

UNITED NATIONS

UN LIBRARY

NOV 19 1974



UN/SA COLLECTION

**SECURITY COUNCIL  
OFFICIAL RECORDS**

COPY:  
DO NOT REMOVE  
FROM ROOM  
L-201 (WWRM)

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

**1617<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 16 DECEMBER 1971

NEW YORK

---

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1617) .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
The situation in the India/Pakistan subcontinent .....	1

(7P)

#### 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 SEVENTEENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 16 December 1971, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. I. B. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, China, France, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1617)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. The situation in the India/Pakistan subcontinent.

*The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the India/Pakistan subcontinent

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with a previous decision of the Council [1606th meeting], I invite the representatives of India and Pakistan to participate in the discussion of this item without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Swaran Singh (India) and Mr. A. Shahi (Pakistan) took places at the Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT: The Council has also decided [1607th and 1615th meetings] to extend invitations to the representatives of Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Ceylon to take the seats reserved for them in the Council chamber, with the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia), Mr. J. M. Barody (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. H. S. Amerasinghe (Ceylon) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

3. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): We have heard the Indian Government's official statement, which was made at the previous meeting of the Security Council by Mr. Singh, the distinguished Minister for External Affairs of India. It is quite clear from his statement that the Indian Government has taken the decision to cease fire on both the eastern and

the western fronts. Consequently, hostilities and military actions have ceased. The bloodshed has been stopped. There is no threat to human lives. The draft resolutions which have been submitted up to now, yesterday and before, have no further purpose. It is necessary for the Council to adopt a definite, specific decision in the light of the situation which has now arisen as a result of the measures which have been taken by the Indian Government for a cease-fire and for the cessation of hostilities.

4. Under these conditions, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, it would be advisable to adopt a Council decision welcoming the cessation of hostilities in East Pakistan. The Security Council's decision should express the hope that the cease-fire will be observed by both sides. That would ensure, too, that measures are taken for an appropriate political settlement of the situation. We have in mind the immediate and unimpeded transfer of power to the lawful people's representatives who were elected in December 1970. Such a decision by the Council would also contribute to the solution of the problems linked with the conflict on the Hindustan subcontinent.

5. It would be advisable for the Security Council to call for an immediate cease-fire and the cessation of all other military actions along the entire frontier between India and West Pakistan, that is, along the entire line of the western theatre of military operations. At the same time, the Council should call for an immediate cease-fire and the cessation of all other military actions along the 1965 cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. The Security Council should give positive consideration to the Indian Government's statement concerning its decision on a unilateral cease-fire and cessation of all other military actions in this region, beginning at 1430 hours Greenwich Mean Time on 17 December of this year, and should welcome this decision of the Indian Government.

6. It is also advisable and necessary for the Security Council to make an urgent appeal to the Government of Pakistan to take a similar decision without delay.

7. In view of the *de facto* situation on the Hindustan subcontinent, the Security Council should also call on all States Members of the United Nations to render comprehensive assistance for the speediest cessation of military actions and to refrain from any steps which could impede normalization of the situation on the Hindustan subcontinent. In the light of this *de facto* situation, in view of the Indian Government's official statement which was communicated in Mr. Singh's statement and in line with the views which I have just expressed, the Soviet delegation

submits the following draft resolution for consideration by the Council:

*[The speaker read out the text of a draft resolution subsequently circulated as document S/10458.]*

8. That is the text of the draft resolution which the Soviet delegation is submitting for consideration by the Security Council and its members. We believe that, in view of the specific situation which now prevails and of the *de facto* situation on the Hindustan subcontinent, the adoption of such a draft resolution by the Council would greatly assist the normalization of the situation in that area.

9. The PRESIDENT: The Council now has six draft resolutions before it. I do not know whether members would wish me to begin putting them to the vote, or whether they would prefer to have a suspension of the meeting in order to have further consultations on them. I would suggest a suspension for one hour.

10. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I should like to ask, on a point of order, what would be the appropriate time and procedure for submitting amendments to one of the draft resolutions now before the Council. Would amendments to draft resolutions before the Council be in order now?

11. The PRESIDENT: It appears to me that the best step to take, in accordance with the usual practice of this Council, would be to have a brief suspension with a view to having further consultations, during which members may decide either to withdraw or to consolidate various draft resolutions. The submission of amendments now might prolong the discussion unnecessarily.

12. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. Chairman, I should like to add that the Soviet delegation, in submitting its second draft resolution, is withdrawing the first one. I refer to the draft resolution which it submitted on 15 December [S/10457]. The Soviet delegation is withdrawing that draft and would be prepared for the Security Council to consider the draft it has submitted today.

13. The PRESIDENT: In further reply to the representative of the United States, I should like to say that if he wants to submit amendments he may do so orally or in writing, and then they will have to be discussed. But as I have already stated, I believe that if we have a brief suspension in order to hold consultations, we shall make more speedy progress.

14. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): In order to have yet another draft resolution before the Council, we should like to submit a draft resolution which, at one point in the consultations, seemed to have a great deal of support. I shall read it out, and after the text has been circulated and the meeting is resumed, I hope that the Council would be willing to discuss it. It reads as follows:

*[The speaker read out the text of a draft resolution subsequently circulated as document S/10459.]*

15. That is the essence of the draft that was circulating here and it is one that has a good deal of appeal to our Government. I would urge that it be printed and circulated and be available for consideration when next we meet.

16. The PRESIDENT: As the representative of the United States has already stated, this appears to be a draft which has been neither submitted nor circulated. If the members agree with the proposal to rise for a period of an hour, the draft resolution may then be processed and circulated for discussion.

17. Mr. VINCI (Italy): May I make a practical suggestion that we convene again as soon as the text of this new draft is ready for circulation in the original language in which it has been drafted, if other members have nothing against it.

18. The PRESIDENT: There being no other speaker, if it is agreed upon, I propose to suspend for a while to meet again as soon as this draft resolution has been processed and circulated.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting was suspended at 5.45 p.m. and resumed at 9.20 p.m.*

19. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): A few more hours have gone by, and it seems to my delegation for a moment as if the most recent draft [S/10459], bearing the name of Japan and the United States, to which many delegations have contributed through their work in the last week or so, came reasonably close to an agreement between most of the members of this Council. I cannot report to you, Mr. President, that there is agreement in which the parties to the conflict would both concur, but I am not sure that that will be achievable, although we came so close to agreement on this draft. Of course, what really is important is that we have total agreement here in this Council. We are rather at a loss as to what the next step should be, except that we do not want to give up on this draft, or any draft.

20. My query to the Council at large is this. If indeed the parties are in close proximity, if not actual agreement, would the various delegations around this table be able to support the draft and would they be able to act on short notice? What troubles me is this. If we obtain agreement—and the representatives here have been working very hard in the past few hours—on a text on which Pakistan and India might finally agree, would the Council, that is, the various delegations here, be willing to move forward and vote on this tonight or would they have to obtain instructions? If there is any use in staying here—if it is a question of obtaining instructions in an hour or two—we should certainly be in favour of continuing, but I must confess that I do not see that shaping up at this very minute. So I would simply like to put that question forward for any other representatives who might feel so inclined. If we can obtain agreement between the parties in an hour or so, would the Council then be willing to act with unanimity, or would we still be hampered by having to adjourn? If that is the case, I think we might as well adjourn; but if there is a chance that we can get this matter through, if the representatives have enough flexibility, given

the fact that we have been over this again and again, I think it would be worth staying here. It is an open question for anybody who would care to respond.

21. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation, like others, has been in close contact with the delegations of India and Pakistan in an effort to draw up a formula which would satisfy them both. At certain points there seemed to be some hope that an agreement would be reached, but it is evident that more time is needed, and I would suggest that we adjourn until tomorrow morning. However, to take up a point made by the representative of the United States, it seems to me that if the two parties to the conflict are reaching agreement, no other delegation here could possibly seek a further postponement of our debate, since after all we are here to try to reconcile the two parties. If they reach agreement, I do not think a further adjournment would be necessary.

22. Mr. OGISO (Japan): The new joint draft resolution presented by the United States and Japan, contained in document S/10459, has just been circulated. The representative of Somalia has also stated that he is trying hard to find some common ground in his contacts with the Indian and Pakistani delegations. I think this new draft is the result of extensive consultations among the non-permanent members and also with some permanent members. There may be some points which still create problems for some members of the Council. However, this draft is intended as an approach taking into account the development of the situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent. So, for the purpose of further consultations, it would be helpful if the delegations could make some comments, even of a preliminary nature, on this draft. It could help the further consultations among the members with a view to finding common ground between the parties concerned. So, although my delegation has no objection to the proposal of the representative of Somalia that we adjourn until tomorrow morning, my delegation would be very much interested in hearing any comments delegations might wish to make before the adjournment.

23. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I should like to report on a few very small changes that I think were unanimously accepted in consultations on this draft. I report them now simply to put them before the meeting, so as to save time tomorrow when we meet.

24. It was generally suggested that operative paragraph 1, instead of reading "*Demands that a durable cease-fire . . .*", should read: "*Demands that an immediate and durable cease-fire . . .*". So we shall offer that draft text as a revision, provided our co-sponsor is agreeable.

25. Concerning paragraph 5—and again I am putting this forward on the understanding that we shall seek agreement with our colleague from Japan after the meeting—it was rather unanimously suggested that it be eliminated as written and replaced by the following new paragraph 5, which is taken directly from a British-French text, I believe:

"Invites the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to lend his good offices, in particular for the solution of humanitarian problems;"

Most of the people we consulted felt that that would make the draft more acceptable to the parties themselves and to other representatives. We therefore ask that that draft revision be circulated as S/10459/Rev.1, provided the Japanese delegation concurs. But even if there is not agreement on this, at least members will have some changes before them.

26. As I have said, these two draft amendments seemed to meet with a large measure of agreement. So that the Council will know where we stand, I would inform it that the problem between the parties seems principally to concern the language of the second half of operative paragraph 1. In revealing that I am not betraying the confidence of any party, but simply suggesting that any representative with sufficient energy left might expand it and try to work out an agreement between the parties concerned on the language of paragraph 1. If that could be worked out, I would concur with the representatives of Somalia and Japan that this would then provide a document that could meet with the agreement of the parties and might make it possible for the Security Council to act.

27. Mr. OGISO (Japan): In order to facilitate the Council's consideration of these drafts I should like to say that my delegation agrees to the amendments proposed by the representative of the United States.

28. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In reply to the question addressed to us by the representative of Japan, I should like to say that my delegation has no major objections to this text. Accordingly, if, as it would appear, the consultations between the two parties concerned, India and Pakistan, are producing favourable results in the sense that their respective points of view have come closer together, I think that we should make the greatest possible effort to arrive at a document that can be adopted unanimously by the Council.

29. In recent days we have striven in vain to arrive at a text which would win the approval of this body, and if we are about to achieve this I think we should leave no stone unturned. Accordingly, I would venture to make the same suggestion as the representative of Somalia, my friend Ambassador Farah: namely that between now and tomorrow consultations should continue on the aspects still dividing the parties, so as to arrive at a wording satisfactory to both.

30. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I have noticed that the meeting has concentrated mainly on the draft submitted by the delegations of the United States and Japan. I should like to remind the members of the Security Council that the Soviet Union's draft was submitted before that draft. I would request members of the Council, in studying this item before the next meeting, to give attention to the Soviet draft resolution, to consider its realistic nature in the light of the situation on the spot at the present time and to observe that the measures envisaged in it ensure a cease-fire, peace and stability on the Hindustan subcontinent.

31. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Bearing in mind what the Soviet representative has said, we certainly

want to make clear our Government's position. We would be prepared to vote on the Soviet text right now, if he wishes us to do so. We would also be prepared to vote on our own text right now, if any representative so wishes. The point is that there seems to be proximity between the parties concerning the text submitted by Japan and the United States. But lest there be any confusion concerning the position of the United States Government on the Soviet text, we are prepared to proceed to vote on it right away.

32. I am not suggesting that Ambassador Malik had it in mind, but we do not want to be in the position of delaying proceedings, and we are perfectly willing to consider the drafts and dispose of them one way or the other right at this meeting.

33. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Of course, each delegation has a special attachment to its own draft resolution because it better reflects its own views on this crucial problem. It was, however, our understanding that we are all making a joint effort in order to achieve a unanimous agreement so that the Council may finally take a decision and act.

34. Speaking for my delegation, at this advanced stage, after so many days and nights of hard work, we certainly would not insist upon our own draft being considered. And I believe that should be the spirit of the Council at this stage. And if we understand that progress has been made in order to reconcile the position of the two main parties, we should continue these efforts. The more so when this draft resolution—I think it is well known—was a draft which was prepared by several delegations and of course reflects that desire, that wish of these delegations to come to some agreement finally. I believe that if we wish to work in that spirit and, I hope, come to a positive conclusion, we should at this stage forget about our personal views and preferences.

35. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I could not agree more with what the representative of Italy has said. Let me simply say that if this draft resolution, S/10459/Rev.1, on which many people here worked diligently, becomes the consensus and the vehicle that solves this problem, I would propose that at the next meeting every

nation that wants to have its name on it—after the matter has been worked out, after agreement has been reached by the parties—be enabled to put its name on the draft resolution in alphabetical order. There is no pride in authorship, there is no feeling on our part that we—that is, Japan and the United States—want to get credit for breaking the deadlock, most or all of the work on this text was done by most of the non-permanent members. That is very widely known. And my suggestion would be that inasmuch as we were reasonably close to an agreement on this text, we should press on—Ambassador Farah and others who have negotiated so hard on it in just the last few hours—and then at the last minute, if agreement can be worked out between India and Pakistan, throw the whole thing open, put a new number on it, put the names of all the members of the Council on it, call it anything you want, leave our name off or put it on, but let anybody be in there that wants to be in. It is in that spirit that I think we are going to get it done and not as a Soviet text or a United States text or some other kind of text. I think that was the spirit of what the representative of Italy had in mind. Certainly in terms of the technicalities we will leave our name on because procedure requires it, but tomorrow if there is a way in which it can be thrown open for the unanimous sponsorship of this Council, that is the way I should like to see the matter resolved and I am sure the representative of Japan would concur. I would hope, inasmuch as we are very close to agreement on this text, that we can continue and that Ambassador Farah and others will use their good offices to negotiate the differences. And tomorrow, if we can get agreement between the parties let us make it a 15-member text and let us get it voted on and let us get about the business of ending the war.

36. The PRESIDENT: There being no further speakers I wish to say that in view of the suggestions in the recent statements of members and in view of the fact that some measure of agreement is reported to have been reached with the two parties, if there is no objection I shall adjourn this meeting until 10.30 a.m. tomorrow.

*The meeting rose at 9.45 p.m.*

---

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة  
يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها  
أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

**如何购取联合国出版物**

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

**HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS**

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

**COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES**

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

**КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ**

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женевы.

**COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS**

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

---