

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL  
OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**1659<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 24 AUGUST 1972

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1659) . . . . .	1
Adoption of the agenda . . . . .	1
Admission of new Members:	
(a) Application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations: Note by the Secretary-General (S/10759);	
(b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations (S/10773) . . . . .	1

## 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-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 24 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/1659)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Admission of new Members:
  - (a) Application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations:

Note by the Secretary-General (S/10759);
  - (b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations (S/10773).

*The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### Admission of new Members:

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

Note by the Secretary-General (S/10759)
- (b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations (S/10773)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): At its 1658th meeting on 10 August the Security Council, in accordance with rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure, requested the Committee on the Admission of New Members to consider the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations. The report of the Committee to the Council is in document S/10773 and is now before the Council for consideration.

2. I should now like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the draft resolution in document S/10768 and Corr.1 which was submitted on 21 August by the delegation of China, as well as to the four-Power draft resolution in document S/10771, which was submitted on

23 August by India, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia.

3. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): I should like to make the following explanation in regard to the draft resolution [S/10768 and Corr.1] submitted by the Chinese delegation.

4. As members of the Council may recall, during the conflict on the South Asian subcontinent last year the General Assembly, at its twenty-sixth session, adopted resolution 2793 (XXVI) on 7 December and the Security Council adopted resolution 307 (1971) on 21 December. Those two resolutions, and particularly paragraphs 1 and 3 of Security Council resolution 307 (1971), explicitly demanded that all those concerned must withdraw their troops to their respective territories and to positions on the cease-fire line between India and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir, and release and repatriate prisoners of war in observance of the Geneva Conventions. Undoubtedly, the provisions of Security Council resolution 307 (1971) are applicable to all those concerned in the recent conflict on the South Asian subcontinent. However, up to now Security Council resolution 307 (1971) has not been implemented in earnest by the parties concerned, especially with regard to paragraphs 1 and 3.

5. The Chinese delegation believes that all the States Members of the United Nations, and in particular members of the Council, have an unshirkable duty to urge the full implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions at an early date.

6. The Chinese delegation has clearly stated its position at the meetings of the Security Council and of the Committee on the Admission of New Members that the question of the application of "Bangladesh" for membership in the United Nations is inseparably linked with the implementation of the two relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council last year.

7. Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations stipulates:

"Membership in the United Nations is open to . . . 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."

The only conclusion to be drawn from the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter is that the implementation of the two relevant United Nations resolutions which gave expres-

sion to the will of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world is an important indication of the applicant's ability and willingness to fulfil the obligations contained in the Charter. That is a most fundamental criterion in judging whether or not an applicant fulfils the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter. To separate the question of the application of "Bangladesh" from the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

8. In view of the fact that the two relevant United Nations resolutions have not been seriously implemented and in view of the actual state of continued serious confrontation and tension on the South Asian subcontinent as a result of the failure to implement the above-mentioned resolutions, the Chinese delegation believes that it is of great importance and urgency for the Security Council to reaffirm and demand the full implementation by those concerned of General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) and Security Council resolution 307 (1971), because this will help promote the taking by the parties concerned, including "Bangladesh", of speedy measures for the implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions, and will promote their proving by actual deeds that they are truly willing to carry out the Charter obligations rather than merely uttering empty promises. This will naturally lead to a relaxation of the existing grave tension and confrontation on the South Asian subcontinent and be conducive to the normalization of relations between the parties concerned. This is in complete accord with the desire of all the people on the South Asian subcontinent for peace and development.

9. For the foregoing reasons the Chinese delegation proposes in its draft resolution that the Council decides to postpone consideration of the matter referred to in document S/10759, pending the full implementation of the above resolutions, and requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council at an early date on the full implementation of the above resolutions by all those concerned. It is quite obvious that the purpose of the Chinese delegation in submitting this draft resolution is to defend the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions which gave expression to the will of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world, as well as the fundamental interests of the entire people on the South Asian subcontinent. This is a very reasonable and just draft resolution. The Chinese delegation hopes to obtain the support of various delegations.

10. In conclusion, the Chinese delegation would like to take this opportunity to state solemnly once again that the United Nations should be an organization which upholds justice. Since China is a Member of the United Nations it must act according to principles. Defending the principles of the Charter is an important matter of principle. The Chinese delegation definitely cannot compromise on important questions of principle. If the Soviet Union, India, and other countries should insist on obstructing the passage of the very right and reasonable draft resolution submitted by the Chinese delegation and try to press the Security Council for the admission of "Bangladesh" to the United Nations in the present circumstances, the Chinese delegation, in defence of the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council and the principles of the Charter, as well

as the interests of the people on the South Asian subcontinent, will categorically vote against it.

11. Mr. SEN (India): We are meeting once again to consider the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations.

12. At our last meeting we agreed to refer this application to the Committee on the Admission of New Members, though on that occasion a number of delegations had pointed out that it should have been possible for the Security Council to take a decision right away.

13. The Committee has examined this question and its report is before us. The discussion in the Committee was comprehensive and its report gives a factual account of the various views expressed. The report clearly indicates that the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Committee favours Bangladesh's immediate admission. As for the few remaining members, two of them stated, as mentioned in the report, that no delegation had opposed the application as such or *per se*. Nothing should now stand in the Council's way for taking an immediate decision.

14. During earlier discussion, both in the Council and in the Committee, attempts have been made to link the consideration of the present application with extraneous and irrelevant preconditions and issues, such as bilateral relations between different States and the implementation by Bangladesh of General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7 December 1971 and Security Council resolution 307 (1971) of 21 December 1971. These attempts, which have their latest reflection in the draft resolution contained in document S/10768 and Corr.1, have already been repudiated by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Council.

15. Let us, however, examine this attempt a little further. The conditions for admission are given in paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter, and its provisions are absolutely clear and categorical. An advisory opinion on this Article was sought from the International Court of Justice by the General Assembly in 1947 which became available on 28 May 1948.<sup>1</sup> The Court held that the enumeration of conditions in Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Charter is exhaustive and that no State is "juridically entitled to make its consent to the admission dependent on conditions not expressly provided by paragraph 1 of the said Article".

16. In order to make this position completely convincing, without a shadow of doubt, I should like to quote a little more fully from the Court's judgement. Commenting on paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter, the Court stated:

"The natural meaning of the words used leads to the conclusion that these conditions constitute an exhaustive enumeration and are not merely stated by way of guidance or example. The provision would lose its significance and weight if other conditions, unconnected

<sup>1</sup> *Conditions of Admission of a State to Membership in the United Nations (Article 4 of the Charter)*, I.C.J. Reports 1948, p. 57.

with those laid down, could be demanded. The conditions stated in paragraph 1 of Article 4 must therefore be regarded not merely as the necessary conditions, but also as the conditions which suffice.

“Nor can it be argued that the conditions enumerated represent only an indispensable minimum, in the sense that political considerations could be superimposed upon them, and prevent the admission of an applicant which fulfils them. Such an interpretation would be inconsistent with the terms of paragraph 2 of Article 4, which provide for the admission of ‘*tout Etat remplissant ces conditions*’—‘any such State’. It would lead to conferring upon Members an indefinite and practically unlimited power of discretion in the imposition of new conditions.”

17. It is incontestable, therefore, that the admission of a new Member State cannot be made conditional on anything other than Article 4 of the Charter. This is nothing new, and the same principle has been upheld in this Council on the applications for membership from other States which have since been admitted. It would be invidious to name States which are now Members of the United Nations, but I may refer to the 1034th meeting of the Security Council, when various arguments regarding its bilateral relations with its neighbours or its multilateral obligations did not stand in the way of the admission of a new Member State. I could give many examples, but these are hardly necessary in view of the clear opinion of the Court.

18. As regards the argument about the presence of foreign troops in the territory of an applicant State, there are innumerable examples of Members of the United Nations which had foreign troops stationed in their territory at the time of their admission and which continued to have them even now. This consideration, like the others I have mentioned, is also completely irrelevant. In the present case, moreover, it is doubly irrelevant as the People's Republic of Bangladesh has categorically stated that there are no foreign troops on its soil. Thus the provisions of the draft resolution contained in document S/10768 and Corr.1, both in its preambular and in its operative paragraphs, are entirely outside the scope of our debate.

19. Much has been made of the resolutions of the Security Council of 21 December 1971 and of the General Assembly of 7 December 1971. Now, to begin with, there is not a word in the Assembly resolution—I shall not discuss the circumstances in which it was passed—which applies to Bangladesh. Even as regards Security Council resolution 307 (1971) I could ask how it can possibly apply to Bangladesh. It is well known that when it was adopted Bangladesh was denied a hearing despite its own request and the repeated requests of some Members of the United Nations. Not once during the extensive debates which preceded its adoption did any delegation point out that it applied to Bangladesh. In fact, the delegations which now speak of these two resolutions did not even acknowledge the existence of Bangladesh during those debates. They do not do so even to this day. How can they speak of these resolutions with reference to a State the existence of which they deny? How can they speak of international conventions with reference to this State when, according to them, this State simply does not exist? Bangladesh had indeed

acceded to the Geneva Convention of 1949 and has said so publicly. But that Convention applies to States, and should not be quoted by those delegations which maintain that there is no such State as the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Such obligations as Bangladesh has in respect of this Convention and in relation to other States can arise only when those States deal with Bangladesh as a State and not as a conglomeration of private individuals. This is a basic concept of international law and has been adequately written into the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

20. The People's Republic of Bangladesh indeed exists. It is the eighth largest State in the world. It is recognized by over 86 countries, more than 80 of which are Members of the United Nations. It has already been welcomed into various specialized agencies of the United Nations. It has proclaimed solemnly that it accepts the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and undertakes to fulfil them. It has affirmed since its inception a policy of non-alignment and peaceful relations with all States, and is an important State in Asia and a significant member of the developing world.

21. It is on those objective merits that its application for membership in the United Nations should be judged—and not on the basis of preconditions which find no place in our Charter. This has been restated convincingly in the letter dated 23 August addressed by the representative of Bangladesh to the President of the Security Council [S/10774], which has now been circulated to all members. With that background and for those reasons my delegation, together with the delegations of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, has introduced the draft resolution contained in document S/10771. It is a simple and straightforward draft resolution, just as the application is simple and straightforward, and the sponsors commend it to the Council.

22. We would urge an immediate decision on our draft resolution. Bangladesh's application has been before us since 8 August. We have had ample time to examine it fully. The view has been expressed from time to time that a further delay may be preferable. This view comes from different sources and for different reasons. There are those who wish to impose preconditions on the applicant and disguise denial in the garb of delay. I have already pointed out that that does not conform with the Charter. Sometimes the argument for delay appears to be based on some desire to exercise a kind of pressure upon the applicant in respect of its present or future bilateral relations. This is inadmissible. However, there are others who have expressed the hope that a further delay may contribute to the consolidation of peace and stability in South Asia. We respect the sincerity with which this hope has been expressed, but we would point out with equal sincerity our conviction that any further delay, whether limited or unlimited, whether conditional or unconditional, can only contribute to increasing tensions in the sub-continent and making more difficult the realization of a durable peace and harmony among the countries of the area towards which the first steps were taken last July in the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan. We are convinced that any moves for postponement with a view to avoiding complications, real or imaginary, in the Council

can only be at the cost of Bangladesh, at the cost of the relative calm prevailing in the subcontinent, by imperilling the existing trends towards negotiation and settlement of all the problems among the countries of the region.

23. Bangladesh has requested that the Council speedily and favourably pronounce itself on the application. I referred earlier to the 1034th meeting of the Security Council, at which another State was admitted to the United Nations despite arguments for delay. The delegation of Norway, which was a member of the Council at that time, stated on that occasion—and I shall not name the State in question:

“we feel that it is not up to the Council to exercise judgement with regard to when to deal with the application for membership submitted by [*the State*], since . . . in exercising its sovereign rights, [*it*] is maintaining its application and has declared that it wishes that application to be dealt with at this time in order that it may be admitted during the forthcoming . . . session of the General Assembly”. [*1034th meeting, para. 67*]

We believe that to be the correct attitude. In the present case the delegation of France took a most realistic view on a further proposal for a limited delay. I quote from paragraph 9 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members before us:

“The representative of France also said that he would have been able to support a proposal for a limited adjournment provided that such an adjournment could be justified by new developments indicating that the difficulties between the parties might soon be eased. That not being the case, he was ready to declare himself immediately in favour of the admission of Bangladesh.”

24. In these circumstances, to delay decision without any justification is simply to be fatalistic and certainly is not in conformity with the high sense of responsibility the Council is expected to exercise.

25. India believes that the admission of Bangladesh to its rightful place in the United Nations not only is its legitimate due but will contribute to further progress towards normalcy and peace in South Asia. It will also contribute to the further consolidation of the principle of universality which is so vital for the effectiveness of the United Nations. The principle of universality has been pursued by the Indian delegation ever since the United Nations was established. It pains us, therefore, to see that attempts are now being made to delay, if not to prevent, the admission of an Asian State, a developing State of 75 million people. May I add parenthetically that Bangladesh has a larger population than have seven members of this Council put together—and that applies not only of the present Council but to all the Councils since the establishment of this body.

26. Some of the arguments we have heard over the last two or three weeks remind us cruelly of identical arguments used not long ago to prevent the exercise of the legitimate rights of a much larger and more powerful Asian State. Can

we wonder, then, if the outside world looks upon the United Nations with a degree of cynicism?

27. If we all practised what we preached, perhaps the world would be a better place to live in. We invoke principles, speak about peace, progress and justice, sometimes even of revolution, criticise great-Power hegemonistic tendencies and seek a world free of discrimination, exploitation and domination. The phrases “third world” and “developing countries” often become interchangeable. In these circumstances, people everywhere will judge us not by what we say but by what we do.

28. It is in that spirit that we recommend that Bangladesh's application be accepted without delay. It is in that spirit that we, along with the delegations of the USSR, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, have presented our draft resolution, which, I now request, should be put to a vote.

29. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): We are meeting for the second time in two weeks to consider an important and in many ways a solemn matter: the admission of a new Member to our world Organization. It is not without the most profound reasons that whenever we do that our Organization—and I have not used the term “world Organization” accidentally—draws the attention of the world and the attention of international opinion. For our deliberations, and especially our decision, whenever a new State, a new nation, knocks on our doors are a crucial test of our dedication to the principle of the universality of the United Nations and to the principle and practice of the equal and democratic participation of all States in international life—States big and small, highly developed, less developed, Asian, European, African or any others.

30. For two weeks the Security Council has been deliberating in one way or another on the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations, and for more than two weeks Bangladesh has through its Government been making it officially clear that it wants our decision without delays. This developing, non-aligned, richly populated new State now awaits our decision on its application for admission—our decision on whether or not to extend to it now, when it needs it most, our helpful hand in admitting it to the counsels of our world Organization, in helping it to broaden and strengthen its independent position in international relations.

31. In the course of our debates both in the Council and in the Committee on the Admission of New Members we have set forth our views and positions and our reasons, both immediate and underlying, in favour of a positive decision of the Council without any delays. They are now on record in both the verbatim and the summary records and in the report of the Committee before us today. Let me, then, once again limit myself to what, in the opinion of the Yugoslav Government, are some essential points.

32. The application of Bangladesh and its indisputable right to enter our Organization is, and should be, a clear and straightforward matter. Bangladesh meets all the requirements for membership postulated in Article 4 of the

Charter and is eminently willing and able to assume and pursue the obligations and the duties of a Member State. The letter addressed to the President of the Security Council by Mr. Karim, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Embassy of Bangladesh in Washington, under instructions from his Government, and circulated as a Security Council document confirms that once more.

33. It is the considered view of the Yugoslav Government that if we are just, we have no grounds to bar entry into our Organization to a country like Bangladesh; that if we are realistically and constructively interested in the promotion of peace and security in the area and in the world and if we seriously want each and every one to contribute its most and best we cannot close our eyes to the new reality of Bangladesh and to the new opportunity to strengthen its independence, our universality and the over-all performance and efficiency of the United Nations.

34. We have stated many times in the United Nations, in the conferences of non-aligned countries and in our bilateral declarations with other countries that at this juncture in international developments, with both new possibilities and old and new dangers, the importance of a stronger, universal world Organization is paramount; that we have progressed decisively in achieving universality for the United Nations but that much remains to be done; and that one of the basic prerequisites for the strengthening of the role and for the greater effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security is the protection of the independence of all countries, especially the smaller ones and the ones which do not have, cannot have or do not want to have powerful military means.

35. In that context the full contribution of an independent, non-aligned Bangladesh inside and through our Organization would constitute a major achievement and a step forward for all of us. In our previous statements on the matter we have described in more detail some of the tenets of non-alignment of which the Government of Bangladesh officially declared itself in favour and we have also mentioned how that Government wants to see them applied in the area of the Indian Ocean for the benefit of all: not to belong to military blocs or treaties, to have good relations on equal terms with everyone, to have no military bases in that area, to have the Indian Ocean freed of big-Power rivalries and made a nuclear-free zone. Those are some of the ways.

36. Those are some of the reasons why we think that by acting speedily and favourably now we would be enhancing the stabilization of the situation and the over-all relationships in an important region and wider area which, after the recent traumatic changes, needs that stabilization so very much.

37. Posing any new, extraneous requirements outside the purview of Article 4 of the Charter for Bangladesh's admission is, we respectfully submit, not only not in keeping with the relevant Charter provisions, but unrealistic as well, inasmuch as in our opinion, it tends to overlook the beneficial effects it might have precisely on those processes of lessening of tensions that we all say we should like to see

take place. The admission of a State into the United Nations does not supply it with new armies and weapons, does not harden or narrow its outlook, does not separate it from anybody. On the contrary, it brings that State into more immediate relationships with all the factors of international life. It brings it into the interplay of the diplomacy of international organizations where the methods and practice of mutual accommodation and peaceful settlement are a way of life and the only manner in which lasting results are achieved and maintained. And it brings that State's problems, its urgent requirements and its needs to the immediate consideration of all the others. That is why my Government is sincerely convinced that rather than blocking positive processes of rehabilitation and normalization in the great subcontinent, the admission of Bangladesh might open new channels, new room for such processes. Indeed we have seen that delaying and not admitting Bangladesh, linking it with other matters that we should all like to see resolved peacefully, tends to encumber those processes. The delays, as we have seen, tend to increase tensions and not the other way around.

38. Of course we should not bring into question the right of a State to enter our Organization—that is its basic right, which, when satisfied, becomes a permanent fact of international life and of that State's status—or subordinate that right to the temporary exigencies of dealing with a current situation.

39. In our active support for the right of Bangladesh, a new State that is now before us, the Yugoslav Government is proceeding from the premise that that right is not and should not be the subject or the cause for any confrontation between anybody. As we have stated on previous occasions, we have good, friendly, normal relations with all the countries of the subcontinent and with all the major Asian and non-Asian factors that influence developments there. One of the major aims of the policy of non-alignment, the major *raison d'être*, has always been to reduce and remove the elements of confrontation in the world and to promote the democratization of international relations.

40. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade in 1961 sent special missions to Moscow and Washington to encourage them to start a dialogue. All the conferences of non-aligned nations have firmly and most actively upheld the assumption by the People's Republic of China of its rightful seat in the United Nations. The last ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, in Georgetown, Guyana, admitted the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam to full membership and Prince Sihanouk's representatives as representing Cambodia, thereby making another contribution, we think, to a recognition of the realities of our world.

41. It is in that spirit that we support the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations, and in doing that, independent, socialist, non-aligned Yugoslavia is following nothing other than the dictates of its own political morality and the essential precepts of its own foreign policy.

42. It is for that reason that Yugoslavia is one of the four sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/10771 and that we urge the Council to adopt it.

43. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I have not had the opportunity of making a statement since you welcomed our new colleague from Guinea to this table. There is little I can add to what you, and our colleagues have said about Mrs. Cissé's admirable qualifications for being a representative at this table both in her work in her own country and in the Commission on the Status of Women in the United Nations. As representative of a country whose own Head of State is a woman, I cannot but feel it appropriate that we should have one in our councils and I am happy to accord her a warm welcome.

44. My delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/10771, which has just been introduced by the representative of India. My Government recognized Bangladesh as long ago as last February, and since then our two Governments have developed close and friendly contacts at the highest level, both in London and in Dacca. Bangladesh was unanimously accepted as one of their members by the members of the Commonwealth in April. As a member of the Commonwealth we are happy to sponsor the application of our newest member. We are entirely satisfied that Bangladesh is qualified to be a Member of the United Nations and is determined to uphold the principles of the Charter. We feel, indeed, that Bangladesh with its population of over 70 million—the eighth largest country in the world in terms of population, as has already been pointed out around this table—will have an important contribution to make to the deliberations of the United Nations and should appropriately be represented here.

45. In the Committee on Admissions of New Members on 11 August the United Kingdom representative made clear that we were ready to support an immediate favourable recommendation to the Security Council. But since it was the view of the majority of the other members of the Council that a short delay would be helpful both in increasing the chances of a unanimous decision in the Council and in bringing about an improvement in the situation in the subcontinent itself, we were prepared to go along with a short postponement. It will thus be apparent that my delegation does not feel that the arguments adduced in relation to resolution 307 (1971) in support of the draft resolution in document S/10768 and Corr.1 in themselves justify any further postponement of consideration of Bangladesh's application nor, indeed, are we convinced by the suggestion that a further delay would help the situation in the subcontinent. It would not necessarily help the parties towards an accommodation and we fear, indeed, that it might increase tensions in the subcontinent. We feel that these tensions are more likely to be relieved by the early admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations than if its admission is in effect made subject to special conditions.

46. My delegation hopes that as we consider this problem the doubts that have been expressed on a number of sides will find themselves resolved and that we shall be able to

make an agreed recommendation to the General Assembly in accordance with the draft resolution in document S/10771.

47. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council has met today to consider the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members in connexion with the application of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the question before the Security Council is quite clear. As shown by the letter dated 8 August 1972 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Bangladesh accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to fulfil those obligations.

48. As we have seen from consideration of the application of Bangladesh here in the Security Council and subsequently in the Committee on the Admission of New Members, there is no doubt that Bangladesh fully meets each and every one of the requirements which Article 4 of the United Nations Charter lays down for each and every State admitted to membership in the Organization. There is also no doubt that Bangladesh, a State with a population of 75 million, a large territory with varied and abundant resources, likewise has everything necessary to enable it to fulfil the obligations imposed on States Members of the United Nations under the Charter.

49. With regard to Bangladesh's willingness to fulfil these obligations, the Government of Bangladesh, as has already been pointed out, has solemnly declared that it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and undertakes to fulfil them. And no one has or can have any grounds whatsoever for doubting this in any way.

50. One argument for an immediate decision by the Security Council to admit Bangladesh to the United Nations is the fact that the People's Republic of Bangladesh enjoys great prestige in world affairs and has broad international links: 86 States have officially recognized it and established diplomatic, economic, cultural and other relations with it. As has already been stated here today by previous speakers, Bangladesh has been admitted to membership in a number of specialized agencies. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a peace-loving State. There is and cannot be any doubt whatsoever about this. It has proclaimed as the basis of its foreign policy a policy of non-alignment and friendly co-operation designed to ease international tension. From the very first days of its existence the foreign-policy efforts of Bangladesh have been aimed at a general normalization of the situation in the Indian subcontinent and at putting an end once and for all to the tension which had been created artificially in that area by external forces. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a young developing State which has had to contend with great difficulties and privations because of events with which we are all very familiar and it is facing the same problems in its economic and social development as dozens and dozens of young States in Asia, Africa and Latin America, States which, incidentally, constitute a



majority in the United Nations. There is no doubt that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will help it more quickly to eliminate the grave consequences of recent events and will contribute to the solution of the complex and difficult development tasks of that country.

51. At the same time, the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will promote the attainment of universality in this Organization and will help to enhance its authority and role in world affairs. The full and equal participation of Bangladesh in the United Nations will enable it to make a useful contribution of its own to the solution of the important tasks confronting the United Nations in the strengthening of international peace and security and the development of co-operation on an equal footing between States. By taking a speedy and favourable decision on the question of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations, the Security Council can make a useful contribution to the process, which has already begun, of normalizing the situation in the subcontinent. There is no doubt that the full and equal participation of Bangladesh in the United Nations will promote the normalization of relations among all States of the subcontinent.

52. The position of the Soviet Union with regard to Bangladesh is consistent and is based on principle; it derives from the whole history and nature of our State from the time, almost 55 years ago, when the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, a document which proclaimed the end of the imperialist policy of national inequality and national differences, was adopted. From then on the Soviet Union has consistently supported and continues to support the movement of peoples for national independence. These lofty principles of the policy of the socialist Soviet State form the foundation of the multinational Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which unites in a single family of equal peoples the nations and peoples which had been oppressed by Tsarism.

53. This year the peoples of the Soviet Union are solemnly celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Soviet people see the peoples of the East, including the peoples of Asia, as their friends and allies in the struggle against colonial, imperialist oppression in all its forms and manifestations. The Soviet Union aspires to build its relations with the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America in such a way as to give them the greatest possible support and facilitate their participation in international life as an active and equal force.

54. It is on the basis of that position of principle of the Soviet Union that the USSR is building its relations with the People's Republic of Bangladesh too. The Soviet Union sympathized deeply with the people of East Bengal in their struggle and welcomed their victory, which led to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State, the developing People's Republic of Bangladesh.

55. The Soviet Union has good relations with all the countries of the subcontinent, as with other Asian States, and consistently works for the further development of good relations with them. It sees its goal as being to promote the strengthening of peace in Asia and to assist progressive

forces in Asia in their struggle against imperialism and all forms of colonialism. Our country is also a consistent supporter of the establishment of lasting peace and good-neighbourly relations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. That would be a substantial contribution to the improvement of the political climate throughout Asia—and indeed not only in Asia. It goes without saying that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations would be an important political factor contributing to the establishment of equal relations between all countries in the subcontinent and to the further improvement of the situation in that region.

56. The Soviet Union believes that the establishment of lasting peace in the subcontinent is in the vital interests of the peoples of the region and is a most important condition for their social and economic development. It will eliminate a hotbed of tension there. The peoples of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan need peace in order to solve social and political problems, to improve their life and to make further progress in the field of economics and culture. Our country is sincerely concerned that the countries of the Indian subcontinent should solve the important problems which have arisen among them by peaceful means, in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding. We are convinced that the speediest possible decision on the question of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will be a useful concrete step towards normalizing the situation in the region.

57. Guided by these considerations, the Soviet Union whole-heartedly supports the application by Bangladesh for admission to the United Nations and favours the immediate adoption by the Security Council of an appropriate recommendation on the matter to the General Assembly.

58. The Soviet delegation would like to take this opportunity to wish the people of Bangladesh well in the further strengthening of their independence and social and political progress.

59. The Soviet delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/10771, which was introduced by the representative of India, Ambassador Sen. This extremely brief and clear draft resolution proposes that the Security Council recommend to the General Assembly that the People's Republic of Bangladesh be admitted to membership in the United Nations. As sponsors of the draft resolution, we appeal to all members of the Security Council without exception and particularly to all the permanent members of the Security Council, to adopt this important decision unanimously, and to vote in favour of the legitimate application of the Government of Bangladesh.

60. As to the draft resolution contained in document S/10768 and Corr.1, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to state the following.

61. Above all, this draft resolution directly contradicts Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations and rule 60, paragraph 1, of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, which are the only criteria for the requirements laid down for every State applying for

admission to membership in the United Nations. The draft in question arbitrarily broadens these Charter requirements and is therefore unconstitutional. In defiance of the principle of the sovereign equality of States—that is, the equality of their rights and obligations—the draft submitted by the Chinese delegation attempts to introduce a practice of discrimination or favouritism into the consideration of any given application for admission, depending on the whim of any given delegation. To adopt such a course would be tantamount to undermining the basic provisions of the Charter and to casting doubt on, among other things, the principle of the universality of the organization, a principle which means that all States which meet the clear requirements laid down in Article 4 of the Charter may be Members of the United Nations.

62. The proposed draft resolution is aimed at slamming the doors of the United Nations on the People's Republic of Bangladesh. This runs counter to the interests of international co-operation, the interests of the developing countries and the interests of the United Nations. For these reasons the Soviet delegation opposes the draft resolution of the Chinese delegation.

63. Mr. IBRAHIM (Sudan): Mr. President, as we meet once again under your wise guidance to dispose of this delicate, if not complicated, matter, we deem it our duty to praise your unceasing efforts to spare this Council a sterile confrontation and an embittered debate. If, in pursuing these efforts, you can find my delegation of any help, we shall be only too glad and honoured to extend our co-operation. Further, my delegation feels a special responsibility to see to it that a more amicable atmosphere may prevail in our deliberations and bring about a favourable outcome, if possible, for my country has good friends on both sides of the line whom we cannot afford to disappoint except for a good and principled cause.

64. The ties that bind us to any people in the subcontinent are no less strong than those which bind us to their brethren living next door. For the Bengali people in particular, especially those who are now within the confines of what is now Bangladesh and rejoicing over having an independent State, we have great admiration and respect. We know that the proud Bengali people are among the most generous, most peaceful and unaggressive peoples in the world when left alone, but, once molested, once piqued, once hurt, they justifiably become more ferocious than tigers.

65. My delegation can very well understand and appreciate this trait since we have it in our own people, and our people have never failed to sympathize with and to express genuine concern towards the great and invincible Bengali people in their hour of tribulation and ordeal. That is why it can never be the position of my delegation to try to deny them their rightful place in the world community of nations.

66. The Bengali people, who have contributed much towards the enrichment of the human mind and soul, will have much to contribute, we are sure, to international relations and the peaceful endeavours of the United Nations by their newly acquired independence. We are sure that all the suffering and the agonies they have gone through will

temper the steel of their moral and national framework and add to the lustre of their noble qualities and ancient wisdom. We are equally sure that the present leadership of Pakistan has displayed highly commendable self-confidence, candidness in accepting realities and a keen desire for reconciliation. The early, unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was a tangible act of good faith, which should be duly appreciated by all. The wage of a magnanimous act is, in our opinion, indeed no less than an equally magnanimous act.

67. However, what my delegation can never accept is to see a Member State exposed under the very nose and eyes of this Council to undue humiliation or blackmail; what my delegation can never accept is to see this Council unable or unwilling to protect any Member State from being exposed to such undue humiliation or blackmail; furthermore, what my delegation can never accept is to see this Council unable or unwilling to give precedence to the implementation of its own resolutions or the enforcement of its injunctions over any other relevant issue.

68. In the period since the initial submission of the present application for United Nations membership the possible courses of action open to the Security Council have crystallized with utmost clarity. My delegation has painstakingly considered the possible options in the hope of finding an equitable solution to the present dilemma involving, as it unfortunately does, some of our closest and most esteemed friends on the subcontinent. Admittedly it is no easy task to arbitrate among one's friends. The very existence of such a special relationship would suffice to muddle one's perspective and to push one into the cosy posture of passively taking no part. But, though easy and face-saving, passiveness is decidedly unfair and inequitable.

69. Applying the utmost objectivity, my delegation could see no fairer course of action than the postponement of the consideration of this matter to the time when the parties involved have given effect to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Those ideas are ably incorporated in the proposal of the delegation of the People's Republic of China contained in document S/10768 and Corr.1, which we find more appealing and more in conformity with our views—but with the understanding that that should never indefinitely bar the way for the People's Republic of Bangladesh; hence our position is more flexible and less all-encompassing.

70. In that position my delegation is motivated by one major humanitarian consideration: that of the some 90,000 prisoners of war who have been in captivity for nine months now and whose fate is still far from certain. It is a matter of common knowledge that the prisoners of war are not physically present on the national territory of Bangladesh, neither are they being held by captors from that country. But it is equally known that Bangladesh has a major say in deciding their fate one way or another. It is that country's insistence on putting some of them on trial for war crimes which is impeding their immediate release. In short, Bangladesh is no outsider to the issue—indeed, the last war on the subcontinent was fought over the creation of that country.

71. The release of the prisoners of war is a test and proof of the peace-loving nature of the applicant in this case. It hardly befits the Council to hide behind the broad façade of generalized theoretical concepts which provide no guidance in specific cases. The criterion of "peace-loving" is one concept, when taken theoretically. All peoples and all nations are peace-loving. Let me add that I do not know of a single people which I could honestly characterize as suffering in its entirety a propensity towards aggression or warfare. To assert the contrary without being oblivious to the probable occurrence of delinquent minorities is to fall in the gambit of racism. In that light the peace-loving criterion is not a theoretical one. In deciding its existence or non-existence, the Council is not to be guided by historical, anthropological or other evidence; for, as I have said, that would make the Council a judge of human nature. Such an intention cannot be attributed to the Charter and, I am certain, would not appeal to the Council.

72. In deciding such a matter the Council is to take into consideration the record of the applicant in deferring to Council resolutions and resolutions of the United Nations as a whole. The Council, above any other body or organ, should see to it that its own decisions are respected and given affect. In the instance at hand that consideration becomes imperative, since the admission of the applicant would imply the Council's satisfaction as to the present measure of implementation given to its resolutions, which in fact is far from being satisfactory.

73. It has been argued that the admission of Bangladesh to United Nations membership would facilitate the process of the release of the prisoners of war and the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. Let me hasten to note that proffering such an argument as this amounts to admission by implication that Bangladesh has a say in the release of the prisoners of war, an argument which I asserted at the beginning of this statement. Indeed, Bangladesh definitely has a say in that respect.

74. On another plane, I should like to remark that it could equally be said that withholding membership for the time being would help in the implementation of the Council resolutions, including the release of the prisoners of war. Since the applicant is anxious to join the United Nations as a sovereign Member, we are inclined to believe that it will settle the outstanding disputes which impede its speedy admission to the United Nations. The argument for immediate admission is thus not only neutralized but also seriously damaged by the fact that withholding the prize is a greater incentive for Bangladesh to fulfil the preconditions.

75. In supporting the call for postponement, we are confident that the delay will be reasonably short. The release of the prisoners of war can be effected in a satisfactory manner. In asserting this we reaffirm our belief in Asian decorum and largesse. Asians have fought Asians before and some have fallen captive to others. But there have been encouraging cases where the prisoners were set free in the most magnanimous of fashions—I am referring even to contemporary incidents well known to the members of this Council. My delegation is confident that our Asian friends are capable of living up to those well-known,

well-established standards of Asian interrelations and that the release of the prisoners of war and the implementation of the Council's resolutions will not prove a stumbling-block. At that moment we will be the most overjoyed to welcome Bangladesh amongst us as a companion and peace-loving Member State.

76. My delegation would like to propose that, before the voting on any of the draft resolutions before the Council, the meeting should be adjourned until tomorrow at 3 p.m., in accordance with paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure, in order to allow some delegations to have further consultations and to receive fresh instructions from their Governments on this vital matter. That may prove beneficial to the course and outcome of this debate.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Sudan for the kind words he addressed to the President.

78. I should like to ask him for some clarification. If I understood him correctly, he has requested an adjournment until tomorrow, before the vote.

79. Mr. IBRAHIM (Sudan): Yes, before the vote.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The debate can therefore continue now, since there are still some names on the list of speakers.

81. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): At the outset of my remarks I should like, belatedly, to join the other members of the Council in extending a warm and cordial welcome to the new representative of the Republic of Guinea, Ambassador Jeanne Martin Cissé.

82. As was emphasized at the last meeting of this Council, the question relating to the application by the People's Republic of Bangladesh for its admission to the United Nations is a matter of particular interest to Japan which, as an Asian State, is deeply concerned about the maintenance and promotion of peace and stability in the Asian region.

83. Japan recognized the People's Republic of Bangladesh on 10 February of this year and established diplomatic relations with this new-born State. The friendly relations between the two countries have since been greatly strengthened. In response to the Secretary-General's appeal, we have extended a sizable amount of humanitarian relief assistance to this young Asian State through the United Nations relief operation in Dacca.

84. As far as Japan is concerned, we are convinced that this new State, which has undertaken to fulfil the obligations incumbent upon it under the Charter, is fully qualified for membership in the United Nations. Bangladesh has already been admitted as a full-fledged member of important organizations of the United Nations family such as the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Therefore, we will support the application made by the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to the United Nations. It has always been a cherished desire of the

Japanese people that the people of Bangladesh should make rapid strides in their development and participate in the efforts of the international community to create a peaceful world. There is no doubt that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will contribute to the promotion of the cause of the world Organization.

85. On the basis of the foregoing considerations my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by India, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia and contained in document S/10771.

86. I now wish to turn to the draft resolution submitted by China and contained in document S/10768 and Corr.1. My delegation is convinced that the new-born State—that is, the Republic of Bangladesh—which had already received diplomatic recognition from 86 States all over the world, is fully qualified for membership in the United Nations. From that point of view my delegation, with all respect to the People's Republic of China, finds itself unable to support this draft resolution.

87. Mr. CARSALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all I wish to associate myself most sincerely on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Argentina with the words of welcome expressed a few days ago and today to the distinguished new representative of Guinea, Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé.

88. I shall be very brief in explaining the position of my delegation in connexion with the item we are considering.

89. We stated our position at length on two occasions in the Committee on the Admission of New Members—and may I in passing pay a tribute to its Chairman for the skill and effectiveness with which he guided our debates—so that I shall now merely repeat that the Republic of Argentina is prepared, at any time, to vote in favour of approval of the request for admission to the United Nations submitted by the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

90. In so doing we do not base ourselves solely on the fact that the Republic of Argentina has already formally recognized the existence of Bangladesh as an independent and sovereign State. Essentially our position is based on legal considerations deriving from a strict interpretation of the standards contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

91. Article 4 of the Charter establishes five conditions for the admission of a new Member to the Organization: first, that it be a State; second, that it be peace-loving; third, that it accept the obligations contained in the Charter; fourth, that it is able to carry out these obligations; and fifth, that it is willing to do so. The International Court of Justice very clearly determined in its advisory opinion of 28 May 1948 that the requirements laid down in Article 4 of the Charter are complete, that is to say, that it is not possible to add other conditions, however reasonable and logical they may appear.

92. We firmly believe that the People's Republic of Bangladesh fulfils all the requirements contained in the Charter. It therefore follows that our course of action can

be no other than to vote in favour of the admission to our Organization of this ancient, yet young, country, washed by the waters of the Ganges.

93. We all recall that the birth of Bangladesh occurred under difficult and painful circumstances, both for its people and for the State which thereby saw its territory dismembered. The wounds were deep and many problems remain to be solved. Certainly not the least of them is the destiny of 80,000 prisoners of war; their condition and that of their relatives cannot be prolonged indefinitely. We believe that this is a question that should be solved and quickly.

94. The future of the region requires the exercise of the highest qualities of statesmanship on the part of the leaders of each country concerned. The Simla Agreement cannot but be a subject for praise and satisfaction. At the same time, it is our hope and wish that it may be the start of other steps which will make it possible to consolidate for all time peace and harmony on the subcontinent.

95. All this can and should be done. But we do not believe that the carrying out of all or some of these measures, however necessary or desirable, should be set as a condition for the acceptance of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations. We do not believe that it is appropriate to demand of a State that it pay a political price in order to occupy a seat in the Organization to which it is entitled, since it is already a recognized and respected member of the international community.

96. On the contrary, it is our firm opinion that the settlement of the problems pending would be facilitated rather than hampered by admitting Bangladesh to the United Nations. The Charter imposes standards of conduct which Member States are bound to observe, and it is obvious that in that context dialogue would be more fluid and the possibilities for agreement nearer at hand.

97. In summary, the delegation of Argentina will unreservedly support the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations. At the same time we place on record our hope that the problems still pending in the area will be solved quickly and satisfactorily.

98. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation has already had occasion to express to you its feelings of profound esteem and to assure you of our full co-operation.

99. Permit me now to associate myself with the welcome which you, Mr. President, and other members of the Council have extended to Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé. We share the admiration that has so rightly been shown for her brilliant career, in which she has undertaken so many other responsibilities both in the Guinean Parliament and in diplomatic life, particularly in this Organization and in the Organization of African Unity. If I may add a word, I should like to point out how feminine grace harmonizes with political talents and diplomatic skills in a representative to the United Nations, and we are much gratified at this new element here, which may have the effect of making our work even more civilized than it has been hitherto.

100. I sincerely wish Mrs. Cissé success in her work, and I should also like to offer her on my own behalf and that of my delegation friendly co-operation in keeping with the spirit of friendship and co-operation that so felicitously exists between our two countries.

*[The speaker continued in English],*

101. My delegation will cast a positive vote on the draft resolution introduced by India, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and contained in document S/10771. Since the very outset, Italy has wholeheartedly welcomed and supported the application of Bangladesh for admission to the United Nations. We will vote for the immediate admission of a country situated in an important area of the world which because of its size, its potential, its population—one of the largest and most resourceful—can and will, we believe, play a constructive role in our Organization.

102. In the first place, we feel that by admitting a State like the People's Republic of Bangladesh we will be taking a further significant step towards the achievement of the universality of our Organization, an aim my country has been consistently fostering for a long time. The wider the membership of the United Nations, the better, in our view, the prospect of implementing the purposes and principles of the Charter.

103. It is, in fact, becoming more and more self-evident in our day-by-day work that our search for a better understanding and for closer relations and co-operation among nations requires a global vision and global participation since the main problems are increasingly assuming world-wide dimensions.

104. In the light of that stand on the question of principle I should like to emphasize that it has been the consistent practice and policy of the Italian Government to support the admission to the United Nations of States it has already recognized. Such is the case with Bangladesh, and in fact we have already voted in favour of its membership in a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations system.

105. Our sympathy and support for Bangladesh stem, moreover, from the warm and strong relations traditionally existing between our peoples. We hope for and strive for their further enhancement following the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries and we look forward to close, fruitful co-operation with the Bangladesh delegation here at the Headquarters of this world Organization and in all bodies of the United Nations family.

106. My delegation therefore made it clear at the meetings of 11 and 21 August of the Committee on the Admission of New Members that the Italian Government considered that the conditions for membership set forth by Article 4 of the Charter were fully met in the case of Bangladesh. If at the same time we repeatedly expressed our serious concern at the situation prevailing in the Council it was because we felt it was the duty of all members not to impair by hasty actions the interests of the Organization and of the applicant State. One of the permanent members of the

Council in fact declared—and this it has reiterated at today's meeting—firm opposition to the Security Council's considering Bangladesh's application for membership in the United Nations under the present circumstances. Therefore, the Italian delegation, together with other delegations, thought that to press the matter would prove profitable neither to the United Nations nor to Bangladesh itself.

107. We drew the attention of the Committee to the experience through which a number of countries had to live in the rather distant past, and others in the last few years, having incurred the opposition of a permanent member of the Council. They all learned how long it sometimes takes to see a negative vote, once cast by a permanent member, changed into a positive vote. We hope this will not be the case concerning the admission of Bangladesh.

108. In any case, for the reasons I have indicated, the Italian delegation on 11 August supported Japan's proposal to postpone until 21 August the presentation to the Council of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members. On 21 August the members of the Committee were asked by the Chairman to indicate through a vote their attitude as to the question of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations. The Italian delegation reiterated its full support for the immediate admission and membership of Bangladesh in the United Nations. At the same time we felt that in the present circumstances another pause might have helped the cause of the United Nations and Bangladesh itself much more than an immediate decision on the question. We believed, in fact, that a short period of reflection could have afforded some useful—even if very limited—time to allow the process of the talks recently started in the subcontinent to gather strength and speed, thus clarifying the situation.

109. We know that other delegations hold a different view and we have today heard statements to that effect. We respect their opinions and we hope that those delegations and all those concerned will show the same understanding of the reasons behind the position we took in the Committee.

110. What I have just stated should also make clear the reasons why my delegation would not be in a position to support the draft resolution contained in document S/10768 and Corr.1, introduced by China, since, with all respect for the arguments put forward by my colleague and good friend Ambassador Huang Hua, the text does not meet the requirements I have already indicated and tried to illustrate.

111. Mr. DE LA GORCE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with several previous speakers and express a welcome to my gracious neighbour on my left, Mrs. Cissé.

112. The position of principle of the French Government with regard to the item before the Council today lends itself to no doubt whatsoever. Last March the French Government recognized the People's Republic of Bangladesh and established diplomatic relations with that State. France also is very strongly attached to the ideal of universality which our Organization strives to attain. We

therefore consider that Bangladesh has its place in the United Nations and that it should occupy that place without delay.

113. Of course we would have hoped that the application of Bangladesh would enjoy the unanimously favourable support here which the Council generally gives to applications from new States. We note with regret that this is not the case. The dramatic circumstances surrounding the birth of Bangladesh have left their mark. Very serious problems remain outstanding and conflicts still persist between the parties. These are reflected here by the differences of which we are aware.

114. We would have very much hoped that today's debate could begin in better circumstances. The French Government used the time available to us during the last few days in trying to find out whether there may be more favourable prospects. We have spared no efforts in that regard. We have acted very vigorously these last days in dealing with the various interested parties in exploring the possibility of success for certain formulas which might have made it possible to overcome the obstacles we are confronted with.

115. Unfortunately, to our great regret no new factor has emerged that would give us grounds to think that any further adjournment of the debate might in the near future facilitate the search for a solution acceptable to all the interested parties.

116. In the circumstances my delegation intends to abstain on the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the People's Republic of China. This draft resolution would defer examination of the application for admission made by the Government of Bangladesh until such time as the resolutions of the Assembly and the Council, which were adopted in December last, were fully implemented.

117. Of course, we understand the concern of the Chinese delegation; indeed, that concern is shared by many Members of the Organization with regard to these resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 307 (1971). We consider that these resolutions should be given effect, the sooner the better. However, for the reasons that I have indicated we do not think that the circumstances are propitious for a new initiative and do not provide sufficient justification for any adjournment.

118. We therefore intend to vote in favour of the draft resolution which recommends to the General Assembly the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no further names on the list of speakers in the general debate.

120. Members of the Council will recall that after his statement the representative of the Sudan made a motion that before the Council proceeds to a vote on the draft resolutions before it, it should adjourn this meeting until tomorrow at 3 p.m. in accordance with paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council.

121. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that this motion is acceptable to the Council.

122. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I was somewhat surprised, Mr. President, by your intention, which was aimed at adjourning the meeting now. The fact is that I do not quite understand under what rule of procedure such a decision might be adopted. I understood that, when he spoke, the representative of the Sudan proposed that the meeting should be adjourned and that we should begin again on a certain day and at a certain hour, that is, under rule 33, paragraph 3. However, no decision on his proposal under paragraph 3 was adopted. You suggested with the agreement of the Sudanese representative that we continue the debate on the item. Thus it is not clear now exactly under what paragraph of the rules of procedure we shall consider the proposal by the Sudanese representative.

123. As to the substance of the question, I think that this proposal is not a procedural one but one of substance—that is to say, a proposal once again to delay consideration of the question of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations. Everyone is well aware that the application of the Government of Bangladesh for its admission to the United Nations is dated 8 August. The Security Council began consideration of the question on 10 August. Today is 24 August. The Chinese delegation submitted its draft resolution three days ago; the Soviet, Indian, United Kingdom and Yugoslav delegations submitted their draft resolution two days ago. So I wonder what is it that is not known, what is there to consult about? There are two draft resolutions: one favours immediate consideration of the question and is positive, and the other is diametrically opposed and advocates postponement of consideration of the matter. The proposal by the Sudanese representative cannot be considered separately from these two drafts. It, too, is aimed at postponement; the representative of the Sudan made his position quite clear. He spoke of the need to solve the question of the prisoners of war and other controversial questions in the subcontinent. It is difficult to imagine that anything will change in the region before 3 p.m. tomorrow. For that reason, the Soviet delegation cannot consider this proposal as anything but a substantive one, that is to say, a proposal aimed at postponing consideration of the question of the application of Bangladesh. We all have our instructions and there has been more than enough time to receive them. The question is therefore whether we are to consider the matter of admission now or to decide in principle to postpone such consideration. The question is therefore one of substance.

124. In this connexion I would request, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, that a vote be taken first on the Soviet, Indian, United Kingdom and Yugoslav draft resolution which is a draft resolution on the substance of the matter, as is indeed the proposal by the representative of the Sudan.

125. Mr. SEN (India): The addition which the representative of the Sudan made to his statement raises many problems.

126. As has been pointed out by the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, there is nothing new in these draft resolutions. The matter has been considered in the Committee and we have come here today to take a decision. Now, it is well known that those who wish to postpone have been working very hard at it. It is also well known that it was difficult to make a substantive proposal for postponement today. I say this not in any spirit of disparagement—every representative has the full right to work for what he considers to be in his interest—but because this is the kind of situation in which the Security Council finds itself again and again when under the guise of a procedural point a substantive point is pursued.

127. Now, I know also that if enough votes can be collected, anything is possible. Some might call it illegal and some might call it an imposition, but we are democratic enough not to use those words. However, this is a fact of life.

128. The proposal made by the Ambassador of China is essentially for indefinite postponement and nobody has suggested that that is a procedural proposal. Now, any indefinite postponement—whether for a day, a week, a month or whatever—in nature is essentially substantive. As I said, the Sudanese proposal for postponement is not for the purpose of seeking instructions because all of us should have come here with instructions. It is not for consultations because we have had plenty of consultations in the last two weeks. It is for the purpose of seeking an intermediate position in order to obtain a sufficient number of votes for a limited postponement. I say that in all sincerity. As I said, every delegation has the right to work for its interest, but let it not be said that we are not aware of what has happened.

129. Secondly, even on a formal ground, the Committee has recommended the suspension of rule 59. The Council has still to take a formal decision on the suspension of rule 59. Tomorrow is the last day of the time-limit under rule 60. And what will happen if tomorrow we are told that it has not been possible to obtain instructions? I must say in fairness to myself that in the Committee I suggested that if the Council discussion took place on 24 August this is exactly the situation that would arise, that some would say that they needed a little more time for instructions. So it is not even blindness or a lack of vision that could have stopped us from foreseeing these things.

130. Now, we have made a proposal. Every member around the table—with the exception of perhaps one or two—has expressed his views. There is nothing in the substance of the proposals made either in the Chinese or in the four-Power draft resolutions which requires further deliberation. Of course, as I said, if the nine votes have been collected for a 24-hour postponement, then there is nothing we can do about it. But let us be quite clear about what is happening.

131. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): It is unfortunate that the simple procedural proposal of the representative of the Sudan should have been misunderstood or misrepresented.

132. It has been customary throughout the history of this Council for members to move the suspension or adjourn-

ment of a meeting under rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure without that being considered a matter of substance.

133. Now, I think it is quite wrong to attempt—as my colleague from India did—to draw a parallel between the proposal of the delegation of China and that of the representative of the Sudan, for the following reason. The Chinese draft resolution would have the Council decide to postpone consideration of the matter until the full implementation of resolution 307 (1971). Such a condition is not attached to the proposal of Sudan. That proposal is a simple, straightforward procedural proposal. All he is asking is that the Council adjourn for 24 hours so as to allow for, first, consultations and, secondly, time for some delegations to obtain instructions. I am quite sure that some delegations around this table, including those of my friends of India and the Soviet Union, appreciate the fact that my delegation does not have its instructions. That is a fact which I made known to them even before the start of this meeting. I trust that, as we have always deferred to them on earlier occasions when they have wanted suspensions or adjournments, they will also defer to us in this case.

134. Mr. IBRAHIM (Sudan): First, I should like to assure the representative of India that when I put forward my proposal it was not out of blindness or lack of foresight. I had my reasons. When he says that there is no need for more consultations and more instructions because this area has been exhausted, I should like to tell him that his own statement does warrant contemplation, does warrant consultation and does warrant asking for fresh instructions—unless he thinks that there is nothing new in his statement and unless he thinks that there is nothing new in the other statements made to this Council.

135. In so far as the chronological exposé of the representative of the Soviet Union is concerned, I think it is irrelevant. It is true that the Committee on Admission of New Members met on such-and-such a date, but what has that to do with a simple proposal of adjournment for 22 hours?

136. Now, if this had something to do with the substantive postponement contained in the draft resolution which I supported, I would not have asked for 22 hours. To postpone for 22 hours is not to postpone this admission but to suspend the voting until certain aspects are made clear either with other delegations or with Governments.

137. It is my belief that my proposal is purely procedural and has nothing to do with the substance of any of the draft resolutions or even of my statement. I think it falls absolutely under the provisions of paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure. I leave it to your good judgement, Mr. President.

138. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): Of course we agree with the representative of the Sudan when he says that this problem deserves to be studied—it deserves even a thorough study—and instructions and so forth. But it is very difficult for the delegation of Yugoslavia to find valid arguments for the adjournment of the meeting—and this for several reasons which we have already had occasion to state.

139. We have been dealing with this problem for more than two weeks—20 days in fact. There is nothing new in the substance of the problem and the two draft resolutions. Furthermore, we find ourselves short of time; we have arrived at the time-limit. That is why we believe that we should proceed to the vote on the draft resolution of which we are a sponsor.

140. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): It is, of course, the right of every delegation to make any proposal it wishes, including a proposal for postponement, but it is also the right of every delegation to know the reasons for such postponement. The distinguished representative of the Sudan gave two reasons for postponement: first, the need for consultations and, secondly, the need to receive instructions. In this connexion, I have already reminded the distinguished representative of the Sudan of the course of the consideration of this question in the Security Council. This question has been considered by the Council and the Committee for a long time and right from the first day it became clear that there were two positions, two lines. Since then nothing has changed. These positions amount to the following. The first favours an immediate and favourable settlement of this question and an immediate and favourable response to the request of the Government of Bangladesh for admission to the United Nations. The second was aimed at postponing consideration of the question and also had two tendencies: one was quite clear and we are seeing it today—postponement in general. The Soviet delegation considers this position as closing the doors of the United Nations to the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

141. Other delegations felt that perhaps a week or 10 days would be sufficient for the situation to change and for the creation of an atmosphere which would be more conducive to a favourable solution of the matter.

142. Frankly, we had no particular illusions on this score and we did not believe that there would be any events in the Indian subcontinent which would change the attitude of any delegation to this question. But we agreed to wait patiently, as did the majority of other delegations, in order to satisfy the request and proposal of our colleagues. Enough time has gone by. As my Yugoslav colleague correctly pointed out, we are now faced with the necessity of taking an urgent decision. Otherwise, we shall be forced to violate rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council or to make an exception to it. Where, I ask, is there any guarantee that at 3 p.m. tomorrow one of the delegations, referring to the fact that the Council respected the Sudanese request, will not ask that its own request be respected and say it has still not received final instructions and therefore wants to postpone the matter for yet another day?

143. I should like to ask you, Mr. President, how long are we going to engage in such exercises? After all, we are considering the question of the admission to the Organization of a State with a population of 75 million. We have had time. The Soviet delegation respects the opinions of others. We understand that they have their positions and that they are apparently willing to state their positions here

in any form. But why are we engaging in this exercise and postponing the matter under all kinds of plausible and specious pretexts?

144. We have come up against an attempt to delay proceedings in the Committee, for technical reasons and all kinds of other reasons. Now, when it would seem that positions have crystallized, two draft resolutions have been submitted. They have not just been submitted. They have not just been tabled, but have been circulating in the United Nations for two days. What is there that is not clear?

145. We simply fail to understand such procrastination, which undoubtedly has some political motivation. The Soviet delegation is therefore against postponement since in these 22 hours—and now we are certainly going to have even less than 22 hours—nothing can happen which will change the situation.

146. In conclusion, I should like to ask a question: could we have a guarantee today that there will not be a proposal for postponement tomorrow? Are there such guarantees or will we be told again tomorrow: "Give us another two days, or five days". And so we shall drag this question out forever.

147. The Soviet delegation considers that we should proceed to the vote on the existing draft resolutions and take a decision on the question without further delay.

148. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, I should normally owe you an apology for speaking for the second time on a point of procedure, but, as I pointed out, much lies behind this innocent procedural move, and therefore I do not think that I will publicly apologize for taking the floor again. However, I do apologize for causing any inconvenience to you or to any members of the Council or anyone else present here. I am extremely flattered by the compliment the representative of the Sudan paid me by saying that my statement is so valuable that it will require consultation and study and instructions. I have lived long enough to be a little more humble. Over the past few days I have put forward much more brilliant arguments, much more brilliant reasoning, but I have not seen that it made the slightest dent, least of all on the representative of the Sudan. So I must be a little modest about it.

149. Next, Ambassador Farah of Somalia said that he had spoken to me about his instructions. I shall not go into the details, because it was a confidential discussion, and I do not think it is fair to him or to me to tell you all about it, but I think he knew roughly what he was supposed to do.

150. Now, on the question of accommodation, let us look at the history of it. Bangladesh applied for membership on 8 August. We took it up on 10 August. We made an accommodation by referring the matter to the Committee. The Committee decided to postpone until 21 August the sending of a report to the Council. Between 10 and 21 August meetings could have been held. They were not. At any rate, on 21 August we met. Agreement was reached in the Committee, but the preparation of the report took two more days. At the last minute the question of whether or



not the Committee should again meet caused some difficulty, I believe. But we are meeting here on 24 August. We still have rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure. On the last day nothing new has happened, unless as I said—and I apologize for having said it—this is part of a movement to achieve through these measures something on the substance. That is why we consider it substantive. However, as I said, I have lived long enough to know that if you have nine votes you can get anything done in the Council, so long as a permanent member is not opposed to a substantive motion. Now, the first thing to decide is whether or not the motion is substantive. The second thing to decide is whether or not we shall vote. If the motion for adjournment is carried, we shall have no option but to accept it. But let us be quite clear about what is happening, if again tomorrow these difficulties arise. I have never accused the representative of the Sudan of blindness. Far from it; I said that I was not blind when I foresaw that this question of instructions would be raised exactly on the 24th—and it has been raised. Therefore I suggest, Mr. President, that you give your ruling and let us proceed accordingly. As far as we are concerned, we should certainly like this matter to be settled today by a vote.

151. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I am not quite sure whether the representative of India has been indulging in a little crystal-gazing as far as my instructions are concerned, but I take his comments in good spirit.

152. My delegation firmly believes that a postponement along the lines suggested by the representative of the Sudan is desirable and I trust it will not be opposed. Since we are masters of our own procedure, the question of rule 60 does not arise. This Council has the right and the authority to dispose of time-limits.

153. I do not think we should get hung up on this question of rule 59 or rule 60. It is within our discretionary powers to dispose of time-limits when there are special circumstances. I believe that a good case can be made out by the sponsors of the draft resolution favouring the admission of Bangladesh for those special circumstances to be accepted in this case.

154. What I am amazed at is what I consider to be the unhealthy haste with which some delegations want to put through this application, despite the fact that they know there is strong opposition within the Council by one or two members, making certain the defeat of the whole purpose of the application.

155. The history of the Council is replete with instances where some States applying for membership in the Organization have had to wait for years, some for months, some for weeks, some for days and some for hours. There has been no fixed rule; every case has been treated on its merits. Whether or not the sponsors of the four-Power draft like it, they must accept that some delegations feel that Bangladesh's application is surrounded by very delicate circumstances which need to be delicately and politically handled. To ignore those considerations would be almost tantamount to ignoring the application itself.

156. I therefore trust that, if the majority of the members are so disposed, we will adjourn until tomorrow. If

tomorrow they are disposed to adjourn for another 10 days, that is the prerogative and within the authority of the Council.

157. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we continue with the debate I should like to reply to the very specific question put to me by the Ambassador of India.

158. The President feels that the proposal made by the representative of the Sudan is a procedural one. The proposal is based in fact on paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council. In order to dispel any doubts I shall slowly re-read the proposal made by the representative of Sudan:

"before the voting on any of the draft resolutions before the Council, the meeting should be adjourned until tomorrow at 3 p.m. in accordance with paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure".

That is quite clear.

159. Mr. IBRAHIM (Sudan): In our ardent quest for a formula which may be honourable for all parties concerned and which may, in all probability, prove beneficial to Bangladesh, we asked for a suspension of the meeting. Why are we denied this simple request to communicate with our Governments and our colleagues in order to try to prevent a fatal collision?

160. I do not see the logic in the resistance of the Ambassador of the Soviet Union. We are not discussing a matter of life and death; we are not discussing a matter of nuclear war. If the discussion were about the mining of Haiphong, for example, from which a nuclear war might ensue, we would not have asked for suspension until tomorrow. But as for the admission of Bangladesh, we know that even if Bangladesh is not admitted here the Bengali people are there and their will cannot be resisted by any body or any Power.

161. Mr. President, we see no point in prolonging this procedural discussion and we leave it to your good judgement. You have already made your verdict clear, and we thank you for it.

162. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, now that you have given your ruling that this is a procedural matter, I have only two comments to make.

163. As far as I understood the original proposal of the Ambassador of the Sudan, it was that we would suspend the vote until 3 p.m. tomorrow. Am I to take it that tomorrow when we meet at 3 p.m. the first order of business will be the vote? That is my recollection of what the representative of Sudan said. The records can be checked, but I think that you, Sir, said that we would continue the debate since the proposal of the representative of Sudan was to suspend the vote until 3 p.m. tomorrow. I should like confirmation of that.

164. The second point I should like to make is that before we disperse today—if the Sudanese proposal is accepted—

some pronouncement from the President about the suspension of rule 59 would perhaps be desirable.

165. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): I wanted to put exactly the same question as the Ambassador of India. If I understood it correctly, we were postponing the vote. But Ambassador Farah, if I understood him correctly, just said that we could adjourn until tomorrow, or for 10 days and so on. I wanted to ask for the same clarification as the representative of India. If the Sudanese proposal is accepted, does that mean that tomorrow there will be no possibility to delay the vote or to prolong the debate? That was what I wanted to ask.

166. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I think it would be unwise to pre-empt the authority of this Council. Tomorrow we might be faced with a new set of circumstances and it could well be that we would then wish to decide about fixing a date for the execution of the vote. If the Council decides—we are governed by majority vote here—that we should vote on the draft resolutions tomorrow, I would ask the President for the courtesy of allowing my delegation to explain its vote before that vote, since I do not have my instructions but I hope to get them by that time.

167. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): According to rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council,

“The following motions shall have precedence in the order named over all principal motions and draft resolutions relative to the subject before the meeting:

“1. To suspend the meeting;

“2. To adjourn the meeting;

“Any motion for the suspension or for the simple adjournment of the meeting shall be decided without debate.”

168. The President has made a ruling that the proposal for adjournment is a simple procedural question, so there is no need to carry on the debate any further.

169. In all circumstances, whether in the past, or at present, or in the future, the Security Council can only be governed by its own rules of procedure and cannot possibly undertake any commitments as demanded by the delegations of the Soviet Union, India and Yugoslavia.

170. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In its last statement the Soviet delegation asked a clear and distinct question: will there be proposals again tomorrow for a further postponement? Frankly I did not expect as direct an answer as we received. It turned out to be affirmative. Mr. Farah, the Ambassador of Somalia, quite clearly said tomorrow and then the representative of the People's Republic of China said the day after tomorrow. That means that tomorrow we shall have to consider making an exception to rule 60 and it may happen that a new situation will arise tomorrow and that we shall have to decide on the question all over again, in accordance with that situation. In brief, we have no

doubt whatsoever that certain delegations are so acting as to prolong this line of blocking consideration of the application of the Government of Bangladesh—by postponement from one day to the next, from one week to the next, etc. etc. It seems to me, therefore, Mr. President, that the Soviet delegation was correct and the ensuing debate has confirmed that the Sudanese proposal is not a procedural one but a substantive one and is aimed at postponing consideration of the application of Bangladesh indefinitely, with no time limit at all, because, if the representative of the Sudan said that we are postponing it until tomorrow, other representatives have already said until the day after tomorrow. Ambassador Farah asked why we should be bound by rule 60 when we can make an exception to it. This proposal is therefore a substantive one and has a definitive political motivation. I think that every State which has diplomatic relations with Bangladesh, every State which is friendly to the People's Republic of Bangladesh, must draw the appropriate conclusions from this proposal.

171. Furthermore, the representative of the Sudan and the representative of Somalia have asked what the hurry is. The representative of the Sudan said that this is not a matter of life and death. I fully agree with him. Thank God, it is not a matter of life and death or thermonuclear war, but I can in no way agree with the allegation by the Ambassador of Somalia that two or three delegations are artificially rushing the Council. If that refers to the Soviet delegation, I categorically reject it and request the representatives of Somalia and the Sudan to take another look at the letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, which clearly requests that the application be placed before the Security Council immediately. It is not the Soviet delegation which sent the letter, but the delegation of Bangladesh. I should like to ask my colleagues from the Sudan and Somalia to look at the letter from the representative of Bangladesh, Mr. Karim, the penultimate paragraph of which clearly speaks of the need for a speedy and favourable pronouncement on the admission of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations. This is a request, a persuasive request from the Government of Bangladesh, addressed to the entire Security Council, and we support it. It is not our initiative, it is not we who are pushing the Council. All the members of the Council have had two weeks in which they could have received instructions and held consultations.

172. In conclusion, since Ambassador Farah has said that the representative of India, Mr. Sen, and I knew that he had no instructions, I should like to say that I, too, had the impression from a conversation with the Ambassador of Somalia that he had instructions. Perhaps there is some misunderstanding, but I understood that he had very clear and explicit instructions.

173. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I still maintain that the rules governing the admission of new States do not state anywhere that upon receipt of an application the Council must immediately come to a decision. If a State submits an application for membership, naturally some will ask for an urgent decision and some will perhaps not stress the urgency. But it is surely for this Council to decide in its own time as to when it should give its approval.

174. I must say that in this case the Council has not sat on the application. In 14 days there were several meetings on the matter. I do not believe that the representatives of the Soviet Union or of India can say that there has been any dilly-dallying or any effort to delay a decision. We have held meetings and given a great deal of time to the application. But the fact that there are special circumstances surrounding the application cannot be ignored.

175. My colleague Ambassador Issraelyan and my colleague the representative of India have been in close consultation with me—as, indeed, many other delegations round this table have been—trying to see which way the wind would blow and I have treated each one with courtesy and have given as much information as I could. But there is always a residue of information that I cannot give and the fact that they have speculated wrongly or rightly on the basis of the amount of information I have given is entirely their good or bad fortune.

176. My delegation will certainly allay any speculation tomorrow about Somalia's position when it speaks before the vote.

177. Mr. IBRAHIM (Sudan): Thank you, Mr. President, for your patience and indulgence. With all due respect to the profound knowledge and ability of the representative of the Soviet Union—and I do not say that merely as a formality—I think that his dialectic materialism has forsaken him.

178. We asked for a suspension of the meeting in order to enter into consultations and to receive instructions from our Government and in order to allow different delegations to change their positions. But he says: No, if we allow you the time, you will come here tomorrow with the same rigid position. I think that this is illogical. We asked for this suspension in order to allow different delegations to change their positions. Time is needed for this before we plunge into the voting process. So far as rule 59 or 60 is concerned, I think that something could be done to extend the time-limit if that is needed, because the use of such a rule as a gimmick to defer consideration of the subject is not in our line of thinking.

179. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I am satisfied with the explanation of my colleague, the representative of the Sudan. And if it is decided to postpone consideration—which the Soviet delegation would not like to do and to which it still objects—I can express only one wish: that the minority changes its position and that tomorrow we vote unanimously in favour of the admission of Bangladesh. If that happens, I think it will be a tremendous service on the part of the representative of the Sudan and we shall then be very pleased with his proposal.

180. One small point: I also understood, like many members of the Security Council, that we intend, if it is decided to adjourn the meeting after this proposal is put to the vote, to proceed to the vote tomorrow on the draft resolutions which have been submitted.

181. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I note that members of the Council are divided on the proposal of the representative of Sudan. The clearest way to decide what to do is to proceed to a vote. Will those in favour of the Sudanese proposal please raise their hands.

182. Mr. SEN (India): I should like to know what we are voting upon.

183. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Ambassador, the voting has begun.

184. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): We should like the proposal to be read out. We are not clear what we are voting on.

185. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We are voting on the adjournment of the meeting until tomorrow at 3 p.m.

186. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like the proposal to be read out as it was made. Since we have no document, I should like it to be read out.

187. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall read out the proposal of the representative of Sudan for the third time. I hope that all members of the Council will listen to it attentively:

“Before voting on any of the draft resolutions before the Council, the Council should adjourn this meeting until tomorrow at 3 p.m. in accordance with paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure”.

I hope that this explanation from your President is now sufficient and that we can continue the voting. In any case, I am within my rights; the voting procedure had already started.

188. I put to the vote the proposal made by the representative of the Sudan.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Argentina, Belgium, China, Guinea, Italy, Japan, Somalia, Sudan, United States of America.

*Against:* India, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia.

*Abstaining:* France, Panama.

*The proposal was adopted by 9 votes to 4, with 2 abstentions.*

*The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.*

---

### كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . امتعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : 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 Женева.

#### 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.

---