of its allies for assistance.

76. It has been denied here that there has been any threat from the imperialist States to the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. However, the Soviet Government is in possession of irrefutable data on the ties between the internal reaction in Czechoslovakia and foreign powers in the West, with those which have an interest in wresting Czechoslovakia from the Socialist community.

77. The representative of the United States has referred to the Bratislava Conference and to the Declaration adopted in Bratislava by the leaders of the Communist parties of six European socialist countries. But he omitted any mention of the fact that the aggressive policy of imperialism, which complicates the international situation, was unmasked in this Declaration, and that under these circumstances the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, in the interests of the struggle for consolidation of the common peace and security of peoples, for organization of a resolute rejection of the aggressive policy of imperialism, and for strengthening of the principle of peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems, again confirmed their readiness to agree on and co-ordinate their actions on the

international scene. Specifically, the same Declaration contains a solemn confirmation of the position of these countries and their unwavering determination to continue to render assistance and support to the heroic Viet-Nameese people in its just struggle against the American interventionists.

78. The war being waged by the United States in Vietnam is a real example of repulsive aggression, Mr. Ball! As for Czechoslovakia, there the fraternal socialist countries are rendering assistance to the Czechoslovak people in its struggle against the threat of foreign and internal reaction, against the imperialist Powers' attempts to turn that country from the socialist path, to deprive the people of the gains brought to it by the people's revolution.

79. The American representative also "forgets" to mention the Middle East where, through the hands of the Israeli aggressors, with the backing and participation of highly placed overseas protectors, an attempt was made to eliminate progressive régimes in the Arab countries. Mr. Ball maintains a studied silence on that; it is not in his interest to talk about that here. He tries, by mean slander, fabrications and insinuations against the socialist countries, to camouflage the truly repulsive aggressive deeds of American imperialism in Vietnam and the Middle East.

80. That's how matters stand so far as the term "repulsive aggression" is concerned, Mr. Ball.

81. Czechoslovakia's appeal to the friendly socialist States for assistance was prompted precisely by the threat posed to the existence of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia by the counter-revolutionary forces, entering into an agreement with the foreign powers hostile to socialism.

82. No matter how much the representative of the United Kingdom, Lord Caradon, tries here to deny the ties between Czechoslovak internal reaction and the foreign aggressive powers, he will not succeed in doing so. I shall mention the statement of a well-known organ of British monopoly capital, the London newspaper *The Observer*. It is franker than the British Lord in the Security Council, and writes openly:

"If Czechoslovakia, embarking on a course of deviationism, abandons the Warsaw Treaty, the military position of the Soviet Union will be seriously weakened, and this is in fact confirmed by the geographic map, for it shows that Czechoslovakia cuts a sharp wedge into the Russian border."

83. This is the meaning of the intentions of certain people in England, and these intentions are stated with cynical frankness by *The Observer*. Therefore, no high-flown phrases from the United Kingdom representative will be of any use here. It is useless, Lord Caradon, for you to express sympathy for me. I am proud that, here in the Security Council, I am defending the just cause of the Czechoslovak people, the Czechoslovak Communists, the people and Communists of all the socialist States and of the whole socialist community against the intrigues, the manoeuvres, the evil and truly repulsive actions which foreign powers are attempting to perpetrate with regard to Czechoslovakia.

84. When you, Lord Caradon, assume the role of "advocate of the unity of the socialist countries", that is indeed disgusting; it is hypocritical, there is not so much as a particle of sincerity in it. Therefore, if it is a question of who does not envy whom, well, I assure you that I have many more reasons not to envy you in the role you are playing today.

85. Imperialist reaction is not only continuing, but strengthening its hostile campaign against Socialist Czechoslovakia, against its working class; it is supporting the increasingly active counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia. The imperialists covertly and overtly incite and direct these forces to undermine the foundations of Czechoslovakia's fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which is of vitally important significance for all the socialist States.

86. It is well-known that the events in Czechoslovakia and around it have repeatedly been the subject of exchanges of views between Czechoslovakia's leaders and those of the other socialist countries. The American representative, in his statement here today, even recalled this fact. These countries have been, and are, at one in considering that the support, consolidation and defence of the socialist gains of their peoples are a common international obligation of all the socialist States. They are also at one in the opinion that the policy of imperialism, and American imperialism first and foremost, constitutes a serious threat to all the socialist—and not only to the socialist—States. The common position of the socialist States was solemnly proclaimed in the Bratislava Declaration I mentioned earlier. This Declaration, signed by the leaders of all the socialist countries participating in the Bratislava Conference, contains a clear and definite warning to the imperialist and all anti-Communist forces that nobody will ever be permitted to break the unity of the socialist countries and undermine the foundations of socialism or deprive the peoples of the socialist countries of those gains achieved by them at the cost of heroic efforts and selfless labour.

87. The further aggravation of the situation in Czechoslovakia affects the vital interests of the other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. At the same time, the threat to the socialist system in Czechoslovakia also constitutes a threat to the foundations of European peace. That is precisely why the actions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are motivated by the concern for strengthening peace and preventing the undermining of the foundations of European security.

88. Nobody can have the slightest doubt that the preservation of peace in Europe is of decisive significance to the maintenance of the general peace and to averting the threat of the outbreak of a new world war. And I must say frankly that more than one representative to the United Nations (not, of course, among the representatives of the imperialist countries) declared in conversation with us today that the socialist countries are acting rightly in taking measures against the machinations and intrigues of imperialism in Europe, and that it is just such measures which can consolidate peace in Europe and ensure the security of the European peoples, and avert the dangerous development of events throughout the world. These people who spoke to us

stressed the fact that the two world wars unleashed by imperialism in the midst of Europe plunged all mankind into the fire of the conflict. It is this problem—the averting of the unleashing of new armed conflicts in Europe, capable of leading to a thermonuclear world war, which motivates the Governments, the peoples, and the armed forces of the European socialist countries.

89. Nobody can doubt in the least that the preservation of peace in Europe is of decisive significance to the maintenance of the general peace, and to averting the threat of the outbreak of a new world war. It is toward the achievement of that goal, which affects the interests of all peoples, that the Socialist countries are directing their joint efforts, fully determined as these countries are not to permit peace to be broken in Europe and to block the forces of militarism, aggression and revenge which have so often plunged Europe's peoples, and consequently those of the entire world, in the flames of war.

90. The decision of the socialist countries on rendering assistance to the Czechoslovak people is entirely in accordance with the right of States to individual and collective self-defence, with the right provided for in both the Charter of the United Nations and in the treaties of alliance concluded between the fraternal socialist States, and, specifically, with the Warsaw Treaty.

91. No matter how the initiators of the introduction of this matter in the Security Council attempt to misinterpret the treaty obligations existing among the socialist countries, they will not succeed in proving that the actions undertaken by the socialist countries are not in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty.

92. In this connexion it must be noted, in particular, that the Warsaw Treaty, which was concluded by the socialist States in answer to revanchist West Germany's entry into the aggressive imperialist NATO block, was and remains a powerful and absolutely essential factor in the peace and security of the peoples of Europe. It serves as an insuperable obstacle for all those who would like to revise the results of the Second World War, those who cherish ideas of revenge and nurture the hope of disunity between the countries of the socialist community. The Warsaw Treaty steadfastly protects the achievements of socialism, the sovereignty and the independence of the fraternal socialist States. It aims at the consolidation of European security and at the maintenance of the general peace. We stress again that attempts to present the actions of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries in any other light can in no way change our peaceful intentions.

93. The representative of Canada in turn has tried to refer here to the United Nations Charter, but it is the Charter itself, in Article 51 specifically, which permits States to take collective and individual measures for self-defence, and the actions undertaken by the socialist countries are just such measures in conformity with the Charter.

94. We particularly stress that the actions undertaken by the socialist countries are not directed against any State, and in no way infringe upon anybody's national interests. They are not directed against the countries of Asia, they do

not threaten the interests of the African countries, they do not threaten the countries of Latin America and are not directed against them. The only ones who have grown worried in connexion with these measures are the member countries of the NATO bloc. Of course, they do not like these actions because even when they sleep they dream of breaking the unity of the countries of the socialist community, of driving a wedge between them, as was stated unequivocally in the newspaper *The Observer*, which I quoted especially for Lord Caradon. These countries do not like those measures. But that is exactly why the authors of the letter by the six delegations have, in fact, isolated themselves and have shown the essence of their policy in Europe and what their aims are. However, I feel that the sixth, Paraguay, is included among them through a misunderstanding.

95. The Soviet Government has repeatedly warned that attempts by imperialist reaction to interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and in the relations between the socialist countries will not be tolerated, and will meet with resolute rejection. It takes advantage of the present opportunity again to call upon all States strictly to observe the principles of respect for sovereignty and independence and the inadmissibility of direct or indirect aggression against States and peoples.

96. The question naturally arises: what is the real reason the Government of the United States and its allies are raising this matter in the Security Council? There can be only one answer to this question: the reason for this manifestly imperialist action is that it may further stimulate and provoke the counter-revolutionary struggle and the hostile campaign not only against socialist Czechoslovakia, its working class and its people, but also against the entire socialist community as a whole, to support and instigate the counter-revolutionary forces to undermine the bases of socialism in Czechoslovakia, to undermine its fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist States. Are such actions compatible with the assurances by the Governments of the Western Powers of their desire to maintain normal relations with the socialist States? The position held at present by the United States, and the slanderous form of the American delegate's statements against the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries are by no means fortuitous, since support by the United States of the reactionary forces throughout the world in the fight against socialism and popular democracy has for a long time been one of the main lines in the policy of the ruling circles of that country. Everybody knows whence, from what centre attempts to undermine the forces of progress in various parts of the world emanate, attempts which are responsible for the serious deterioration in international relations.

97. The American representative has spoken at great length here about some sort of imaginary methods. But if we are going to discuss that subject, we can refer to the article published in *The New York Times* on the methods employed by the American secret service in Bolivia. The American representative would therefore be better advised not to invent some sort of imaginary methods supposedly employed by the socialist countries, but rather to examine his own methods.

98. The support of the counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia by the Western Powers is being undertaken at a time of continuing tension in the world situation, when the NATO countries, and above all the United States, are not renouncing their policy of force—a policy of intervention and aggression against the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

99. The British representative has spoken here of some alleged "tragedy" in Czechoslovakia. But this is a figment of the lord's imagination. There is no tragedy there. There is a sincere desire on the part of the fraternal socialist States to help the people and leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to prevent the rebirth of the imperialistic social order in Czechoslovakia which would indeed be tragic for the people there. While the British lord uses the word "tragedy", he fails to find words to describe the tragedy in Viet-Nam, or the tragedy of the Arab population which finds itself under the heel of foreign occupiers. When the matter of the situation in the Middle East, of the new acts of aggression there were being discussed recently in the Security Council, the authors of the six-country letter, with the exception of one or two of them, took all possible steps to block the adoption of a strong resolution concerning the aggressor and new acts of aggression against Arab States. This is no secret to anybody. The missions of the Arab countries to the United Nations know this very well, the members of the Security Council know it; everybody knows who it was that blocked the adoption of a strong resolution with regard to the aggressor and the new acts of aggression. Yet today, if you please, the defenders and protectors of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East are trying to play the part of upholders of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of peoples. This is indeed a sight fit for the gods.

100. The criminal, tragic, dirty war in Viet-Nam goes on as before. As before, the world continues to witness the stubborn refusal of the United States to put an end to the bombing and other acts of war. Opposition to a peaceful settlement in the Middle East continues as before. At the same time—and this is no credit, let it be said, to the British representatives—, they have now practically forgotten their own resolution, which they submitted in the Security Council on 22 November 1967. Just a few days ago, the British representative, along with the American representative, exerted every effort to prevent condemnation of the Israeli aggression and any mention of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter in the resolution. Yet today he is playing the part of "defender" of communist unity. The British representative and his Government choose to overlook facts the whole world knows regarding the growth of neo-fascism in West Germany. These forces are attacking the *status quo* in Europe; they are demanding a revision of borders; they are unwilling to give up the fantastic hope of seizing the German Democratic Republic; they are making every effort to gain access to atomic weapons for purposes of revenge; they oppose disarmament; they oppose the banning of atomic weapons. But they are the allies of the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Denmark, and that is why the representatives of these capitalist countries do not mention this. Yet, when the socialist countries, in order to render assistance to the Czechoslovak people, to fraternal socialist Czechoslovakia which finds

itself in a difficult position, have taken steps which the imperialists do not like, then, right away, the leading NATO members assumed the role of "defenders" of communism and communist unity. This is a good theme for comic strips, but not for serious policy.

101. In Europe, where enormous means of mass destruction have been stockpiled, the peace and security of the peoples are maintained mainly thanks to the strength, solidarity, and peace-loving policy of the socialist States. And that is precisely why the representatives of the NATO countries are unstinting here, at this table, in fabrications, insinuations and slander, in order to prevent further strengthening and consolidation of the power of the socialist community. All the countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty, all the socialist countries bear joint and full responsibility for the unity of the socialist countries, for their joint activities in the consolidation of peace in Europe, for their power, and for the fate of peace. They are bound in solidarity and united in the defence of the achievements of socialism, in defence of their security, of their international position, and of the entire socialist community.

102. The events in Czechoslovakia concern the Czechoslovak people and the States of the socialist sphere of collaboration, which are mutually bound by appropriate reciprocal obligations, and them alone. Yet neither the Czechoslovak Government nor the Government of any other socialist country has submitted any request or proposal to the Security Council or requested that the Security Council be convened, considering this not only unnecessary under the present circumstances, but as not coming within the purview or competence of the Security Council. The raising and discussion of this question here, as all those present can judge by the initial "keynote" speeches of the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, are being pursued for very specific purposes. These representatives are very little affected by or interested in Czechoslovakia. They are little affected by or interested in peace in Europe, the security of peoples, or the community of the socialist countries. On the contrary, they dislike all that; they are conducting both an overt and a covert struggle against it; all the powerful, vast monopolistic resources of American, British and West German propaganda have been released against it. That is why they have dragged this matter into the Security Council. And that is exactly why the Soviet delegation resolutely opposes this matter being raised in the Security Council, and opposes a debate or inscription of this item on the agenda of the Security Council.

103. The representatives of the six countries may, of course, add yet another matter to the endless list of dead questions pending in the Security Council, a list which, by the courtesy of the United Nations Secretariat, was recently circulated to the members of the Security Council and the Missions to the United Nations. But what's the point?

104. The American representative referred here to a Tass statement, but he misrepresented it, he did not quote it in full, he took individual lines which suited him out of context. I am not condemning him for this, it is between him and his conscience. But it gives me grounds for drawing

attention to this statement more extensively. The Tass statement says that party and government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic requested the Soviet Union and the other allied States to give the fraternal Czechoslovak people immediate assistance, including assistance by their armed forces. This appeal was prompted by the threat to the existing socialist system and constitutionally established State régime in Czechoslovakia arising from counter-revolutionary forces which have entered into collusion with foreign powers hostile to socialism. The events in and around Czechoslovakia have shown that a further aggravation of the situation affects the vital interests of all the socialist countries. Therefore the Governments of the socialist countries, proceeding on the principle of indissoluble friendship and co-operation and in conformity with existing treaty obligations decided to meet this request for rendering the necessary assistance to the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

105. This statement stresses once again that this decision is in complete conformity with the right of States to individual and collective self-defence envisaged in the treaties of alliance concluded between the fraternal socialist countries. And this decision is in accord with the vital interests of our countries in the safeguarding of European peace against the forces of imperialism, aggression and revanchism which have so often plunged the peoples of Europe into war. The statement further says that the fraternal countries firmly and resolutely oppose any outside threat by their inseparable solidarity. Nobody will ever be allowed to wrest so much as a single link from the community of socialist states.

106. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): We are in a procedural stage in the present discussion, and I shall therefore limit my statement to the type appropriate to such a debate, that is, I shall be very brief.

107. In view of the grave events which have occurred and continue to occur in Czechoslovakia, and in the light of the information possessed by my delegation—information which is, moreover, broad common knowledge and to which should be added that presented by the Permanent Mission of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations—my Government considers that certain principles and basic tenets of the Charter have been violated by Member states of our Organization. I refer in particular to the provisions of Article 1, paragraph 2 and of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter, which states:

"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."

108. In these circumstances, my Government, which represents a small nation, like those which form the overwhelming majority of Members of our Organization, and like them firmly adhering to the most scrupulous observance of the principles of international law governing coexistence between States, regards the situation in Czechoslovakia with consternation in the first place and, secondly,

considers it an indispensable and urgent duty of the Council, in conformity with the provisions of Article 24, to examine this question without delay.

109. On the basis of these considerations and in these words, I am explaining the reasons for my delegation's decision to join five other members of the Council in requesting this emergency meeting of the Council.

110. With these words I am also replying to the comments expressed a short while ago by the representative of the Soviet Union. The adoption of our agenda, and therefore the discussion of the question submitted, are opposed by the representative of the Soviet Union. In these conditions, and in this procedural stage, there is only one possible course of action: that the Council should decide, by a majority vote of its members, the course it wishes to follow.

111. I reserve my right to participate later in the discussion on the substance of this question.

112. The PRESIDENT: As no further speakers wish to take the floor at this time on the question on the adoption of the agenda and since objection has been raised to the adoption of the agenda, I propose now to ask the Council to vote on the adoption of the agenda.

113. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I have set forth in detail in the Soviet delegation's letter, and in my subsequent explanations, the Soviet delegation's position concerning the matter under discussion to the effect that there is no basis for examination of this question in the Security Council. But the Soviet delegation does not insist on a vote on this matter.

114. Mr. BALL (United States of America): The representative of the Soviet Union read a letter from his Government which made strong objections to the inscription of this item on the agenda. We have now consumed two or three hours of the time of the Council at a time when we are facing a very serious crisis in the discussion of this question of inscription. I think it would be only appropriate, in spite of the last statement of the representative of the Soviet Union, that the Council be asked to express its views on this matter.

115. The PRESIDENT: I shall state the procedural situation as I see it now. As objections have been advanced to the adoption of the agenda, the normal way for the Council to proceed would now be to put the agenda to the vote. That I understand to be the normal procedure since objections have been raised to the adoption of the agenda. Of course, if such objections are withdrawn, and if I may be entitled to assume that there is a consensus on that, I might forgo the vote. But normally, since the objections are maintained—they are not withdrawn—it is my intention to proceed to the vote.

116. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, you have quite rightly referred to the existing practice by which, if there is an objection to a question then it is settled by a vote. But

another circumstance should also be kept in mind. In practice, the work of the Security Council has repeatedly confirmed that when those who object do not insist on a vote, the matter may also not be put to a vote. The person who objected has set forth his position on this matter in his statement, and that is sufficient.

117. Mr. BALL (United States of America): May I recall that at the time I made my statement a few moments ago—in fact, it was an hour or so ago—at the conclusion of my statement I requested that this matter be put to a vote?

118. It seems to me that if the Council is going to consume all of the time that we have consumed this evening on this matter, a very large part of which was devoted to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union, which certainly took a great many liberties with the principle of germaneness which he had been urging earlier in the evening, and with the principle that the statements at this time should be confined to the question of inscription, I think it would be quite frivolous procedure if we did not now express the views of the Council on this matter.

119. The PRESIDENT: The President is confronted with objections to the adoption of the agenda and also objections to a vote on the agenda, and he is furthermore confronted with a formal motion by the representative of the United States that we proceed to the vote. Under these circumstances, I think the normal way for us is to proceed to the vote on the adoption of the agenda.

120. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, with all due respect to your remark, I would like to make a small correction to its first part. If I have correctly understood what I heard in the interpretation, you announced that there is an objection to a discussion of this question and to its inscription on the agenda, but also that there is an objection to a vote. There was no objection to a vote: but it was not insisted upon. I repeat, I do not insist on a vote.

121. The PRESIDENT: Since a formal motion has been made that we vote on the adoption of the agenda, and since there are no objections to the vote on the adoption of the agenda, I shall proceed to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

Against: Hungary, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The agenda was adopted by 13 votes to 2.

122. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Algeria and India have asked for the floor to explain their position on the adoption of the agenda. I recognize the representative of Algeria.

123. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (*translated from French*): Our vote on the adoption of the agenda, in

accordance with the practice established and recognized in this Council, should in no way be considered as constituting or implying acceptance, or even support of the explanations given for the letter of the representatives of the six Powers.

124. As we know, everyone may inform the Council of a problem which can be regarded as a threat to international peace and security. However, we cannot help noticing a certain contradiction in the facts, inasmuch as the parties concerned have not judged it necessary to appeal to the Security Council. Some of those whose interests are undoubtedly involved have hastened, at the emergence of a serious situation, to revive a cold war atmosphere. From some time, particularly since 5 June 1967, propaganda actions, hysteria and provocation have not been followed by a sincere desire to work for peace. Perhaps this is a deliberate attempt to make the Security Council assume a responsibility which might lead to unfortunate consequences.

125. Mr. MISHRA (India): At this stage of our deliberations my delegation should like to explain its vote on the adoption of the agenda. In this connexion it would be appropriate to put into the record of the Security Council the statement of the Prime Minister of India which she made in the Parliament today. The statement reads:

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with a heavy heart and with a profound sense of concern that I have to report to this House certain events which are currently taking place in Czechoslovakia. We have always been deeply committed to the cause of freedom everywhere and we have stood for certain principles as guiding and informing our attitude to international events. The principle of non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful coexistence. We have always believed that international relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big or small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice whenever these principles have been violated.

"The House is aware of the reports which have come through the world Press and Radio as to the nature of the developments which have taken place in Czechoslovakia. We have also made inquiries from the diplomatic missions of the countries concerned as well as others, and continue to be in close touch with them.

"The armed forces of the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies began crossing the Czechoslovak border at about 0300 hours Standard Time. They are now reported to be in Prague and other towns of Czechoslovakia.

"In the early hours of this morning the Soviet Government, through their chargé d'affair in New Delhi, informed us that the Governments of the Soviet Union and four of its allied countries of the Warsaw Pact had decided to send their armed forces into Czechoslovakia. Honourable members have presumably seen the statement which has since been put out by the Soviet news agency, Tass, stating the point of view of the Soviet Government.

"Although it was only after our independence that we were able to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Czechoslovakia, we have a long history of friendship towards Czechoslovakia and its valiant people. I recall, as I am sure many of my colleagues on both sides of the House will remember, the tragic and fateful events of 1938 and 1939. Even then our sympathies were with the people of Czechoslovakia in their travails, and my father gave poignant expression to them. I am sure the House will join with me in conveying to the people of Czechoslovakia the profound concern at the turn which events have taken so soon after what appeared to be a peaceful solution of problems and differences between Czechoslovakia and its allies.

"Our relations with the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria are close and many-sided. We value these friendships and we wish to preserve and extend them. However, we cannot but give expression to our anguish at the events in Czechoslovakia. The House will no doubt wish to convey to them our view that they should carefully consider all aspects of the situation which has arisen as the result of the action by their armed forces and its possible consequences. We are deeply aware of the fears which have gripped Europe and the conflicts which have raged there, leading to two world wars. These fears still haunt the minds of the European peoples.

"I am sure I reflect the opinion of the House when I express the hope that the forces which have entered Czechoslovakia will be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment, and the Czech people will be able to determine their future according to their own wishes and interests, and that whatever mutual problems there may be between Czechoslovakia and its allies will be settled peacefully. The right of nations to live peacefully and without outside interference should not be denied in the name of religion or ideology."

126. That was the statement of the Prime Minister of India in the Indian Parliament this morning.

127. In concluding, it is necessary for me to emphasize that our vote in favour of the adoption of the agenda does not prejudice the position of my delegation in regard to the consideration in substance by this Council of the item.

128. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Pakistan.

129. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): The affirmative vote cast by my delegation in favour of the adoption of the agenda does not have any bearing upon and is without prejudice to the views of my Government on the substance of the question.

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)

130. The PRESIDENT: I wish to acquaint the members of the Council with the fact that the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia has addressed a letter to the

President of the Security Council, which was received a short time ago. The letter reads as follows:

"Date: 21 August 1968

"Excellency,

"In connexion with the request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council and in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter, I have the honour to request that I be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Security Council.

*“(Signed) Jan MUZÍK,
“Deputy Permanent Representative of
the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic”*

131. In accordance with the usual practice of the Council, I propose, with the consent of the Council and if there is no objection, to invite the representative of Czechoslovakia to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion, pursuant to his request and the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. Muzik (Czechoslovakia) took a seat at the Council table.

132. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Czechoslovakia has signified his intention of addressing the Council on this question, and I now call on him.

133. Mr. MUZIK (Czechoslovakia): I would like to stress the following points, first of all.

134. First, that I am acting upon the explicit instructions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Dr. Hajek, whom many of you have known as a former colleague.

135. Secondly, I would like to express my gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to those members of the Security Council which made it possible for the Czechoslovak delegation to participate in a discussion in which, as was the case thirty years ago, the question of sovereignty of Czechoslovakia is at stake.

136. In connexion with this invitation to the Security Council, I have been instructed to inform the members of the Council of the following messages the Czechoslovak Mission received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the course of this day.

137. The first message arrived during the early morning hours today, and it is the declaration of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which reads as follows:

"On 20 August, around 11 p.m., the troops of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Polish People's Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, Bulgarian People's Republic and German Democratic Republic crossed the state borders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This happened without the knowledge of the President of the Republic, the Chairman of the National Assembly,

the Prime Minister, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, or those organs.

"In those hours, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had a session and discussed preparations of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia called upon all citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to maintain calm and not to resist the advancing troops, because the defence of our state sovereignty by force was impossible at that time.

"Therefore, the Czechoslovak Army, People's Militia and public security did not receive the order to defend our country. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers this act as contrary not only to principles of relations among socialist States but also to the fundamental norms of international law.

"All leading functionaries of state, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the National Front remain in your functions to which you were elected as representatives of the people and members of your organizations in conformity with the laws and other norms of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

"Constitutional representatives convoked immediately the National Assembly and the Government of the Republic. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia convened a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to discuss the situation that has arisen."

138. Later during the morning of this day 21 August 1968, we received the following declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"Today, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the endorsement of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and on behalf of the Government of the Republic, informed the Ambassadors of the USSR, Polish People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic and Bulgarian People's Republic accredited in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to transmit to the Governments of the USSR, Polish People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic and Bulgarian People's Republic a resolute protest with the requirement that the illegal occupation of Czechoslovakia be stopped without delay and all armed troops be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia.

"In this historical moment we express our hope that the Governments and peoples of the USSR, Polish People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic and Bulgarian People's Republic will understand the seriousness of the situation created by this act which cannot be explained in any way, and all the less made stand to reason, and will make it immediately possible for the Czechoslovak people and its legitimate representatives to continue their activities without delay."

This declaration by the Minister of Foreign Affairs has been released to the press with the additional comment that the text was received on the radio and may be incomplete but corresponds to the sense of the message.

139. Thirdly, later in the day we received the following statement by ten members of the Government:

"Since it was not possible to end the night session of the Government, which should have continued this morning to discuss the situation that has arisen, and to agree on the letter addressed to the Governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the group of undersigned Ministers has met and declared that we all resolutely beg all the legitimately elected constitutional and political organs to firmly support today's declaration of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia addressed to all the people, consider the occupation of Czechoslovakia, which took place without accord or knowledge of the Czechoslovak Government, as illegal, contrary to international law and Socialist internationalism.

"The undersigned ministers who could meet will do their utmost that the Government could continue in its efforts to maintain the sovereignty of our Socialist Republic. We urge all citizens to make it possible to this Government by maintaining calm and order."

The undersigned Ministers are Hanus, Kadlec, Krejci, Machacová, Ražl, Sucharda, Stancl, Vales, Vlcek and Hromádka.

140. On 23 August 1968, at 2 p.m. local time, the Permanent Mission of Czechoslovakia received the following declaration of the Presidium of the National Assembly:

"The deputies of the National Assembly met and unanimously accepted the following declaration at a time when the Government and other organs cannot exercise their functions.

"First, we identify ourselves with the declarations of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Presidium of the National Assembly protesting against the occupation of Czechoslovakia by armies of the five countries of the Warsaw Treaty and considering it as a violation of international law, provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and the principles of equality among nations.

"Secondly, we request that the constitutional representatives, primarily President of the Republic Ludvík Svoboda, Prime Minister Oldřich Černík, Chairman of the National Assembly Josef Smrkovský, First Secretary Alexander Dubček, Chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front Dr. Fraňtisek Kriegel, Chairman of the Czech National Council Cestmír Císar and others be released from internation and thus could exercise their constitutional functions with which the sovereign people of this country entrusted them. The delegation of the National Assembly, which we sent to the Soviet Embassy this morning, has not returned so far. We protest against the fact that the National Assembly, Government, institu-

tions of the National Front and their representatives are prevented from exercising their legitimate rights and further from freedom of movement and assembly.

"Thirdly, we categorically request immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the five States of the Warsaw Treaty and full respect for the State sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

"Fourthly, we appeal to Parliaments of all countries and to the world public opinion and ask them to support our legitimate requirements.

"Fifthly, we entrust the delegation of the National Assembly composed of Marie Míková, Josef Macek, Jozef Vallo, Pavol Repos, Josef Pospíchal and Václav Kucera to contact Chairman of the National Assembly Josef Smrkovský, President of the Republic Ludvík Svoboda and Prime Minister Černík in order to inform them about this decision and agree with them on further proceedings. The delegation of the National Assembly will report to the Czechoslovak people on the result of the negotiations without delay.

"Sixthly, we call on all people not to resort to forcible actions against occupation armies, not to be provoked by various forces, which try to get proofs justifying the intervention, and to misuse the situation to arbitrary actions.

"Working people, citizens! Remain on your working places and protect your enterprises! For further development of Socialism in Czechoslovakia make use of all democratic means. If necessary, you will be able to defend yourselves also by a general strike. We are confident that we will overcome these serious moments with pride and character."

141. Through the Czechoslovak Press Agency, the Permanent Mission has received a report on a session of the Czechoslovak Government:

"The Government, in the absence of its Chairman and Vice-Chairman, who cannot be reached for the time being, met today in the morning hours to have its extraordinary meeting, and, under the Chairmanship of Comrade Machacová, adopted *inter alia* the following decisions: The Government approves the position taken by a group of its Ministers and issued today in the morning hours. The Government decides to ask the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that he receive immediately the Government to discuss problems of internal and external policy and international effects of the military occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as well as the questions connected with the security of the proper functioning of constitutional and political organs.

"The Government takes note, with approval, of the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by means of its Ambassadors in Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Sofia, transmitted a diplomatic note requesting the withdrawal of armies of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty from the territory of Czechoslovakia. At the same

time the Government recommends to the President of the Republic to invite the Ambassadors of the above-mentioned countries and to insist that the above request be met. The Government decides to address itself to the Ambassadors of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty in order that the Governments of the countries concerned give instructions to the Commanders of the occupation units to enable proper functioning of constitutional and political organs, particularly of the Presidium of the party, and to free immediately the members of the Government who were detained."

142. Finally, I would like to read the appeal made by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ludvík Svoboda, which statement I received just before I left for this meeting. The statement of the President of the Republic delivered on the radio on 21 August at 22.30 hours reads as follows:

"Dear Fellow Citizens,

"I speak to you on this fateful day. We live through exceptionally serious moments in the life of our nations. Military units of the USSR, together with the units of the Polish People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic entered the territory of our Republic. This took place without the consent of the constitutional organs of the State, which, however, proceeding from their responsibilities towards the nations in our country must expeditiously solve the situation that has arisen and attain an early withdrawal of foreign troops.

"In this respect, I have developed efforts, today, permitted me by the current conditions. Among others I convoked a plenary session of the National Assembly. In the evening I discussed with members of the Government some most urgent problems concerning the restoration of normal life in the country and the ensuring of its integrity.

"Tomorrow, the negotiations will continue and, as I believe also with the Prime Minister, Oldřich Černík. I am conscious of all problems and difficulties caused by the present situation. However, I appeal to you my dear fellow citizens with an urgent request to maintain greatest calm and to avoid anything which might bring about regrettable actions with unfortunate consequences.

"I sincerely ask that particularly from you, our young people; I call upon all workers, farmers, intelligentsia, to prove again by your attitude your relation towards socialism, towards freedom, towards democracy.

"We have reached the point of no return. The action programme of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Declaration of the programme of the Government of the National Front express the vital interests and needs of all people in our country and, therefore, we must continue the started work. Have faith, let us all unite and together with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the National Front we will go on in unity and in the efforts for the better life of our nations."

143. At the conclusion of my speech, I would like to stress once again that, as our Government has stated many

times in recent weeks, the changes in Czechoslovakia since January were aimed only at improving the socialist system, to bring the Republic closer to the lofty goals of freer socialism, to employ all human rights and liberties which should be the integral part of any socialist system. We believe that the unity of our people and their dedication to socialism will enable us to reach the aims which all progressive members of human society desire.

144. Mr. BALL (United States of America): The statements read here just now by the Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia, the statements of the authoritative leaders and organs of the Government of Czechoslovakia, speak more eloquently than can any of us of the situation that exists there and of the need for this Council to take appropriate action to try to bring about a return to a condition of peace and to redress, so far as we can, the violations of the Charter which have occurred. They make clear more eloquently also than any of us, they make clear beyond any misunderstanding, the cynicism and the perfidy that surrounded the sneak military attack which is the subject of our proceedings here this evening.

145. For we meet here at a grim and anxious moment. Once again, as all too often in history, a small nation, seeking only to live in peace and freedom, has been brutally attacked by more powerful neighbours. Once again this has happened at the centre of Europe, that history-haunted heartland of greatness and tragedy. Once again the victim of this primitive act is that unfortunate country whose name was once the shining symbol of the principle of self-determination, Czechoslovakia. The name Czechoslovakia has for generations held a special place in the affections of the American people. Not only has it sent many of its sons to our shores, but during the First World War it was President Woodrow Wilson who gave the most energetic support to the aspirations of the Czech and Slovak peoples for independence, and for all too brief a time they achieved it.

146. With lovers of freedom throughout the world, Americans rejoiced when the peace settlement finally affirmed the creation of Czechoslovakia as a new republic. But little did we know then what tragic days lay in store for this new nation. First came the subversion and military pressure of Hitler, leading to the partition and ruthless subjugation of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939, and finally to the holocaust of World War II. Then, following the war, when men had high hopes that the Czechoslovak Republic would once again be restored to independence and given the guarantees of security implicit in the United Nations Charter, new pressure and new subversion came from another quarter. A campaign systematically mounted from Moscow led to the overthrow of the free Government of Czechoslovakia. Freedom was banished as the nation was transformed in what has come to be known in the upside-down vocabulary of communism as a people's democracy.

147. No one who lived through that period can forget the sinister chill of the sudden death in 1948 of the distinguished and widely beloved Czech Foreign Minister, Jan Masaryk. It is a little ironic that in recent weeks—it is only in recent weeks—when freedom once again began to reflect

itself in the Czechoslovak press, that there appeared for the first time within that country published evidence that Jan Masaryk was brutally murdered.

148. Thus, Czechoslovakia, wedged between more powerful States, has been the victim of two foreign tyrannies in succession: first that of Hitler and then that of the Soviet Union. Hitler's oppression, savage though it was, lasted for the comparatively brief span of seven years and ended with the downfall of the tyrant himself. But the Soviet tyranny that followed has lasted from 1948 to the present, for twenty years. And in this year 1968, when at last the national spirit of the Czechoslovak people began to flame anew, the world waited through anxious weeks to see whether these first few modest manifestations of freedom could be accepted by Moscow.

149. Now we know the answer, which was written for all the world to read not in words, but in the streets of Prague by the treads of Soviet tanks. Lamentably, this is not the first time that the Security Council has been obliged to consider an act of naked force by the Soviet Union against a weaker State in Europe. In 1956, the people of Hungary sought to loosen the shackles of Moscow-style dictatorship and to find a new freedom, and they obtained a new Hungarian leadership which appeared disposed to help them find it. Immediately from Moscow came a response compounded of troop movements, dark accusations, and still darker threats; then, at the last moment, seeming conciliation. The world breathed more easily in the last days of October and the beginning of November 1956. Then, in the middle of the night of 3-4 November, Soviet forces poured across the border, and Hungary's few fleeting days of freedom were ended by Soviet guns. This act of international treachery and lawlessness was rightly condemned by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 September 1957.³

150. The grim parallel between Budapest in 1956 and Prague in 1968 is only too apparent. Who among us has not hoped against hope that these twelve years had worked a change for the better in the minds of the Soviet leadership? Surely there were grounds for believing that as the Stalin era receded year by year the leaders in Moscow would shake off the political fears and frenzies of the past, would cease to hear the voice of the enemy in every free expression of opinion, and would stop demanding slavish conformity as the price of friendship. But all these hopes now appear shattered by the invasion of Czechoslovakia, by its own Warsaw Pact allies led by the Soviet Union. Clearly, allies of the Soviet Union live under a harsh and simple code: Conform or perish.

151. The question before us tonight is a vital one that has haunted mankind through the ages: Will the relations between men and nations be governed by the rule of main force and of rigid ideological conformity, or will they be governed by rules of fair play and tolerance which find their highest expression in the Charter of the United Nations?

152. This is all that the people of Czechoslovakia and their Government have been seeking in these past few months.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 669th meeting.

What we have witnessed, as the President of the United States put it today, was "a resurgence of ordinary human freedom". It is what every nation and what every people have a right to. What is extraordinary and what is indeed repugnant to civilized standards of international conduct is the invasion of a sovereign nation, however small, by another sovereign nation, however strong, to impose an order of things which the people of the invaded nation abhor.

153. It is instructive to note certain of the events that led to this tragic *dénouement*, for the sequence spells out unmistakably a lesson in Soviet perfidy.

154. From 25 July to 1 August 1968, at the request of the Soviet leadership, the top leaders of the communist parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia met at the Czechoslovak town of Cierna Nad Tisov. On 1 August their meeting ended with the issuance of a communiqué which reported thorough and frank discussions of "questions interesting both sides" and of "detailed information on the situation in their countries". Both participants agreed on a further meeting, to be attended also by party leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany and Poland. This further meeting was held at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, on 3 August. It resulted in the communiqué on that date which has been the subject of some comment and discussion tonight—a communiqué that contained not the slightest hint of disagreement between the leaders of Czechoslovakia and those of the Soviet Union and its other Warsaw Pact allies.

155. Indeed, it contained a common expression of resolve by all participants "to do everything in their power to deepen the all-around co-operation of their countries on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, and fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity". That does not sound like the language of countries that are about to engage in armed invasion.

156. Following the Bratislava meeting, nothing extraordinary took place for nineteen days. Then, last night, the blow fell. Armed forces of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Poland streamed across the Czech borders in a display of massive and indeed overwhelming power. Millions of leaflets were dropped on the streets of Prague and other Czechoslovak cities. A dummy Czechoslovak radio station and even a puppet newspaper named *Vltava* suddenly sprang into action. It was a textbook exercise in stealth and sneak attack, complete with the trappings of psychological and political warfare.

157. It must certainly have taken weeks to prepare this large-scale operation and to set it into motion. This would indicate that the Soviet leaders who met and embraced their Czechoslovak party comrades at Cierna and Bratislava in the last days of July and the first days of August may well already have been planning the invasion as a last resort in case the leadership in Prague did not yield to brutal threats. The hand that so warmly embraced the Czechoslovak leaders concealed a dagger. And now that dagger has struck.

158. Now, of course, there is a rationale for what the Soviet Union has done. There is always a rationale in such cases. For many weeks the Soviet bloc press poured forth evident fantasies, unsupported by a single fact, to the effect that Czechoslovakia was the target of dark plots for a counter-revolution from the West. When the signal for invasion was given yesterday, the Soviet press agency Tass picked up this theme in its official statement, saying that the threat in Czechoslovakia was one of "counter-revolutionary forces which have entered into a collusion with foreign forces hostile to socialism". It is the same old, stale *hobgoblin of communist propaganda—the arch-fiend of imperialism—and I sometimes think that the Soviet Mission must maintain a machine which simply inserts the word "imperialism" every four lines in all the speeches that my colleague from the Soviet Union makes. I suspect that the Moscow propagandists who have had to resort to it once again must blush with embarrassment.*

159. But there is more. We find in this same Tass statement an assertion that the armed invasion was carried out because "the party and Government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have asked the Soviet Union and other allied States" for this kind of assistance. In short, this is no invasion; it is a fraternal helping hand. That is what Moscow says it is.

160. That is also what Moscow said in November 1956, when the Hungarian nation was dragged back into subjugation by Soviet tanks.

161. But who are these "party and Government leaders" in Czechoslovakia? I think any of us who listened tonight to the statements which were read by the Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia must realize that they are either fictional characters or non-entities. There is not a single name that has been mentioned—unless it is the most discredited name of all, that of Mr. Novotny, who was Moscow's favorite friend in Prague until he was removed from leadership by his compatriots last January. This is a vital point.

162. The Soviet armed forces were not invited into Czechoslovakia by anybody—not by anybody in a position to speak for the Czech nation or the Czech people. They are uninvited guests. This fact has been made clear, as I say, by the statement we have heard tonight, and I need not dwell on it.

163. But what is important to us is not only these facts—and they are unassailable facts: it is that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, supported by several of Moscow's obedient Warsaw Pact satellites, including, with tragic irony, Hungary itself, which certainly should know better, is contrary to the United Nations Charter, and it is contrary to all of international law. It is likewise contrary, I might add, to the terms of a resolution which has been read here tonight, which was sponsored exclusively by the Soviet Union itself, and even contrary to the language of the Warsaw Pact. All of those instruments, all of that language, has been openly mocked today by the action which has been taken in the armed invasion of Czechoslovakia.

164. A small independent nation, seeking once again the simple right to assert its own national personality and

freedom, has been squashed under the heel of Moscow. This has been done without the knowledge, and against the will of the people of Czechoslovakia and their Government. It was planned in secret, at a time when the public air was full of smiles and embraces. It was a gross act of perfidy. It is contrary to every canon of international law. It should be universally and rightly condemned by world opinion, no matter where in the world it occurs.

165. The ravaging of Czechoslovakia that we have witnessed is, of course, not evidence that, by nature, the people of the Soviet Union and its four Eastern European allies are any more aggressive than anyone else. It is irrefutable evidence, however, that the harassed and nervous leaders of the Soviet Union and its four Eastern European allies fully realize that the brand of communism they insist on maintaining in their own territories is incapable of surviving in an atmosphere where there is even the most rudimentary of fundamental human freedoms. It is further evidence, reinforcing that which the world witnessed in the Posnań riots, in the Hungarian rebellion in 1956 and in the obscene reality of the Berlin Wall, that the communist system is, in short, a fungus that will die once it is exposed to the sunlight of freedom. And they know it. It can live only in the dark, only in the dark of ignorance and repression.

166. This is a sad conclusion—sad for all of us, sad in its implications for the future. As far as my country and people are concerned, this tragedy is particularly grievous not only in itself but for the shadow it casts on the future of world peace. My Government has made clear in many ways, here in the United Nations and elsewhere in recent years and months, its earnest desire that great-Power tension should diminish, that the arms race should be brought under control, and that the foundations of peace in the world should be more firmly established. How severe a blow to these hopes has been dealt in the past twenty-four hours it is too early yet to tell. But much may depend on developments in the immediate future. President Johnson has already spoken for the United States in calling publicly on the Soviet Union and its associates in these events "to withdraw their troops from Czechoslovakia", and he added what must surely be in all our minds at this moment: "It is never too late for reason to prevail."

167. Therefore, the United States strongly appeals for immediate action by the Council, which, under the Charter, is the body primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is also, as a matter of reality, a principal instrument by which world public opinion can be given expression in moments such as these, moments of danger and crisis. In both capacities, we who sit on this Council have a responsibility to act and act quickly. The invasion of Czechoslovakia casts a shadow across the world. It says to every small nation which has a big communist neighbour: When might alone makes right, you too may be in danger.

168. Let us therefore reassert the law of the Charter and urgently call upon the Soviet Union, in the interests of that world peace to which it so frequently appeals, to remove its troops from Czechoslovak soil and to cease interference in that country or anywhere else in a manner contrary to

those international principles of freedom, sovereignty and self-determination on the integrity of which the peace of the world depends.

169. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): I believe we were all moved by the ungarished, factual report of the Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia based upon the statements of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic and of the other properly constituted bodies of the Communist Party and State organs of Czechoslovakia. In reply to Mr. Muzík and, through him, to the people of Czechoslovakia, I would like to tell what the Canadian Government's response was to the deplorable events in his country in the last twenty-four hours, as expressed by the Foreign Minister of Canada, The Honourable Mitchell Sharp. This is what he said:

"The Canadian Government views the invasion of Czechoslovakia with shock and dismay. We condemn this use of force. All Canadians feel the deepest concern for the courageous people of Czechoslovakia in this hour of trial.

"The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia constitute a flagrant breach of the principle of non-intervention to which the Soviet Union itself professes to subscribe. It is also a tragedy for all peoples who prize human freedom and national independence and I am confident that its significance will not be lost on the people of Eastern Europe, and even the Soviet Union.

"... I am sure that all of us will be anxious to keep in mind our ultimate goal of seeking a durable East-West accommodation, but no one can doubt that the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia constitutes a serious setback to a rational dialogue ..."

170. It was in pursuance of this official position of the Canadian Government that the Canadian delegation has associated itself with bringing this vital matter to the Council and seeking its prompt and serious consideration.

171. The representative of the Soviet Union has endeavoured in his statement to portray the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as an exercise of the right of self-defence. But surely this is the essential point with which we are concerned in this Council. There is no evidence that we can see that the Government of Czechoslovakia, headed by President Svoboda, Prime Minister Cerník and the Party Secretary, Mr. Dubcek, made any request whatsoever for the sort of defence which the Soviet Union and its allies have seen fit to offer to and impose upon a fraternal socialist State. In fact, I submit that this claim has been specifically contradicted by the Deputy and Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia to this Council. And perhaps I might be permitted to remind the Ambassador of the Soviet Union that fraternity has traditionally been associated with the concepts of liberty and equality.

172. We must move quickly in this situation. We must insist, as indeed the representative of Czechoslovakia has suggested through the statement of his Government, that the Soviet Union and its allies desist immediately from the armed intervention in Czechoslovak affairs on which they

have embarked and withdraw all their forces from Czechoslovakia forthwith and without delay.

173. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): It was with pained surprise and emotion that the French Government and French public opinion learned of the grave events which have just occurred in Czechoslovakia.

174. With surprise, because after the Cierna and Bratislava Conferences an agreement seemed to have been reached between the Czechoslovak Government and the Governments of the neighbouring socialist countries, and the misunderstandings which may have arisen seemed to have been dispelled. Nothing led us to foresee, and obviously nothing can justify, the military coup just carried out by the Governments of Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest and Sofia and the Pankow authorities.

175. With emotion, because this coup by force of arms represents open intervention in the internal affairs of a State, occupation of its territory, an infringement of its independence and of the right of peoples to self-determination. It constitutes a violation of the norms of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. The emotion of the French Government and the French people is all the more understandable when we recall that Czechoslovakia is a friendly nation linked for centuries to France by many cultural and sentimental ties.

176. This armed intervention appears all the more deplorable to us because it reveals a situation which we had hoped and believed belonged to the past. It shows that the Government of Moscow has not dissociated itself, as we had hoped, from the policy of blocs which was unfortunately imposed on Europe as a consequence of the Yalta Agreement. That policy could not and cannot lead to anything but international tension, and this new event threatens to give still further proof of this.

177. As is known, France, which did not participate in these Yalta agreements, does not adopt and cannot approve such a policy, which is incompatible with the rights of peoples to self-determination.

178. Finally, France deplores these events all the more inasmuch as they are of such a nature as to run counter to the easing of tension in Europe which my country has been particularly concerned to encourage, which it resolutely practises, and towards which it endeavours to lead the other nations.

179. It was natural, it was inevitable that such events should have been raised in the Security Council. The military action which has just been carried out by the Governments of Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia, Budapest and the Pankow authorities is obviously contrary to the aims and principles of our Charter which, in Article 1, paragraph 2 provides for the development of "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ..." and which enjoins upon the Members of the Organization to "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".

180. The French Government hopes that the above-mentioned Governments will immediately withdraw their troops from Czechoslovakia, put an end to their unjustified intervention, cease trying to impose a change of government on the Czechoslovak people, and allow the latter freely to determine its own future.

181. Mr. MELLBIN (Denmark): First of all, I wish to thank the Deputy Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia for his sober and moving statements made in this meeting and based upon declarations emanating from the lawful Czechoslovak authorities. In doing so, I nourish no sinister intentions, imperialist or otherwise. It is simply an expression of sympathy from one small European country to another European country, concerned about its freedom and independence.

182. When the shocking news reached Denmark that Czechoslovakia had been invaded and occupied by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Soviet Zone of Germany, the Danish Government issued a declaration which in substance reads as follows: The events in Czechoslovakia last night must arouse deep concern also in Denmark. By all freedom-loving peoples these events must be considered a tragedy. We followed the developments in Czechoslovakia with expectation, confident that they would lead to a further thaw of frozen fronts which could give us hope of further steps on the road towards a *détente*.

183. The military action against Czechoslovakia undertaken last night is a serious blow to all those positive forces at work all over the world which hope for a *détente*, for increased freedom for all peoples and for a gradual rapprochement between East and West.

184. Those were the terms, highly responsible and adequate, I would venture to say, in which my Government expressed its view of what has happened in Czechoslovakia. And I wish to assure you that the people of Denmark stands firmly and united behind its Government in this matter.

185. The intervention by the Soviet Union and certain of its allies in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia is without any justification. The Government of the Soviet Union and those allies claim that their intervention has taken place at the request of the Czechoslovak people. There is no evidence to substantiate such assertions. On the contrary they are belied by a number of irrefutable facts, among them most recently and, I would say, most strongly by the declarations contained in the statement of the Deputy Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia in this very meeting of the Security Council. To our mind, what has happened is a flagrant violation of the most elementary rights of Czechoslovakia, its Government and its people.

186. The armed intervention in Czechoslovakia is contrary to international law and morality and certainly to the good order of international behaviour. It violates the Charter of the United Nations, the principles for which this Organization stands and, among other things, the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic

Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty. This declaration [resolution 2131 (XX)] states the following:

"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."

187. It seems to me that this is very clear language; no State has the right to intervene for any reason whatever. There are no exceptions, not one single exception which could be invoked to justify the armed assault on Czechoslovakia. The plain fact is that this action is not only unjustified, it is inexcusable. And it will impose upon Czechoslovakia and its people sufferings and perhaps tragedy.

188. The Government of Denmark has played a most active role in the efforts to bring about a *détente* in Europe. Therefore, our disappointment is great. What has happened today can only poison the atmosphere and the political climate in Europe and indeed beyond that continent.

189. We hope that the deliberations on this matter may be brought to a speedy conclusion, corresponding to the seriousness and the urgency of the situation. We think that in order to live up to its responsibility, it is a prerequisite that the Security Council should call upon the Government of the Soviet Union and those of its allies which are involved in the intervention in Czechoslovakia to desist forthwith from this intervention and to withdraw all their forces without delay from the territory of Czechoslovakia.

190. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary): It is no wonder that the Western Powers are trying to gain as much political profit as possible by raising this question very hastily here in the Security Council and that they press for a discussion of this matter. One can understand the United States representative and some others—that they are happy that this time they have a chance to divert the attention of the Council from many deliberations, many issues here in the United Nations, in which they were the focus of attention for their support of the Israeli aggression, for their support of the exploitation of the people of Rhodesia and Namibia, and a good number of other issues.

191. This situation is a very serious one, and I must state that the whole issue is being used for propaganda purposes mainly by the United States. The United States representative made a number of references to events in Hungary in 1956. He failed to mention that those events were influenced to a very large extent by the forces—subversive forces—of the West, and at that time they also tried to capitalize on that issue. The United States representative referred to the "régime" established after the Soviet intervention in Hungary, but that "régime" to which he referred has diplomatic relations with the United States and an American ambassador is in Hungary. For the last twelve years, I think that the record of the Hungarian Government speaks for itself.

192. Therefore it is not very fortunate, from the point of view even of the United States, to raise this issue now here. But if we talk of 1956, I would like to state that the Hungarian counter-revolution in 1956 gave us a lesson, and certain developments in Czechoslovakia concerned us.

193. The Bratislava statement of six nations' communist parties declared that the defence of the socialist achievements is the common cause of the socialist countries, and it is an international obligation for all of us. The decision to use our forces certainly was not a very easy one. Our political leaders are not so trigger-happy as those in other countries. It will be proven that this action now will help not only the Czechoslovak people and the commonwealth of the socialist countries, but also world peace.

194. The tone of the statement of the Deputy Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia and the tone of the statement of the United States representative are quite opposite. It seems to us that the Government of the United States is now trying to make some political capital and with this hasty action could even deepen the crisis further, which will not serve the cause of international peace and security.

195. There were some other allegations concerning my country and I reserve the right to speak in detail later regarding them.

196. The PRESIDENT: As I have no speakers on the list, and although I intend to address the Council at a later stage of our proceedings, I hope that, speaking as the representative of BRAZIL, I may be allowed to bring to the attention and consideration of the Council an appeal made today by the President of the Republic of Brazil. It is as follows:

"The invasion of Czechoslovakia and the occupation of its territory by forces of socialist countries under the leadership of the Soviet Union constitute a grave attempt against the freedom and the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak people and frontally violates the fundamental norms of behaviour among States, contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

"The efforts towards the strengthening of international peace and security, which lately appeared to be so promising, are thus damaged by the disrespect to the fundamental rights of a people.

"The Brazilian Government deplors and condemns this attempt perpetrated against Czechoslovakia and, inspired by the lofty sentiments of peace and harmony among nations which are so dear to our people, makes an earnest appeal for the cessation of interventionist activities in that country."

197. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has already had occasion to declare the fictitiousness and groundlessness of the proposal to involve the Security Council in an examination of the question of the situation in Czechoslovakia, since this is a purely internal affair of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic itself, and the common business of its allies through the socialist community and the Warsaw Treaty.

198. However, inasmuch as this question has nevertheless become the object of examination in the Council, we intend to give a clear-cut and detailed presentation of the facts concerning the events in Czechoslovakia and around that country, as well as the position of the Soviet Government in connexion with these events. Of course, we shall speak plainly and call a spade a spade, especially in view of the torrent of slander and insinuations with which the new American representative to the Security Council has spoken here.

199. The stinking breath of the cold war exuded from his statement and, naturally, the Soviet delegation will not leave his statement unanswered.

200. It is well known that after the end of the Second World War and the defeat of the Hitlerite invaders occupying an enormous part of Europe, the Czechoslovak people decided once and for all to free itself of capitalist exploitation and ties with foreign monopolies, to establish its own independent people's State, and to devote its forces to the building of socialism.

201. By carrying out the positive objectives of socialist construction in close fraternal co-operation with the other socialist States, the Czechoslovak people, following this course, has achieved splendid successes which are widely acknowledged throughout the world. And no matter what slanderous statements the American representative makes here, saying that Czechoslovakia has supposedly been in bondage to Moscow for twenty years, he will not succeed in drawing attention from these great successes achieved by the Czechoslovak people during the existence of socialist construction, in these twenty heroic years. A new statehood was created in Czechoslovakia; the Czechoslovak people was given every opportunity for the political and economic strengthening of its country, for the development of its creative initiatives. Czechoslovakia entered the world socialist community of States as an equal partner.

202. Obviously, this development of the Czechoslovak people and this country, its determination to rid itself once and for all of the chains of capitalism aroused and continue to arouse the frenzied rage of the imperialist powers and prompted their efforts, in collaboration with the remnants of internal reaction, to divert the Czechoslovak people from their chosen course, to wrest Czechoslovakia from the world socialist system and return it to the bosom of the so-called Western world.

203. Who does not know what "benefits" to the people, —especially the people engaged on the road of socialist construction, the road of free creative life without exploitation, without the domination of monopolies, without the presence of the rich and the richest, such as takes place in the United States, without the debasement of man by man, without racial discrimination,—what "benefits" go with the notorious imperialist way of life.

204. Mr. Ball dislikes the word "imperialism", but this word is used all over the world, it is found in all the world's languages, of which I believe there are over 2,800 by linguistic scholars' reckoning, and imperialism is always imperialism everywhere. And everywhere the people curse

American imperialism. Whether the American representative likes it or not, such are the facts of life today. The notorious American way of life brings with it social and racial inequality, the merciless extraction of profits and super-profits in the interests of the gigantic octopuses of the monopolistic concerns which a book recently published in America calls "The rich, the richest, the super-richest". Therefore no slander and insinuation against the lofty, new, noble, progressive social system of communism by the representatives of imperialism and monopoly capital can diminish the great historical significance of Communism and socialism.

205. The rabid spite of imperialism and its representatives against communism is understandable, but the history of mankind develops not according to their will, but to its own objective laws and discards all that is obsolete, including imperialism. All these ill-willed attempts grew particularly virulent in relation to Czechoslovakia recently, with the result that within the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and around it a real and highly dangerous tension was created, open manoeuvres began to be carried out aimed at liquidation of the existing socialist system in Czechoslovakia and doing away with the State order established by the people of Czechoslovakia and secured in its constitution.

206. The Soviet Union has irrefutable data that the threads of the events occurring in Czechoslovakia reach beyond that country's borders. In fact, a dangerous conspiracy of the internal and foreign forces of reaction is taking place aimed at restoration of the order brought down by the popular revolution. As I have already pointed out, the same line is being followed here as that which we see in Viet-Nam where American imperialism—I repeat: imperialism—is trying by force to crush the Viet-Nameese people's struggle for national liberation. This is also apparent from the events in the Middle East where the American imperialist line is being pursued, where it attempted at the hands of Israel in last year's aggression to liquidate the progressive régimes of advanced Arab States.

207. The peoples and Governments of the Socialist States have closely followed the situation taking shape in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in connexion with the combined conspiracy of internal and foreign reaction. The events in and around that country have frequently been the subject of an exchange of views among the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries, including the leaders of Czechoslovakia. In the course of these conferences the Communist Party and the Government leadership of Czechoslovakia—as is apparent from the signed Bratislava Declaration of the Communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries (which the American representative liked so much that he has already quoted it for the third time)—were concerned by the serious danger of reactionary acts aimed against the Czechoslovak people and their socialist State.

208. Together with the other Communist parties and Governments of the Warsaw Treaty nations, the Czechoslovak leadership noted, as indicated in that Declaration, that the reactivation of the forces of revanchism, militarism and neo-Nazism in West Germany directly affects the

security of the socialist States and constitutes a threat to the general peace. Determination was unanimously expressed to reject any attempts to revise the results of the Second World War and disturb the borders established in Europe. In connexion with the continuing aggressive activity of the imperialist forces of the United States, West Germany and other countries with their persistent attempts to weaken the socialist community, the Communist party and Government of the Czechoslovak Republic together with the other participants in the Bratislava Conference considered it necessary to stress once more the special significance of the Warsaw Treaty which was and remains a powerful factor in the peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

209. The Czechoslovak leadership regards this Treaty as an insuperable obstacle for those who would like to revise the results of the Second World War, as a sure means of defense of the achievements of socialism, the sovereignty and the independence of the fraternal states. Obviously, the latest events in Czechoslovakia have created not only a danger to the existing socialist social system in that country, but also a direct threat of upsetting the established balance of forces in Europe in favour of imperialism, which would inevitably not only undermine European peace, but would also menace international security as a whole. In view of this direct threat to the legitimate authority in the country, a group of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, of the Government, and of the National Assembly appealed to the allied States, including the Soviet Union, with a pressing request that they render direct, immediate assistance to the Czechoslovak people, including assistance by armed forces.

210. We have just received the appeal of this group, which reads as follows:

"Citizens of Czechoslovakia, workers, peasants, representatives of the working intelligentsia, men and women, youth;

"To all, regardless of political affiliation, nationality, creed and social status, to all who cherish our socialist motherland and to whom it is truly a motherland, we appeal to all of you at this moment when the country's fate is being decided, at a moment which will forever remain a crucial moment in our history and our future socialist and democratic development, a moment when for us there arises the question of the values won by our efforts of twenty years, our sacrifices, our labour, a moment when everything is at stake.

"We appeal to you at a time when the results of our socialist system are threatened by forces which abuse the progressive steps initiated by the Party itself at the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and sincerely implemented since then by the Party in the interests of achieving genuine democracy and genuine humaneness, the ideals dear to all honest citizens of our country.

"At the Party's initiative we embarked in January upon a new course of seeking and finding a new look in socialism which would suit the way of life and thought of

our people and within which all the perspectives of society and the individual would be linked. The Party openly criticized past mistakes. It emphatically dissociated itself from the period of the régime of personal power which had actually deformed the humane and democratic nature of socialism. With the active participation and support of all honest-minded patriots it resolutely entered a new period with the most honest intentions to remedy the mistakes of the past and to create the conditions for a full-blooded, rich and happy life in our country.

"The fundamental civil rights, which have always been vitally associated with our people's concepts of democracy and humanism, were again restored in the ideas and progressive spirit of a programme of action, that long-term platform of our socialist development programme which has received the unprecedented mass support of our people.

"Above all, this unanimous support confirmed the justice, strength and magnetism of our new course. This fact proved, in particular, that despite all the shortcomings of the pre-January period, the ideas of socialism had become deeply rooted in our people; that our people regards socialism as the natural medium of its life; and that our people's profound aspiration to rights and justice found its true expression precisely in the progressive concepts outlined by the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee. With the aid of these ideas, society was drawn out of a state of unwholesome indifference, and the gates were thereby fully opened to a powerful current of wholesome untapped initiative. Our people passed this historical test brilliantly and once again proved its high maturity.

"Unfortunately, this period of search and transformation of our society was abused for their own purposes, for active entry into the political arena, by forces which had waited for many years for such a propitious moment to discredit the party and challenge its political and moral right to guide society. These right wing forces were actually met halfway by certain forces within the Party and in Party bodies who thus showed themselves to be in contradiction with the principles and aims of the Party and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Together they directed their joint forces towards a systematic violation of the constitutional nature of our political reform and concentrated on a fight against the positive efforts of the Party and the State organs to achieve the goals set in January.

"They organized a smear campaign designed to compromise individual functionaries, including some from the new leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who had had the courage to draw attention publicly to the threatening danger and to see the real situation in all its complexity. They violated public order, they aroused base nationalist passions; they did not even disdain slander against our Czechoslovak socialist motherland, slander against the honest labour of our people, our Party, the army, and our security agencies; they demanded changes in our foreign policy. This smear campaign of theirs even went so far as to attack the

Soviet Union, particularly in connexion with the staff exercises of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and also reached the point of attacking our friendship with the socialist countries. In doing so they created an atmosphere entirely unacceptable to socialist countries.

"The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Government of the Republic and the National Front maintained exceptional patience and understanding. However, it was emphasized more than once, especially at the May plenary meeting, that the first and most immediate task was to thwart the plans of the right-wing anti-socialist forces; to prevent any false step from placing the programme of action in jeopardy; to ensure that the question of the future Party line be settled not by the advocates of extremist views, but by the sound, progressive nucleus of the Party; to give publicly full support to the Party and state machinery, the army, the security agencies, the procurator's office, the judiciary, the people's militia—in short, to consolidate the situation.

"However, the right-wing extremist forces, who regarded this magnanimity and patience and truly democratic way of settling a serious political problem on the Party's part not as its strength but as its weakness, further intensified their activity. In Prague, as is well known, during spontaneous meetings attended by many thousands, matters came to the point of gross incencies when various elements attacked the Party and insulted its representatives whom they themselves repeatedly obliged to participate in these meetings. In the centre of the city a public campaign was started to collect signatures in favour of liquidating the people's militia. Communists who expressed their point of view in the discussions at these spontaneous street meetings were rudely silenced and physical force was frequently used against them. Many of those who signed the letter at the Auto-Praha works were persecuted in a shameful manner, even to the point of dismissal from their jobs. The press continues, although indirectly, publicly to defame leading functionaries by other more sophisticated means, and this organized subversive activity reached its climax in the last few days: a group of right-wing extremists quite openly attacked the premises of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague. Thus, the extremist forces have not heeded the Party's appeal, but have further intensified their subversive activity, attempting to provoke conflict in our country regardless of the consequences. Thus a situation has arisen in which the obligations deriving from the Bratislava Declaration of six fraternal communist and workers' parties, which also bears the signature of our Party's representatives, are being publicly, systematically violated.

"Citizens! All that our working people have created in the last twenty years, all the achievements of socialism are at stake today. Not only our path of socialist democracy, on which we embarked in January, but the very foundation of socialism, our Republic itself is placed in jeopardy.

"Aware of our supreme responsibility toward our people, filled with true patriotic feeling, with the feeling

of international socialist solidarity, aware of our international commitments, we have assumed the initiative of rallying all patriotic forces in the name of our socialist future and our homeland. The danger of fratricidal strife, which has been prepared by the reaction and which would be a tragic repetition of Lipan (this refers to the battle of Lipan in 1434) has confronted us with the need to make the historic decision of appealing to the Soviet Union and to the other fraternal socialist countries for assistance. Our allies have granted us this assistance, as they did in 1945 when it was a question of our very existence.

"We call on all citizens to give every support to the military units of our allies. After the danger of a reactionary coup has been eliminated the allied troops will leave Czechoslovak territory. All foreigners who happen to be on Czechoslovak territory at present may continue to enjoy our hospitality; their security and immunity will be fully guaranteed provided they abide by our laws.

"Guided by a feeling of profoundest responsibility towards our people, towards our working class, towards the peoples of our country, towards the international working class and the world communist movement, at this crucial moment we appeal to you, citizens of the Republic, to rally around the realistically-minded core of the Party which cherishes the cause of socialism, progress, the new post-January path, which holds dear the cause of friendship with the people of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal countries.

"Believing firmly in your common sense, maturity and political consciousness, we urge you, all honest citizens of our homeland, workers, peasants, representatives of the intellectuals, men, women, youth, the wholesome forces of the National Front, servicemen, workers in the security agencies, Communists and non-Communists, all honest people, to prevent by your concrete deeds and concrete actions any further onslaught by any reactionary forces, be they outside or within the Party. Do not permit any spontaneous outbursts, acts of destruction, anarchy; maintain calm and order.

"We reject application of the pre-January policy. We shall not permit any sign of a return to the self-discredited pre-January methods which have been decisively rebuffed by the overwhelming majority of our people, and which placed the leading role of the Party and the socialist gains of our working people in jeopardy and helped create a situation really fraught with conflict involving the use of force. On the contrary, we wish to defend and fully implement the progressive ideas of January which are leading us to a really modern, regenerated, humane socialist society, the society envisaged by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and those who began to carry them out after the October victory.

"We are and shall be loyal to the end to our progressive national traditions associated with the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic, with the precepts of the anti-fascist struggle, national and democratic values, with the traditions of the Slovak national uprising, the Prague May

uprising of 1945, and with the revolutionary appeal of February 1948: 'Forward, not a step back!' We shall guard as the apple of our eye our fraternal bonds of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, its people, the peoples of all the countries of the world socialist community, and with all the forces of peace, democracy, progress and socialism—these values which guarantee us our self-reliance, independence, national and State sovereignty, without which we should again come face to face with a new Munich and with those who caused it in 1938.

"Czechoslovakia can only develop as a socialist country, and as an inseparable, organic part of the socialist community. Its strength and stability constitute the bases for the future prospects of the international revolutionary movement. Any weakening or breach of the socialist camp would deal the cause of revolutionary progress and socialism an inconceivable blow.

"We appeal to you, distinguished citizens, fully confident that by common action we shall block the danger that threatens, that by our common efforts we shall overcome the present difficult situation and ensure a happy present and future for our homeland and our next generation.

"We appeal to all of you, from the greenhouse of the Sumava mountains to the Cierna Nad Tissov, from Karkonosze to the shore of the Danube, to realize the magnitude and seriousness of these days when everything we associate with the meaning of 'democracy' and 'socialism' is at stake, to recognize your responsibility and maintain the unity and mutual confidence with which we must enter the days ahead.

"Our guiding principles are and shall continue to be farsightedness, order, progress, truth, and the socialist perspective, State sovereignty and firm solidarity.

"Long live and flourish democratic socialist Czechoslovakia!

(signed) Group of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Government and the National Assembly, who have appealed for assistance to the Governments and Communist Parties of the fraternal countries."

211. This is the appeal constituting the basis for extending collaboration to the Czechoslovak people. We are convinced that nobody except, of course, the imperialists, can entertain the slightest doubt as to the right of the Government and the wholesome forces of a sovereign socialist State to appeal for assistance to its allies, to whom Czechoslovakia is bound by the Warsaw Treaty and other existing treaty commitments. In connexion with this appeal by Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Government and the Governments of the allied countries—Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland—, following the principles of inviolable friendship and co-operation, and in conformity with the above-mentioned treaty obligations, decided to respond to the fraternal Czechoslovak people and give it the necessary assistance.

212. The decision by Czechoslovakia and the action of the Soviet Government and those of the other socialist countries which are Czechoslovakia's allies is wholly in accordance with the right of States to individual and collective self-defence provided for in the treaties of alliance concluded between the fraternal socialist countries, and in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. This action is the expression of the firm determination of the fraternal countries to oppose any external threat by their inviolable solidarity and comradely mutual assistance.

213. We declare here with all our determination that nobody will ever be allowed to wrest so much as a single link from the community of socialist States which has been, is and shall remain an unshakeable bastion against all and any imperialist attacks, conspiracies, provocations and a firm bulwark of the right of all peoples to struggle for their freedom, and their national and social independence.

214. As is well known, the Soviet Government has officially announced that the Soviet troops will immediately be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia as soon as the existing threat to the achievements of socialism in that country, the threat to the security of the countries of the socialist community, is eliminated and the legitimate authorities consider that the further presence of these military units is no longer necessary there.

215. Thus I stress once again that the measures taken are not directed against any State, nor against the independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia or of any other country, they are in no way a threat to anybody. In no way do they infringe upon anybody's state interests; they serve only the objectives of peace and are dictated by a concern for its consolidation.

216. We are firmly, completely convinced that had there not been a firm and timely rebuff of those who are making a deadly attempt to destroy the socialist achievements of the Czechoslovak people, the aggressive forces would only have been encouraged to new actions against the peoples who have already attained or are struggling for their independence and freedom. The measures taken by the socialist States which are Czechoslovakia's allies were taken at the request of Czechoslovakia itself, and in accordance with the interests of countries developing on the soil of the ruins of the colonial system of imperialism; they perform the task of strengthening the independence and sovereignty of all non-aligned countries, safeguarding them against the attacks and plots of imperialism. By rendering assistance to the Czechoslovak people the allied socialist States are performing their international duty not only towards the fraternal Czechoslovak people but towards all forces acting for peace, democracy, and the national liberation of peoples.

217. In the light of all these circumstances the question automatically arises: what motivated those who sponsored the raising of this question in the Council which, under the United Nations Charter, is called upon only to consider such situations as constitute "a threat to peace, any violation of peace or act of aggression". Obviously, their intentions can only be considered as an attempt to shift all

the responsibility certain imperialist States bear for the encouragement of internal counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia; for the attempts to contribute to forcible change of the socialist system and statehood established there; for the obvious desire to bring back the old order by all and any means, and to deprive the Czechoslovak people of those real liberties it has achieved in the course of its socialist revolution.

218. In this connexion we can not fail to note that, so far, the official figures and Governments of these countries have pretended that they are not involved in this matter. However, there is a distinct impression that a remarkably strict division of roles is being effected between the official government organs and those of the mass information and propaganda media. The former have emphatically tried to dissociate themselves from the slightest suggestion that they participated in the incitement of anti-socialist elements in Czechoslovakia, and have avoided commenting on the events in any way. The latter, that is, the propaganda organs, assumed the function of launching a vast anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign; everyone of you here has seen this with his own eyes in the pages of the American newspapers, on television, and has heard it on the radio. The whole powerful arsenal of misinformation, slander, and falsification has been employed in the presentation and interpretation of the events in Czechoslovakia along a very definite line, along the line of incitement to a further attack on the socialist order in Czechoslovakia.

219. Today we have heard the same kind of falsification from the American representative here as well. His speech can only be regarded as an incitement to the anti-socialist elements in Czechoslovakia.

220. The hostile attitude to socialist Czechoslovakia on the part of the capitalist Powers, all of which belong to the aggressive NATO bloc (except Paraguay, and France, which has withdrawn from that bloc's military organization) is well known. And it is precisely under pressure from them, and above all pressure from the United States, that the so-called Czechoslovak question has been included since 1948 on the list of dead questions pending examination by the Security Council.

221. The United States and its relevant agencies are exerting every effort to use the events in Czechoslovakia in their own interests; they are trying to put anti-socialist forces in power in that country. No matter how they may try to conceal their real aims in their official declarations, these aims come to the surface, and none but the blind can fail to perceive them.

222. The statement made as early as 28 April of this year by Eugene Rostow, Under-Secretary of State, who declared that the United States followed the events in Czechoslovakia "with sympathy and hope" can only be termed open incitement. That was over three months ago.

223. Moreover, on 15 May, Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota, obviously counting on a rapid victory of reaction, declared in the Senate: "In recent weeks it has become clear that Czechoslovakia has taken a remarkable course. This country needs new contacts with the West. The

time has come for the United States to reconsider its reaction to these changes in Eastern Europe."

224. Congressman Dante Fascell of Florida stated on 9 May in the House of Representatives: "The Government of the United States will undoubtedly wish to do everything in its power to encourage these trends towards liberalization in Czechoslovakia and everywhere in Eastern Europe. The time is probably approaching when the President's proposal for building bridges to the East may be put in practice."

225. What bridges? Imperialist bridges. Promises of economic advantages were used openly to encourage internal reaction in Czechoslovakia. The plans of the American ruling circles find their frankest expression in the comments of the American press. Recently, an editorial in *The Wall Street Journal*, the organ of large-scale monopoly capital, stated:

"In terms of the U.S. world-wide struggle against international Communism throughout the world, the development of the events in Czechoslovakia is of vital significance to the interests of the United States. Europe is logically at the centre of the interests of the United States abroad, and if real strides were to be made there towards self-determination in Eastern Europe, this would be a gain for Washington and a blow to Moscow. This might change the entire balance of power in Europe."

226. That's what Wall Street, monopoly capital, and imperialism dream of, and it is confirmed by the American representative's speech today.

227. The important place assigned to Czechoslovakia in the so-called "new Eastern policy of the Federal Republic of Germany" is also well known. This policy is designed to shatter the unity of the countries of the socialist community, and it pursues the goal of attaining by other means the revanchist objectives which the West German militarists are unable to achieve by armed force.

228. The political leaders of West Germany are tying their hopes and calculations with increasing frankness to the possibility of the achievement of a counter-revolutionary coup in Czechoslovakia. Facts have already been brought out in the world press indicating direct interference by the Federal Republic of Germany in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak people. The West German ruling circles are making every effort to warm up the activities of the internal reaction in Czechoslovakia by their promises of loans, credits, etc.

229. The West German leaders, who have always stubbornly refused to recognize the invalidity of the Munich Pact from the very outset, have now begun to drop unequivocal hints that, in the event of a change of the social system in Czechoslovakia, they would be prepared to extend such recognition. At a press conference in Bonn on 18 June, the Foreign Minister of the German Federal Republic, Brandt, stressed that it will be "not only desirable, but also possible in the final analysis to remove this question (i.e., the Munich Pact) from the agenda as not being at issue from the standpoint of the relations between the German Federal Republic and Czechoslovakia".

230. Incentives and promises, incitement and "aid". The West German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, of 19 July wrote: "Everything which has given rise to an impression of participation on our part has been attended by disastrous consequences. Where essential aid must be given, it is done as unostentatiously as possible and in every case through the mediacy of West European friends." Here is an open admission of aid being given to the reaction in Czechoslovakia.

231. What has touched off such a heightening of interest by imperialist circles in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs, if not the hope for a political reorientation of that country, for breaking through the borders of the socialist system in the centre of Europe? However, Mr. President, the people who are now pretending—particularly here at this table—to burn with anxiety over some alleged non-interference in the affairs of the Czechoslovak State know very well that a change in the balance of power in Europe would at present be an extremely serious threat to the security of its peoples. It could lead to whetting the appetite of the militarist revanchist elements of West Germany, providing food to nurture the rebirth of a charge on the East, the "*Drang nach Osten*" of Hitler's time. As a result, the world might be drawn into the abyss of even greater trials than those it was plunged into by German militarism during the last two world wars.

232. Under these circumstances the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in the interests of their own security and the maintenance of the general peace, could not fail to show concern over the safeguarding of Czechoslovakia's western borders, which are the western borders of the entire community of socialist countries, of all the member States of the Warsaw Treaty.

233. The peoples of Eastern Europe suffered too great bloodshed and heavy losses (the Soviet Union alone lost twenty million people) during the Second World War against German fascism to be able to maintain a passive attitude to the attempts of the imperialists and revanchists to revise the borders established in post-war Europe. On the European continent, where enormous means of mass destruction have been stockpiled, the peace and security of the peoples are maintained thanks above all to the solidarity, forces, unity and peace-loving policy of the socialist States. This strength and unity, the fate of peace, are the common responsibility of all the socialist countries, of the whole community of these countries including, of course, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

234. The progressive forces of Czechoslovakia, as is obvious from the appeal I have read, are firmly resolved to continue the course indicated by the Party at the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and confirmed by the Bratislava Conference. This appeal constitutes an important political document. It has the support of all those who have the matter of freedom, independence and the sovereignty of socialist Czechoslovakia at heart.

235. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people, with the support of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, will be able to oppose the onslaught of internal

and foreign reaction successfully, to defend its socialist system and to strengthen its independent State still further.

236. I cannot leave some of the orators who spoke before me unanswered. First of all, Mr. President, we have listened very attentively to the statement of the Acting Representative of Czechoslovakia who was invited, at his request, to the table of the Security Council.

237. The Soviet delegation would not wish to analyse his statement line by line or argue with him about the texts of declarations by individual groups of Czechoslovak personalities which he heard on the radio, especially since, as he said himself, possibly these texts are not entirely accurate or may be distorted. No, we won't go into that now. We want to draw attention to something else. The statement of the representative of Czechoslovakia, especially the statement of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Ludwík Svoboda which he read out shows that complex processes of an internal order are taking place in that country, involving many of the figures of the Czechoslovak Government, the Party, the Parliament, and the Czechoslovak people. These processes are indeed complex, and the future direction of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's development depends to a great extent on the way they will conclude. And in order that these processes may be concluded in the interests of the Czechoslovak people, its freedom, independence, sovereignty, elimination of the threat of imperialist enslavement, in order that these processes may conclude in the interests of socialism in Czechoslovakia, in the interests of the entire socialist community in Eastern Europe, it is extremely important that they be allowed to run their course in an atmosphere of calm, which is what the President of Czechoslovakia is calling for too. But what has this got to do with the Security Council and the American delegate here? What possible relation does the Security Council have to the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia? The answer, based on the United Nations Charter, Article 2, paragraph 7, can be one only: none. The Security Council has no relation whatever to the internal affairs and processes occurring in Czechoslovakia. And it is not fortuitous that the representative of Czechoslovakia, speaking here in this room, has not asked the Council to intervene in the internal affairs of this country? They can be settled by the Czechoslovak people, the Party, and all the wholesome forces of Czechoslovakia, with the support of the fraternal socialist countries, without the Security Council's participation and without the "advice" of the American delegate.

238. Who is it, then, who wants the Security Council, despite the Charter, despite the fact that it has no right to do so, to interfere nevertheless in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs? And in whose interests is it that there be such interference? The United States representative's statement has shed full, we might say absolute light on this question. The whole point of the slanderous, far-fetched statement of the United States representative, now that certain conditions have arisen for reducing the activities of internal and external reaction in Czechoslovakia, is to bolster the morale of the reactionaries, to give added confidence to the counter-revolutionary forces, to show them that they are not alone, that their protectors are continuing to give them all possible aid. In fact, Ambassador Ball's statement is a

patent example of open and direct incitement of the counter-revolutionary elements to new efforts to bring down the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, to an open struggle to seize power; it is the signal for organizing bloodshed, for unleashing fratricidal strife in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This statement reeks with a pathological hatred of communism and socialism. But there is nothing surprising in that. After all, who is speaking? The representative of large-scale monopoly capital. Can he be expected to like communism and socialism, to defend them? It is quite understandable that his speech describes the bloody deeds of the Hungarian counter-revolution. The representative of Hungary gave the American delegate a fitting answer on that score. And it was not fortuitous that Ambassador Ball so tenderly recalled the old Czechoslovak clique of yes-men, which was swept from the political scene by the Czechoslovak people long ago. Of course, he did not like my using the word "imperialism" in my statement. But I have already pointed out that this word exists in the languages of all peoples, and often repeated by them with the addition of the word "American".

239. The point, of course, is not my statement, but that imperialism is and remains imperialism. And this can be seen in Viet-Nam, in Africa, in the Middle East, and is manifest in Czechoslovakia as well. The representative of the United States' position in the discussion of this question is the best proof of this. Naturally, the imperialists do not like the fact that the Czechoslovak people and the healthy forces of Czechoslovakia wish to remain free, independent, in collaboration and fraternal unity with the other socialist forces. As to the fact that external forces are inciting anti-socialist elements in Czechoslovakia, we possess visible confirmation of it in the Tass report we have just received, which states:

"As reported previously, the Soviet Union and the other allied countries are acceding to the request of state leaders of Czechoslovakia for rendering the fraternal Czechoslovak people immediate assistance, including assistance by the armed forces."

240. The communication then reports the entry of the military units of those countries, and that the military units of the Czechoslovak People's Army are remaining in the areas of their deployment. The population remains calm. Many Czechoslovak citizens are expressing their appreciation to the soldiers of the allied armies for their timely arrival in Czechoslovakia to assist in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. At the same time, in Prague and other population centres, right-wing anti-socialist elements are trying to organize hostile attacks against the healthy forces of Czechoslovakia and the allied troops which have come to their aid. These hostile activities have found expression in organized provocative speeches in the streets, in the circulation of malicious rumors and falsehoods, and the distribution of slanderous leaflets. Inciting statements have been made by radio, television, and in the press. The subversive activities are conducted by the same anti-socialist elements which in recent months have come out daily against the mainstays of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, against friendship with the Soviet Union, and against friendship with all the other socialist countries.

Behind all this counter-revolutionary activity we can feel the guiding hand of the imperialist circles, and today the Security Council has become convinced of this.

241. Resorting to methods of provocation and blackmail, the anti-socialist elements are trying to spread distrust among the population towards the aims the fraternal countries have set in fulfilling their national duty to defend the socialist achievements in Czechoslovakia. At today's meeting of the Security Council new watchwords and grounds for incitement have been given these anti-socialist counter-revolutionary elements in Czechoslovakia. Thus, notwithstanding the clear-cut declaration of the allied countries that their military units do not mean to interfere in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs, rumors are circulating to the effect that the intention is to return former President A. Novotny to leadership of the country. These same slanderous fabrications have been repeated here today by the American delegate as well. At the same time, the fraternal parties and Governments of the allied countries have repeatedly expressed their support of the decisions of the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, aimed at the consolidation and development of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the guiding role of the working class and of its vanguard—the Communist Party. The progressive forces of Czechoslovakia—as is obvious from the appeal by a group of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, of the Government, and of the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia, published today—firmly intend to continue the measures outlined by the Party at the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This appeal, which is an important political document, is supported by all those who hold dear the cause of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of socialist Czechoslovakia. All day on 21 August there were broadcasts throughout Czechoslovakia of the statement by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ludvík Svoboda, calling on the people to display reason and calm, to be aware of their civic responsibilities, and, in the interests of the Republic, not to permit rash actions.

242. A few words in conclusion. I cannot fail to draw attention to the slanderous statement made here by the American delegate with regard to Masaryk. However, this slander has long since been unmasked by the official organs and leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Moreover, this slander has been publicly refuted by Masaryk's former secretary, who now lives in London and who makes no pretence of sympathy for socialism and the Soviet Union.

243. One remark concerning the statement of the representative of France. If I have understood the interpretation correctly, he referred to the fact that the policy of blocs in Europe was thrust upon it by the Yalta Agreement. This is not in keeping with the facts. At Yalta, agreement was reached on the creation of the United Nations Organization, of which we all have the honour of being Members. This, not the creation of blocs, was one of the significant decisions of the Yalta Conference. The blocs came later. And as former Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Great Britain, I can tell the meeting of the Security Council that

the founder and creator of the blocs himself told me the reasons for this policy. The eminent political leader of England, the late Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, in his official residence, Chequers, told the Soviet Ambassador that after the Second World War he considered the development of friendship between Russia and America to be the most terrible danger to himself and to his country. That is why he decided to make a speech at Fulton in January 1946 and explain to the Americans who were, as he put it then, newcomers to international relations, the threat to America on Russia's part, so as to prevent friendship between the Americans and the Russians. But, he added, explaining this to the Soviet Ambassador, the Americans "were carried away too much by my counsels, and started such a frantic armaments race and such a stockpiling of gigantic nuclear atomic weaponry that by now it has become a threat to you, to them, to England, to the whole world." These were literally the words of the late Sir Winston Churchill, whom, in my presence in London at state dinners, high official leaders of England, including the then Prime Minister, Macmillan, repeatedly termed the greatest living Englishman of that time. He also said that the tragedy is that in our time there is no difference between the front and the rear, there is nowhere to escape. What Churchill evidently meant was that England had often been saved in the past on its island, that neither Napoleon nor Hitler could reach. But those times are over and Churchill, as a great political leader, understood this; that is why at that time (this was in July 1953) he said he was developing the idea of a summit meeting. That was the first proposal made concerning a summit meeting. I won't go into this in detail, but I have certain information as to why it was not held then but later, in the summer of 1955.

244. That is who started the blocs, who laid their foundations. Here they were seized on by President Truman and many others. And I was particularly struck, distinguished colleagues, by the fact that the Fulton speech of the late Churchill has been quoted by our distinguished colleague the American delegate in his book *The Discipline of Power* as though it were the Bible, and that is dangerous. Even at the time Churchill himself subjected his position to criticism, yet Mr. Ball still believes in it today as though it were the Gospel.

245. Here is the information for the French representative as to where the blocs started.

246. Mr. BALL (United States of America): As the representative of the Soviet Union has devoted a great part of his speech, in fact of his speeches tonight to the views that I have expressed on behalf of my Government, I should like to exercise the right of reply, but very briefly.

247. The Soviet representative has paid me the compliment of saying that I make an honest effort to carry out my instructions, and I certainly endeavour to do so. One of my instructions is to try to understand the position of the Soviet Union. I have therefore listened with great patience and attention to the statements of the Soviet representative. They are very impressive statements from a quantitative point of view. They are very impressive also in the astonishingly wide range of irrelevance which they contain. From the point of view, however, of trying to find in those

statements a coherent justification for the position which the Soviet Government has taken in its invasion of Czechoslovakia, I can only distill out a few small pearls, but they seem to add up to the following.

248. First, that in the view of the Soviet representative—which I assume is the view of his Government—there is the apparent assumption that Czechoslovakia either is or should be a colony of the Soviet Union. I say this in part because I have been inspired by the long lecture on imperialism which I received tonight and I have taken it very much to heart. For what the Soviet representative describes as an internal matter of Czechoslovakia becomes for him a matter in which the Soviet Union is not only free but has some obligation to interfere. Thus, if it is in fact an internal matter for Czechoslovakia, then I find it very hard to understand how one reaches this extraordinary conclusion without any request from the Czechoslovak Government. The Soviet representative has made no attempt at all that I can find to document the fact that there was any such request. He has read a very long and somewhat incoherent statement from a nameless group, but I do not know who they are and he has not told us. They are certainly not the Czechoslovak Government and no one can pretend that they are. So that without any permission or request from the Czechoslovak Government this interference, this invasion did take place. Unless one assumes some colonial hypothesis on the part of the Soviet representative, I find it impossible to understand the very tortured logic which he has put forward.

249. The Soviet representative does say, however—and he makes quite a point of this—that what the Soviet Union has succeeded in doing for Czechoslovakia and has endeavoured to do is to bring it some tranquillity.

250. I have just been handed a report of a radio broadcast from Radio Prague tonight which ascribes to the commander of the Soviet forces in Prague the order that any person seen on the streets before 5 o'clock—0500 hours—will be shot without warning. Now that is one way to bring about tranquillity, because if this order is carried out faithfully it is quite certain that a number of very unfortunate Czechs are likely to become very tranquil indeed because they will be dead.

251. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I believe we are approaching the end of our proceedings for today and I intend to be extremely short.

252. I would say that, having listened to the several speeches of the representative of the Soviet Union, I am sure that we are all anxious to proceed from words to action.

253. As to his speeches, I would only say that they were as relevant in matter as they were restricted in length and as clear as they were concise.

254. As to the statement he read purporting to come from the people of Czechoslovakia, I would only say that the Council will have no difficulty at all in choosing between this turgid and apparently anonymous document on the one hand, and the authenticated, authoritative, convincing

and moving statements which have been made to us this evening by the representative of Czechoslovakia.

255. I would make only one other comment on the statements of the representative of the Soviet Union. I speak with respect of course, but I must say that I regard it as the height of impudence that the representative of the Soviet Union, after the evil invasion for which his country has been responsible, should come here and lecture to us about Article 2, section 7, of the Charter of the United Nations dealing with the right of any people to maintain their own sovereignty and to order their own affairs.

256. I would say at this late hour that I believe there is one thing on which we are all agreed and that is the urgency of proceeding to a conclusion and coming to the stage of action. I myself would be perfectly prepared to go through the night if necessary, if we could reach a conclusion. The urgency has been shown by the vote by which all of us in this Council, except two, agreed that we should at least urgently consider this matter and deal with it promptly. The sense of urgency has been reinforced I am sure by the very remarkable statements coming from the representative of Czechoslovakia, who spoke to us with all the force of dignity and courage.

257. Therefore I would suggest that if we are now to adjourn, we should be ready to meet as early as possible tomorrow morning, and that in the interval we should all be prepared to give whatever time may be necessary to bring our deliberations tomorrow to an end as quickly as possible.

258. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Czechoslovakia.

259. Mr. MUZIK (Czechoslovakia): Being the representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, may I be permitted to refer briefly to points which concern directly, or very closely, my country?

260. First, February 1948. We Czechs and Slovaks are not ashamed of February 1948. On the contrary, we are very proud of it, because February 1948 meant victory over the efforts of the reaction to reverse the trend of developments in post-war Czechoslovakia.

261. The new leadership of the country and of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has often stressed that we shall not, in any case, come back to the times prior to February 1948 or to the times prior to 5 January of this year.

262. Secondly, concerning the death of the late Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Jan Masaryk, an investigation, which was ordered by the Government of Czechoslovakia and completed approximately a month ago, came to the conclusion that it was a suicide. This conclusion was mainly based on Western sources, particularly that which was already mentioned here tonight, the testimony of two very close personal aides to the Minister Jan Masaryk, who had left Czechoslovakia in 1948 and have lived abroad since then.

263. Third, I think it is erroneous to compare developments in Czechoslovakia nowadays with Hungary in 1956.

There may be one thing in common, namely, mistakes committed by the leadership of the country and the Party due to lack of experience and the non-existence of a precedent of building socialism in that kind of country; but what happened in Hungary was a counter-revolution which was crushed by the Soviet Army. I was not in Czechoslovakia at the time. Being a civil servant, I was attending a conference abroad, but my family, which lived in Prague very close to one of its soccer stadiums, told me upon my return what had happened on Sunday, 4 November, when the soccer public, the full stadium, which cannot be suspected of any political indoctrination I think, broke into applause when it learned of the victory over the counter-revolution in Hungary.

264. In this connexion, I should like to stress that, apart from the factors I have mentioned in the deformations which developed in Czechoslovakia, and which the Party and the Government recognized, there were also some external factors which in a very substantial measure helped to create such deformations, in particular the cold war which at that time was purposely increased by the forces of imperialism which wanted to decrease the economic power of the socialist countries in a competition of arms, which led to distortions in our economy together with the discrimination and embargo applied by some imperialist countries and their allies which led to some autarkic trends in the economy of Czechoslovakia which contributed to the deformations of our economy, for example, and we have the consequences still to challenge at present.

265. Finally, I should like to thank the representatives of those countries whose record has always been clean and clear, or, if it is not possible to eliminate history, who have once and for ever given up the intention to manage other

nations, to impose their will on them, who do not treat countries as a sort of banana republics, or who do not wage aggressive wars against poor but freedom-loving people in other continents far from their own country.

[The speaker continued in Russian.]

266. Mr. President, as I have been given the floor, I should also like to comment on the statement of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Ambassador Malik. I have tried to give an account of the facts. In my opinion, there is nothing to add or repeat. But in connexion with some of his remarks to the effect that it was as if Czechoslovakia had lately been preparing to liquidate all socialist achievements of the working people and as if a threat to the security of the other socialist countries were arising, I should like to assure Ambassador Malik once more that the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Party of the National Front of Czechoslovakia have always striven and will strive in the future to defend the security of the socialist camp, to truly protect it. This is a common cause, as has been stated here, but above all it is the obligation and cause of each socialist country which must know, better than the other socialist countries, the concrete conditions for the construction and development of socialism in its own country.

267. The PRESIDENT: I have no other speakers for today. After informal consultations it is my understanding that the members of the Security Council are agreed to meeting tomorrow, 22 August, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 11.5 p.m.

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