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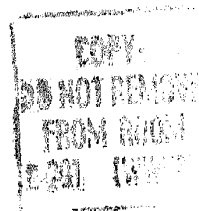
SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

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MEETING: 10 AUGUST 1972

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1658)	1
Expression of welcome to the representative of Guinea	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Admission of new members:	
Application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations:	
Note by the Secretary-General (S/10759)	4

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.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held in New York, on Thursday, 10 August 1972, at 3.15 p.m.

President: Mr. Edouard LONGERSTAEY (Belgium).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1658)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Admission of new members:

Application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations:

Note by the Secretary-General (S/10759).

The meeting was called to order at 4.00 p.m.

Expression of welcome to the representative of Guinea

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like, on behalf of the Security Council, and on my own behalf, to welcome Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé, the representative of the Republic of Guinea to the United Nations.

2. Mrs. Cissé is replacing our former highly esteemed colleague Mr. El Hadj Abdoulaye Touré, who has been promoted to the post of Minister of Trade in the Guinea Government.

3. During a particularly brilliant career Mrs. Cissé served competently and with great distinction in a number of important national and international posts, including those of First Vice-President of the Guinean National Assembly and Secretary General of the Conference of African Women.

4. The United Nations is very well known to Mrs. Cissé: since 1961 she has attended six sessions of the General Assembly. Finally I would mention that Mrs. Cissé has participated in most of the meetings of the Organization of African Unity since 1964, and from 1963 to 1969 she represented Guinea on the Commission on the Status of Women.

5. It is a privilege and an honour for me to welcome Mrs. Cissé and to greet her as the first woman, since the United Nations was established, to sit in the Security Council, the principal organ of the United Nations responsible for maintaining international peace and security.

6. I would also take this opportunity to extend my sincere congratulations to the permanent representative of Somalia, who has just been appointed by the Secretary-General to the important post of Commissioner for Technical Co-operation. I am convinced that in his new post our colleague will bring to bear his great intellectual abilities and his well-known dynamism. We are extremely happy, however, that the brilliant representative of Somalia is not leaving us yet and that we shall still be able to benefit on many occasions from his counsel and opinion. I shall therefore refrain from saying farewell to him for the moment.

Adoption of the agenda

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The provisional agenda for this meeting of the Council is in document S/Agenda/1658. If there is no objection, I shall consider the agenda adopted.

8. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In the opinion of the Chinese delegation, the application of "Bangladesh" for admission to membership in the United Nations should not be considered because it is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolution 2793 (XXVI) adopted by the General Assembly with 104 votes and resolution 307 (1971) adopted by the Security Council with 13 votes last December.

9. As is known to all, "Bangladesh" is still collaborating with India in continuing to obstruct the implementation of the United Nations resolutions concerning the withdrawal of troops and the release of prisoners of war. India has not only failed to effect a true withdrawal of its troops but is colluding with "Bangladesh" in unreasonably detaining more than 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians over a long period and refusing to release them. "Bangladesh" is even holding out threats of a trial of the prisoners of war.

10. All this has directly violated the two United Nations resolutions and the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and is totally incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In these circumstances the Chinese delegation maintains that "Bangladesh" is not qualified at all to be admitted into the United Nations. It is the bounden duty of all the States Members of the United Nations to defend the two United Nations resolutions and the principles of the Charter. In defence of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the principles of the Charter, in defence of the interests of the people of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and in order to

facilitate a reasonable settlement of the issues between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and "Bangladesh", the Chinese delegation can in no way agree to the Security Council considering "Bangladesh's" application for membership in the United Nations in the present circumstances.

11. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia): I understand that the pertinent object to which we are addressing ourselves at this stage of our deliberations is the matter of the adoption of the provisional agenda before us and that the substantive consideration of the matter that will be before us if—as we hope—the agenda is adopted will be in order at the next stage of our deliberations. Consequently I shall be brief and to the point. I should like to reserve my right to speak again if our deliberations at this stage seem to be delving more fully into the underlying substance of the matter.

12. Now I should like to state on behalf of my Government that since, for many profound and essential reasons, we are fully and firmly in favour of the People's Republic of Bangladesh—a friendly State with which we have excellent relations—being admitted to United Nations membership, since we fully and firmly support the application of Bangladesh and its request for the immediate consideration by the Security Council of that application, and since we are fully and firmly in favour of the normal positive and prompt decision by the Council, without delays, my delegation will naturally vote for the adoption of the agenda and we very much hope that the Council will be able to make a favourable decision on the matter and move constructively to the completion of its consideration of the application of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations.

13. Mr. CISSE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My first words in this important body will be words of thanks for the kind and very flattering words that the President has just spoken about me. I am not unaware of the great privilege that I enjoy in being the first woman to sit in the Security Council and I shall do all in my power not only to deserve the trust that my people and my Government have placed in women, but also to make my modest contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations.

14. To turn to the question we are considering this afternoon—the adoption of the agenda—since the Security Council is confronted by differing problems and information concerning the situation prevailing in Bangladesh, my delegation would venture to suggest that rather than adopting a hasty decision that might be regrettable for one side and the other, and since we know furthermore that conversations are taking place at present between the two opposing parties, specifically between East Pakistan and West Pakistan, we should let some time elapse so that those consultations may be successfully carried on and so that we may avoid finding ourselves in a situation which I have already described as regrettable. That is why my delegation would suggest that the Security Council, in order to obtain better information, should send a three-member mission to Bangladesh to investigate the situation and to report to the Security Council. That would give both us and the opposing parties time for consultations.

15. I reserve the right, if this proposal is not adopted, to speak again and to clarify the position of my Government.

16. Mr. IBRAHIM (Sudan): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this Council and I welcome my colleague from Guinea. I should like to support the statement made by the representative of Guinea in connexion with the matter we are now discussing. My delegation thinks that the Council lacks information on the implementation of previous resolutions on this issue. We regard that information as very crucial for the decision we are to take on this matter. Therefore, in brief, I should like to support my Guinean colleague's suggestion and I should like the members of the Council to consider it.

17. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, might I suggest that the proposals by the representatives of Guinea and Sudan are in fact substantive ones and not relevant to the adoption of the agenda before us and are matters that can be considered later. We should first adopt the agenda.

18. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, we hope that the representative of the United Kingdom will explain why these suggestions are not relevant to the item now under consideration.

19. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): The proposals are substantive. They can come up in the discussion once we have adopted the agenda. For the moment, we are discussing nothing but the adoption of the agenda.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Since no other representatives have asked to speak, I shall now state my opinion. Since the proposal of the representative of Guinea was not a formal proposal—the representative of Guinea said that she was making a suggestion—and since proposals can be taken into account only after the agenda has been adopted, it is my opinion that the Council must first pronounce itself on the adoption of the agenda.

21. If no other member wishes to speak, the Council will proceed to vote on the adoption of the agenda.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Belgium, France, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

Against: China.

The agenda was adopted by 11 votes to 1.

Three members (Guinea, Somalia and Sudan) did not participate in the voting.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to make a statement after the vote.

23. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation wishes to explain why it did not participate in the vote just taken.

24. If this application were a straightforward issue it would not have been difficult for my delegation to have taken either a positive or a negative stand. Unfortunately, it is not. It must be viewed within the delicate political framework prevailing within the Indian subcontinent.

25. We have been encouraged by recent developments that have taken place involving two of the parties, India and Pakistan. The agreements reached at Simla are indeed important milestones on the road to the complete restoration of peaceful and harmonious relations, but there are some very crucial issues which continue to befog relations between Pakistan and the secessionist State of Bangladesh. Those issues have given rise to doubts and uncertainties and, indeed, some of them are the direct consequence of the tragic war that overtook the subcontinent last December.

26. My delegation would have hoped that this application could be submitted in a more favourable climate. Indeed, the admission of any new Member to the United Nations has always been regarded as a unique and significant event in the life of the State. It would certainly be unfortunate, to say the least, if the Council decision on the application of Bangladesh had to contain reservations and opposition.

27. For those reasons my delegation decided not to participate in the vote that has just taken place.

28. Mrs. Cisse (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation regrets that the suggestion it made was not taken into consideration by members of the Council.

29. My country, as is known, remains devoted to the principle of freedom—the freedom of a people to free itself, to enjoy its full faculties. Nevertheless, my delegation made its suggestion because it does not have sufficient information as to the justification for the candidacy of this new State. It should therefore be easy to understand why my delegation was somewhat surprised by the unexpected result of such a proposal.

30. Pending receipt of better information on this problem, my delegation would like to reserve the right to state its exact position on the problem of Bangladesh. So far as we are concerned, we were not ready to vote in favour of the inclusion of this item in the agenda. That is why my delegation did not participate in the vote.

31. Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council has just adopted its agenda, under which it is to consider the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations. This decision by the Council was adopted by an overwhelming majority, a fact which the Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction.

32. In his letter of 8 August 1972 [S/10759] to the Secretary-General, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Abdus Samad Azad, says that Bangladesh accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and that it solemnly undertakes to fulfil those obligations. The Government of

Bangladesh requests that the Security Council should consider its application for membership immediately and take appropriate action in that regard. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, this request is entirely justified and the Council should, without delay and without recourse to any supplementary procedures, take a favourable decision on the matter at this meeting.

33. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a young independent State whose people are bending their efforts to the task of building and developing their country. The people of Bangladesh are firmly determined to build an independent new life and warmly support the measures taken by their Government to restore and develop their country's economy and to carry out progressive social and economic changes. In this regard, the problems facing Bangladesh and the ways and means of solving them are very similar to the problems and practical activities of many young independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

34. What are the reasons for examining the request from the Government of Bangladesh without any delay at this meeting of the Council? Immediate, favourable consideration of this question is called for, first of all, because the People's Republic of Bangladesh enjoys great authority in world affairs, as can be seen from the fact that it has been recognized by a wide range of States. Over 80 States throughout the world have officially recognized the People's Republic of Bangladesh and have established diplomatic, economic, cultural and other relations with it. Ten members of the Security Council have such relations with Bangladesh. The Republic of Bangladesh has already been admitted to membership in a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations, including the World Health Organization and the International Labour Organisation.

35. The Soviet Union, for its part, bases its relations with the People's Republic of Bangladesh on the principles of complete equality, mutual respect, sovereignty and independence, without interference of any kind in the internal affairs of either country. These principles were set out in the Joint Declaration of 3 March 1972 by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

36. Another reason for a prompt, favourable decision on the question of the admission of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations is the fact that the People's Republic of Bangladesh unquestionably meets all—without any exception—the specific conditions which Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations clearly lays down for the admission of any State to the United Nations. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a peace-loving State. Its Government has solemnly declared that Bangladesh accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them. In addition, there can be no doubt that Bangladesh—a State with 75 million inhabitants—has at its disposal everything that is necessary in order to carry out the obligations incumbent on States Members of the United Nations.

37. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, therefore, as far as Bangladesh is concerned there is not and cannot be any doubt that it meets all the requirements set out in the

Charter in respect of any new Member of the Organization. That being so, the Soviet delegation considers that the Security Council can without delay take a decision to recommend that the General Assembly should admit the People's Republic of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations. Account must also be taken of the desire of the Government of Bangladesh that the question of its admission to the United Nations should be settled as a matter of urgency.

38. The admission of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations will be a step towards the universality of the Organization. The full-fledged participation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Nations will enable it to make a useful contribution to the solution of the important problems facing the Organization as regards the strengthening of international peace and security and the development of co-operation among States on a footing of equality. In addition, the participation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Nations will make it possible to liquidate more quickly the devastating effects of the events which recently took place in that country and will help to bring about a solution of the complex and difficult problems of economic and social development facing that country.

39. Important steps have recently been taken to eliminate tension in the Hindustan region. In an agreement concluded at Simla, the leaders of India and Pakistan have declared that they are ready to put an end to the conflict and the confrontation between the two countries, to foster friendly, harmonious relations and to work towards the establishment of lasting peace on the subcontinent. This is a positive, favourable development in the situation prevailing on the entire Hindustan subcontinent in the direction of peace and stability.

40. The participation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Nations will undoubtedly help to make possible the early and complete normalization of relations between all States of the Hindustan peninsula.

41. In the light of these considerations, the Soviet Union fully supports the application of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations and calls for the earliest possible favourable decision on this matter in the Security Council.

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his explanation of vote.

Admission of new Members

Application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to Membership in the United Nations: Note by the Secretary-General (S/10759)

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In regard to this item, I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the request for admission submitted by the People's Republic of Bangladesh and contained in document S/10759.

44. From the numerous consultations that I held yesterday and this morning, I had the impression that the majority of the members of the Security Council are in favour of referring the application by Bangladesh for membership to the Committee on the Admission of New Members. I would remind the Council that rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council provides: "Unless the Security Council decides otherwise, the application shall be referred by the President to a committee of the Security Council". Therefore, unless a proposal to the contrary is made, I shall request the Committee to study the application for the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and to report to the Council on the matter.

45. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In my statement, which I in no way regarded as a statement in explanation of vote, the Soviet delegation wished to stress the idea that inasmuch as the question of Bangladesh is completely clear, for reasons which I have already given, the Security Council could, in our view, waive the procedure called for under rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure and take a decision, as I stressed, without delay, in keeping with the request of Bangladesh, at this very meeting of the Council. I think that we can settle this question today; however, taking into account the statement which you have just made, Mr. President, the Soviet delegation does not intend to introduce any other formal proposals, but would ask you to set a date for a meeting of the Committee on the Admission of New Members, it being understood that such a meeting would be held as soon as possible.

46. Mr. JAIN (India): I have the privilege of being seated next to the distinguished lady leader of the Guinean delegation and I should like to associate my delegation in extending to her a very warm welcome to our midst and to express the hope that we can look forward not only to a period of very fruitful co-operation but to a very constructive contribution from this distinguished personality who has already played a notable role in her own country and is already known to have participated with distinction in various activities connected with the United Nations.

47. I am taking the floor to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the adoption of the agenda for today's meeting. I wish to pay a warm tribute to the deft, imaginative and skilful manner in which you, Mr. President, have organized an immediate response on the part of the Security Council to the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations.

48. The Government of Bangladesh, as we all know, has requested immediate consideration of its request, and it is the hope of my delegation that the Security Council will ensure prompt consideration and indeed a final decision which would enable the People's Republic of Bangladesh to take its due place among the Member States of the United Nations as soon as possible.

49. The Government of Bangladesh has already solemnly declared that it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and undertakes to fulfil

them. Indeed, on more than one occasion since it came into existence as an independent, sovereign State, it has expressed willingness and enthusiasm for the carrying out of those obligations and has demonstrated its ability to do so. In recent years—and more particularly last year during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly—as we are all aware, significant developments have taken place which have contributed to making the United Nations more and more universally representative, more and more representative of the voices of millions and millions of human beings who had not been represented before. Admission of the new-born State of Bangladesh would be yet another significant step in making the United Nations more universal, more representative and thereby more effective.

50. With an area of 55,000 square miles and a population of 75 million, Bangladesh is the eighth most populous country in the world. It has dedicated itself, as we know from its pronouncements, to the basic principles of democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a reality to be recognized. It has come to stay. It has been recognized already by 84 countries, representing all continents and regions of the world. Nearly two thirds of the total membership of the United Nations has extended recognition to this State. It is not for me to point out—for it is self-evident—that as many as 10 members of the Security Council, including four permanent members, have established diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. As has been pointed out by speakers before me, Bangladesh has already been admitted to membership of a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations by a thumping majority and without any negative votes. It is already a member of the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the International Monetary Fund and is on its way to joining a number of other international organizations and agencies. The admission of Bangladesh to these international organizations reflects not only the readiness of the people and Government of Bangladesh to play their due role in the various fields of international co-operation but also the confidence of the international community in their willingness and ability to do so as an independent, sovereign State.

51. My delegation is fully confident that once Bangladesh becomes a Member of the United Nations it will be able to contribute significantly to the achievement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Indeed, in its very proclamation of independence the People's Republic of Bangladesh declared:

"We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolving upon us as a member of the family of the United Nations and by the Charter of the United Nations."

As early as April 1971 the Prime Minister of Bangladesh said:

"We now appeal to the nations of the world for recognition and assistance, material and moral. Every day

it is delayed 1,000 lives are lost and more of Bangladesh's vital assets are destroyed. In the name of humanity act now and earn our undying friendship."

52. It was moving, it was gratifying, that the United Nations and several of its Member States responded to the urgent humanitarian and relief needs of the people of Bangladesh, and, as we are all aware, one of the biggest operations in the humanitarian and relief field ever undertaken by the United Nations is the current operation in Bangladesh. Therefore, Bangladesh is not new to the United Nations. Bangladesh is not something about which no information is available. It is not a country about which there is a lack of information, a lack of knowledge. It has kept its doors open for people to come and see for themselves how, in difficult circumstances and in the face of very challenging problems, it is trying to confront those problems and to dedicate itself to the task of peace, prosperity and justice for its people.

53. It is therefore quite clear that since we have involved ourselves in extending a human response to the needs of the people of Bangladesh, we should not hesitate now to give them what is their due—the recognition of their status as an independent, sovereign State—so that we can draw them into the world community and enable them to play their part responsibly, to meet all the challenges which membership of the United Nations offers and to face the task of fulfilling all the obligations deriving therefrom.

54. Let us first give them that opportunity before we talk about what they may have done or what they may not have done, about what we may have decided—without consulting them—about them and for them.

55. Even before it has joined the United Nations as a Member State, it is common knowledge, and I therefore do not have to give any details here, that Bangladesh has extended every possible co-operation—and I stress every possible co-operation—and help to the United Nations and its representatives in carrying out humanitarian and other tasks in that area. There are a number of reports of the Secretary-General available to prove and establish that point, and that should be an indication, if one is needed at all, of the sincerity of purpose and the spirit of enthusiasm and dedication—I repeat the sincerity of purpose and the spirit of enthusiasm and dedication—which has inspired the Government of Bangladesh to seek membership of this august Organization. Let us hope that this august body will be able to take a decision in the very month of August to welcome this newborn State in its fold.

56. The President of the Council has already set in motion the procedure for the consideration of the application of Bangladesh, and we are very glad to see that this has been done very expeditiously. Since the application is simple and straightforward, my delegation would have been happy had the Council taken an immediate decision on it and admitted Bangladesh to the United Nations. However, we hope that the procedure that will be followed now will be equally expeditious so that the Government of Bangladesh will be enabled to join the United Nations and make its effective contribution at the forthcoming twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

57. I would add that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations, apart from being an acknowledgement of a reality, would also serve to consolidate peace and stability in our part of the world and to strengthen the trends of friendly and harmonious relationships and the establishment of durable peace in the Indian subcontinent so that all the constituents of this subcontinent might henceforth—and I quote from the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan—“devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their people”.

58. The decision we will be taking should not be a hasty one. It would be regrettable if we did not take timely action and postponed a decision with no justifiable basis for that.

59. The agenda we have adopted is precise and clear. Let us therefore address ourselves specifically to the request of Bangladesh without getting diverted to other issues. There have been and always will be occasions—if they are needed—to discuss such issues, to exchange views, to answer and to counter-answer. Here is a solemn occasion: a country has declared adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In that sense, to borrow the words of the Ambassador of Somalia, it is a unique and significant event when any country applies for membership of the United Nations. The application for membership itself, the declaration of adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter itself, is a contribution to peace and, surely, the first responsibility of this Organization, particularly that of the Security Council, is to give an equally solemn, positive and dignified response.

60. Some of the previous speakers have raised certain points concerning my country. My delegation does not consider it necessary or desirable to reply to these charges. I could reply to them and establish clearly and convincingly that they have no basis, but I am sure that you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council will agree that this is not the occasion for any one of us to indulge or try to indulge in or provoke any polemics or recriminations. Let us stick to the consideration of what has been adopted today and not get sidetracked into matters which are not relevant to today's agenda.

61. A lot has been said about the need and importance of bilateral consultations between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and Bangladesh; we welcome it. Indeed we are very proud that India and Pakistan have already been able to set an example by the conclusion of the Simla Agreement; that we can with determination seek to solve our mutual problems; that we can make a determined bid to close the doors to the hostility and confrontation of the past and usher in an era of mutual understanding, co-operation and friendship. Surely, the same thing can be done between Pakistan and Bangladesh and between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. We could not agree more with the sentiments expressed by some of the preceding speakers. And this is what we can encourage in this Council today. Here is a wonderful opportunity for us to encourage these three countries—in a continent where the winds of peace and détente are already blowing, where new trends, very healthy trends, have been set in motion; here is a wonderful opportunity to encourage these trends—to support these

trends, by admitting Bangladesh to the United Nations, by giving it the status that is due it, so that we can then call upon Bangladesh also to respond to this spirit of co-operation and friendship so that all the problems in the subcontinent which concern Bangladesh can be solved.

62. The attitude of my delegation, indeed the attitude of the Government of India, in this respect has been expressed on a number of occasions by the Prime Minister of India and other distinguished leaders of India. We believe in the victories of peace. In a period in the world today when relaxation of tension is the order of the day, let us welcome the efforts made here, there and everywhere—wherever they take place—for the parties themselves to get together and settle their problems. Let us not merely welcome them but do something positive here to encourage those trends and to strengthen that phenomenon. If we do so—and here I am sure I speak on behalf of my delegation and my Government—the Security Council will already have made an effective contribution to the cause not only of peace, not only of stability, but also of justice, progress and prosperity, so that the people of the subcontinent can tackle unitedly, in co-operation and full understanding, the real problems of fighting poverty and underdevelopment and can fully exploit their resources for the maximum benefit of their populations.

63. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia): At the outset of my remarks I should like, belatedly, to join the other speakers in expressing to you personally, Mr. President, my admiration for the exemplary and magnificent way in which you have brought about this meeting and are wisely guiding us through its necessary steps and procedures.

64. I should like—and I hope to be brief—to state some of the reasons why we think that the Security Council should proceed promptly and without delay to consider and to arrive at a favourable decision on the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations.

65. In our view this is a clear case. It is clear that the People's Republic of Bangladesh fully satisfies all the legal and political requirements set out by the Charter in Article 4. In his letter of application on behalf of the Government of Bangladesh, Mr. Samad Azad, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, states: “I declare that the People's Republic of Bangladesh accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and that it solemnly undertakes to fulfil those obligations.”

66. Bangladesh is a peace-loving country, which subscribes fully to the principle of full national sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of others.

67. Those are some of the reasons—and I shall state others—why we deem that we have a clear, simple and straightforward case before us and that it should not be difficult for the Security Council to adopt normally, without any delay, a favourable decision recommending to the General Assembly that Bangladesh be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

68. We have now in the world and before us here the reality of the sovereign, independent State of Bangladesh, duly and effectively constituted. It is recognized by more than 80 members of the international community; it is an effective and important factor in the region generally, with a large population, with a great human, economic and cultural potential.

69. As a new country and especially a country faced with tremendous economic and other difficulties resulting from the realities of the war and natural catastrophes, it particularly needs and deserves all the support and assistance of the international community of the United Nations. What better, more effective, and more just way could we have to extend our hands to the ancient people of young Bangladesh than to act promptly, now, and admit it as an equal Member of our world Organization?

70. The United Nations was conceived—and this is one of the greatest aspects of its indispensable role—to be a forum, a universal enterprise for world co-operation with equality and dignity for all, a forum where all can equally voice their needs and ideas, where all can help and be helped. That is especially, indeed crucially, important for the new, developing countries.

71. At the same time, the admission of Bangladesh to membership of the United Nations, its presence and activity in our ranks would constitute an important contribution to the prestige and more effective work of the Organization and a new and important step in the application of the principle of universality.

72. We therefore hope that our deliberations will be speedy and that we shall enable Bangladesh to make its important contribution to the work of the General Assembly from the very outset of its next session. It is equally our deep conviction—and we say this with the utmost frankness and sincerity that we can possibly command—that acceptance of Bangladesh in the United Nations would also facilitate the normalization of the over-all situation in the relationships in the great sub-continent and in the world at large.

73. Non-aligned Yugoslavia, for its part, notes with special and particular interest that the Government of Bangladesh has often declared its allegiance to the principles of non-alignment and non-adherence to any military bloc. The leaders of Bangladesh believe that this policy would guarantee the stable international position of their country and would contribute to the world situation in general.

74. We feel that the general economic and political consolidation of Bangladesh, to which its acceptance into the United Nations would make a very important contribution, is becoming an important factor of peace and co-operation in the process of rapprochement and stabilization of conditions in that part of the world.

75. For all those reasons I firmly repeat, on behalf of my Government, that we believe that we have an eminently clear case before us, that our duty to act favourably and promptly is equally clear and that the necessary decision incumbent upon us is to recommend a favourable decision

to the General Assembly. We think that in a case such as we are faced with today acceptance of a country like Bangladesh into the United Nations should not be made contingent upon, or linked to, other matters since we frankly and sincerely believe that that would not be of any help at all.

76. That is why we would have preferred that the Council take an immediate decision on the matter of substance, since we see no grounds for delay. But in view of your suggestion, Mr. President, and if the Council accepts your ruling that, under rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure, the matter should be referred to the Council's Committee on the Admission of New Members, we shall raise no objections. We hope very much that the Committee will meet promptly and that it will make its report to the Council before the expiration of the deadline stipulated in that rule of the provisional rules of procedure.

77. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation firmly opposes the Security Council's consideration of "Bangladesh's" application for membership in the United Nations under the present circumstances. The reason is quite obvious.

78. First, in the opinion of the Chinese delegation the application of "Bangladesh" for membership in the United Nations should in no way be considered because it is contrary to the provisions of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council last year. As is known to all, on 21 November 1971 the Indian Government, with the active encouragement and energetic support of Soviet social-imperialism, brazenly launched a large-scale war of aggression against Pakistan and seriously undermined the peace of the South Asian sub-continent.

79. On 7 December last year, the General Assembly, breaking through the numerous obstacles raised by the Soviet Union and India, adopted by the overwhelming majority of 104 votes resolution 2793 (XXVI), in paragraph 1 of which the General Assembly explicitly

"Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders".

80. Subsequently, on 21 December the Security Council adopted resolution 307 (1971) by the large majority of 13 votes. Apart from reiterating the demand for troop withdrawal by the two parties the Council in paragraph 3 of the resolution:

"Calls upon all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population".

81. The Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12, 1949 referred to in this connexion stipulates in article 118 in explicit terms: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without

delay after the cessation of active hostilities". However, what is the actual state of affairs now? The actual state of affairs is this: the Indian Government has failed to withdraw all its troops to its own territory in accordance with the resolutions concerning troop withdrawal and has been detaining over 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians.

82. "Bangladesh" is even holding out threats for the trial of Pakistani prisoners of war. That constitutes a gross violation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. At the same time, "Bangladesh" is insisting on its recognition by Pakistan before it can agree to hold negotiations with the latter. This is simply to collude with India in blackmailing Pakistan and in continuing to obstruct the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. This is, indeed, bullying others too much.

83. We would ask whether or not resolution 2793 (XXVI), adopted by the General Assembly by 104 votes, and Security Council resolution 307 (1971), adopted by 13 votes, remain valid. Obviously, before the true implementation of the relevant resolutions, and pending a reasonable settlement of the issues between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and "Bangladesh", "Bangladesh" is not at all qualified to be admitted into the United Nations, and the Council's consideration of "Bangladesh's" application for membership in the United Nations is entirely out of the question. Otherwise, where will the Charter of the United Nations stand? Where will the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council stand? When one refuses to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, how can one possibly speak of accepting the obligations contained in the present Charter and of being able and willing to carry out those obligations? This is, indeed, a sheer hoax and a gross mockery of the United Nations.

84. Secondly, to put it bluntly, in resorting to such an unreasonable course of action the Indian Government and its behind-the-scenes supporter, Soviet social-imperialism, aim at encouraging the aggressor through the instrumentality of the United Nations and continuing to maintain the tension on the South Asian subcontinent.

85. Clear evidence is to be found in the report that after the Simla talks between India and Pakistan the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, claimed that pending the "final settlement" of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute she would not permit the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war. Approval of such acts would be tantamount to aiding and abetting evil doings.

86. Consequently, in defence of the principles of the Charter and in the interests of the entire people of the South Asian subcontinent, it is essential to insist on the following: only when the relevant resolutions have been truly implemented and only after a reasonable settlement of the issues between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and "Bangladesh" has been achieved can the Security Council consider "Bangladesh's" application for membership in the United Nations.

87. In view of the above-mentioned reasons, the Chinese delegation firmly opposes the Security Council considering the application of "Bangladesh" for membership in the United Nations in the present circumstances.

88. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I am speaking a second time, not on the item before the Council but to perform the pleasant task of welcoming to this Council one of Africa's most outstanding women, Mrs. Jeanne Cissé.

89. Over the years, she has led the movement among African women for a greater role in the social, political and economic life of the African continent. That she has succeeded in accomplishing this objective without the need for armed struggle, without resort to action under Chapter VII of the Charter against the bastions of tradition and so-called male chauvinism is sufficient testimony to her high personal qualities. It is sufficient to look at the composition of the Somali delegation to gauge the extent by which her movement has influenced our attitudes on the role of women in diplomacy.

90. The Governments and peoples of Guinea and Somalia have enjoyed a long and rich history of friendship and co-operation. I wish to assure the representative of Guinea that during and after my term of office as permanent representative of Somalia she can always count on my delegation's unqualified co-operation for the realization of our common objectives.

91. Finally, Mr. President, let me say that I have been deeply touched by the generous compliments you have addressed to me on my impending appointment as Commissioner for Technical Co-operation. I look forward to the new challenge as being another field in which I can co-operate effectively with all delegations for the common good.

92. Mr. JAIN (India): I regret to find that even after I have very clearly explained the point of view of my delegation in regard to the perimeters of today's discussion, there is still an effort to inject fruitless polemics into a debate that is about to be concluded. We are indeed about to begin the expeditious consideration of the application of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations.

93. I repeat what I said before: what has been said against my country is without foundation, and therefore, without wanting to get into this polemical exchange because it is not a positive approach to any relations, bilateral or multilateral, I would say only that we reject those allegations.

94. I cannot help feeling that some of the chagrin against my country may perhaps be due to the fact that all that we have been saying would come to pass has indeed happened. But that is no credit to India. We live in the area; we are part of its life, and should know what goes on there. The people of the subcontinent have already shown the world at large that they are capable of working out their own solutions and what the world community should do is only encourage the brotherly atmosphere instead of an atmosphere which would sow seeds of doubt, dissension and mistrust between them, particularly at a significant point of

departure in the history of the subcontinent, when the doors are open to the fresh winds of change—change for the better, change for human understanding, fraternal relationships—to greater and greater co-operation not only in the political sense but also, if I may again draw attention to this, in the wide variety of fields covered by the Agreement between India and Pakistan. Right now when we are discussing matters here, implementation is going on, decisions are being taken and agreements are being reached which are helping to normalize the situation, which are helping to solve the problems—and, with confidence, we can solve those problems ourselves without outside interference. But we would be helped if the world outside encouraged those trends.

95. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The representative of the People's Republic of China has made two statements at this meeting of the Security Council.

96. In his first statement, he made hostile and slanderous attacks against India. As the Indian representative rightly pointed out, the Chinese representative was obviously seeking to provoke an Indian-Chinese polemic and to divert the Security Council from the discussion of the question under consideration. However, the Indian representative did not pursue such a course and gave an appropriate reply calmly and firmly.

97. In his second statement, the Chinese representative went on to attack the Soviet Union, using the most obnoxious terms in the anti-Soviet arsenal of the Chinese delegation. He obviously wanted to provoke a Soviet-Chinese polemic. We wish to make it clear that the Soviet delegation will not follow such a course. We will not permit the Security Council to be diverted from the substance of the question—the admission of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations.

98. As far as the questions raised in the Chinese representative's statement are concerned, we should like to point out the following. To put forward as a condition for the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations that Bangladesh should first implement United Nations resolutions is artificial and completely unjustified. As we are all aware, the United Nations Charter lays down no conditions for the admission of a State to membership in the United Nations other than those contained in Article 4, paragraph 1 of which states: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." There can be no doubt that the People's Republic of Bangladesh fulfils all the requirements listed in Article 4 (1). It is an independent, sovereign and peace-loving State which pursues a policy of non-alignment and friendly co-operation aimed at easing international tension.

99. As can be seen from the letter of 8 August from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the Secretary-General, Bangladesh accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and solemnly undertakes to fulfil those obligations.

100. There is, of course, no provision in the Charter, nor could there be, to the effect that a State which has a dispute and an unresolved problem cannot be admitted to membership in the United Nations, particularly where such a problem is a legacy of the past and where the State clearly bears no responsibility whatever for its emergence. It is quite clear that if a condition for admission to membership in the United Nations was that a particular State should regularize its bilateral relations with all neighbouring States, many countries admitted to the United Nations in recent years could not have become Members of the Organization. It is well known that many of those States have numerous problems which they have inherited as a result of their former status as colonial and dependent territories and which concern their bilateral relations with neighbouring States or metropolitan countries. In the light of these considerations, it is quite clear that references to United Nations resolutions, the implementation of which is put forward as a prior condition for a decision on the question of admitting Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations, cannot withstand critical analysis.

101. Moreover, we cannot but be all the more surprised by the fact that the demand that Bangladesh should implement United Nations resolutions has been put forward by the representative of the very country which, for various reasons, is itself unwilling to recognize United Nations decisions adopted before it became a Member of the United Nations and without its participation.

102. Any member of the Security Council is, of course, entitled to take any position which it deems appropriate on the substance of the question under consideration. We are, however, opposed to having discussion of the substance of the question of admitting a State to membership in the United Nations replaced by artificial comments which, first of all, are in conflict with the requirements of the Charter in this regard; secondly, run counter to the Council's usual practice in this connexion; and, thirdly, imply the adoption of a double standard with regard to different States.

103. The question of the provisions of Security Council resolution 307 (1971) itself and its implementation is an entirely different matter, one which is not on the agenda of this meeting of the Security Council.

104. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to stress that anyone who is genuinely in favour of the full normalization of the situation in Hindustan will not create artificial obstacles to a decision on the question of admitting the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations. It is quite clear that a prompt decision on this question is precisely what will most effectively help to strengthen the spirit of equal rights and co-operation on the Hindustan subcontinent, eliminate the unfortunate consequences of the past and completely normalize the situation in the region. Those who are interested in seeing events develop in this way in Hindustan and who do not want to pour salt on open wounds must not oppose an immediate decision on the question of admitting Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations.

105. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): I wish to speak very briefly. The Soviet representative

attempted to separate the application by "Bangladesh" for United Nations membership from the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. This is a wilful distortion of the Charter of the United Nations and is completely untenable. We definitely cannot agree with such a distortion. The Soviet representative has described the current facts about the detention of 90,000 prisoners of war and civilians and the refusal to withdraw troops as past history, as if these facts did not exist at all. This is confounding black with white and is completely contrary to the facts.

106. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I merely wish to clarify a point, since the translation into Chinese was perhaps not accurate. I did not say that resolution 307 (1971) was a matter of history or belonged to the past. I said that the Security Council was meeting today not to discuss questions connected with resolution 307 (1971) but to

discuss the application of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations.

107. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no further speakers on my list. Since I note that no delegation has made any formal proposal regarding the application of rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure, I shall declare that my proposal to refer the application for membership by the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the Committee on the Admission of New Members has been adopted.

108. Before adjourning this meeting, I have to announce that the Committee on the Admission of New Members will meet tomorrow at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.