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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

Address by H.M. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva,
King of Nepal

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have great pleasure in inviting His Majesty, the King of Nepal, to address the General Assembly.

2. His Majesty King MAHENDRA BIR BIKRAM SHAH DEVA: I thank you, Mr. President, most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to address this great Assembly whose constant search for peace against heavy odds is the principal hope of mankind today. I am aware that your own country has made a laudable contribution to this patient search. You have striven hard to mend fences wherever possible, to build bridges between the East and the West, and to promote mutual understanding generally among all nations. I wish also to record on this occasion our profound appreciation of the great services rendered by the Secretary-General, U Thant, to the cause of peace within and without the United Nations. I take this opportunity to pledge my country's whole-hearted support for all these noble efforts.

3. Only a month ago my Foreign Minister made a statement to this Assembly [1583rd meeting] detailing our views on various world problems and on the maintenance of international peace. I shall, therefore, confine myself to more general observations which, nevertheless, are of fundamental importance to us.

4. My country has come to the United Nations with as much faith in its organization as in its Charter, with as much faith in its effectiveness as in its ideal. For to a small country like mine, the United Nations represents the ideal as well as the practical. It satisfies us in so far as it helps us to work actively for larger unity and for the peace and prosperity of mankind; it satisfies us also in so far as it secures us morally and materially against encroachment and interference from others. A small nation has a stake in peace; a small developing nation such as ours, which is obliged to mobilize all its human and material resources for development, has a vital stake in peace. Though we have such a deep-rooted interest in peace, we have no means of preserving it alone. For

this reason, the United Nations has more than ordinary significance for us because it provides, first, a feeling of collective security against encroachment and interference from others and, secondly, a climate of peace so necessary for our development. In short, we have come to the United Nations with a trust that is total and complete.

5. History tells us that, in spite of the demurs from the big Powers, small nations will stay with us for a long time to come. No conqueror ever succeeded in bringing the whole world under his heel; there were always small nations which refused to conform to his dictates or to his wishes. It is more than certain that small nations will survive the present atomic age also and that they will be larger in number than the big nations. If this is so, it is necessary that the United Nations, while working with the co-operation of the big Powers which is no doubt essential, ensure that the small nations should continue to have full confidence in it.

6. To inspire this general confidence, the United Nations must exert itself seriously and be an effective instrument of peace. It cannot be such an effective instrument unless all people feel that justice is ensured to nations, big and small; unless all nations, big and small are in it and unless, indeed, nations in general and big Powers in particular are prepared to subordinate their narrow national interests to the larger cause of humanity.

7. The basic threat to world peace in our age is the world-wide confrontation between the two groups of super-Powers armed to the teeth. While the arms race between them continues to cause anxiety—defence expenditures have gone up on both sides—there has been a considerable relaxation in their political postures. We welcome this limited positive development. But the progress of understanding between them is painfully slow; and in West Asia as in Viet-Nam the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union are dangerously apart.

8. There has been no progress towards general disarmament. The partial nuclear test ban Treaty, though a positive step, is at best an inadequate step. Again, there has been a positive development recently in the field of nuclear non-proliferation as the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed on a draft.^{1/} We have welcomed this as well as other positive developments. But this little progress made towards non-proliferation in the form of an agreed draft has been more than neutralized by further developments in the two countries, as well as in others, which have felt that the proposed treaty has failed to insist on adequate reciprocal obligations of the nuclear Powers.

^{1/} Documents ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

9. However, the improvement in Soviet-United States relations is genuine. This relaxation of tension between the two countries should be reflected in the increased effectiveness of the United Nations. But that is not yet the case. The ever explosive German problem has always remained outside the United Nations and has remained unsolved. The crisis in Viet-Nam with all its attendant tragedy has touched only the fringe of the United Nations because the Secretary-General, more as an individual dedicated to the passionate pursuit of peace than as the spokesman of the world body, has made efforts towards the solution of the Viet-Nam tragedy. We have pledged our support to these efforts. It is said that it is good to have a giant's strength, but bad to use it like a giant. I make an earnest appeal to all concerned to exert their efforts and use their innate wisdom and statesmanship to end this senseless tragedy in Viet-Nam.

10. The only conflict in which the United Nations could fully exercise itself was the Arab-Israeli conflict that broke out in June last. The United Nations did exert itself well in fact and the actual fighting was brought to an end. But the situation, as evidenced by the most recent casualties, is far too explosive yet in the prevailing atmosphere of injustice, violence and aggression. The fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly met and dispersed without coming to any decision except on Jerusalem; and even here the United Nations resolution [2253 (ES-V)] has been defied with impunity.

11. A situation like this leads to a general loss of faith in the United Nations itself as an effective instrument of peace. This breeds an atmosphere of depression. Big Powers are not likely to be so disillusioned because they have built their security systems outside the United Nations. But those of us who came to the United Nations with a total trust are bound to be differently affected. I am not suggesting that all is well with the United Nations except for the big Powers. I am not even suggesting that all would be well with Asian, African and other countries were it not for the big Powers.

12. We live in an area too tense with internal suspicions and distrusts to believe that. We do not believe either that the good-neighbourly conduct among nations other than the super Powers has always been ideal. There are political pressures, economic pressures and pressures of trade and commerce. The truth of the matter is that the developing nations in general and the small nations in particular have found themselves subjected to various direct and indirect pressures.

13. We are convinced that the pressure at the point which distinguishes the developed countries from those still developing is the sharpest. It is at this level that the greatest understanding has to be created, the greatest work to be done and the greatest challenge to be met. The narrowing of the gap between the developed and the developing countries by making the latter absorb adequately the modern techniques and skills of production is the principal task of the age. This task transcends the considerations of different social systems. It is for this reason that the economic programme of peace pursued by the United Nations under its various agencies has been directed towards

the elimination of the high pressure at this point. Moreover, the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964 devoted most of its attention to problems arising out of the growing disparity between the aforesaid two groups of countries. The same approach is being followed whether in Algiers or in New Delhi. While we generally agree with this approach, we would also like to suggest that disparity has grown not at this level only but at all levels between countries at different stages of economic development.

14. Thanks to the enlarged awareness of human conscience the developed countries have realized that the less developed countries do need their assistance. It is also slowly but increasingly being realized that the assistance to developing countries through the United Nations is by far the best form of assistance. We appreciate this understanding. But however generous, international assistance is not a permanent solution to the economic gap between the advanced and the developing countries. The permanent solution is the creation of conditions in which the trade between the receiving and the donating country grows. Without the creation of such conditions, without a generous understanding of the trade problems of the developing countries the purpose of international assistance will be defeated. A small land-locked country like Nepal, mountainous in terrain and situated between the world's two most populous countries with their enormous internal market possibilities is particularly handicapped in respect of trade and development. Unless we have proper facilities of trade and transit, we cannot develop even internally and we cannot certainly develop our international trade. It is our feeling that the understanding in this direction has to be faster and deeper.

15. The United Nations again, I may repeat, will be an effective instrument of peace only when all nations big and small are in it. As we pursue a foreign policy which is based on non-alignment and peaceful co-existence and which aims at maintaining friendship with all countries irrespective of their social systems, we feel very strongly that the membership of the United Nations should be as inclusive as possible. We are happy, therefore, when United Nations membership goes up every year with the addition of new Members. This is not only a step towards universality but also a confirmation of the continuing faith of the world's common people in the world Organization. We welcome this development. But we are afraid that the progress towards universality has met with difficulties which is unfortunate for the future of the United Nations. Many important countries of the world such as Korea, Viet-Nam and Germany, for one reason or another, are still outside the United Nations not because they do not want to come in but because they constitute the unsolved problems of our time. This is not all. The world's most populous country, China, has not yet been properly represented in the United Nations in spite of the efforts made by many countries and for many years. The correction is necessary as much to do justice to the great Chinese people as to make the world body effective. My country has worked actively to remove this imbalance with a full sense of responsibility.

16. Despite the fact that the trust we have put in the United Nations has not always been fully vindicated by our experience and that many small countries have had some genuine misgivings about the Organization, our faith in the ideal and the organization of the United Nations remains unshaken. The United Nations has succeeded in evolving what may be called a world consensus against apartheid, colonialism, racialism and imperialism. The evils have not yet been eliminated but the world's moral judgement is against them. Those who cling tenaciously to these evils are morally isolated and the United Nations must continue these efforts. Indeed, there is no alternative to the United Nations. So far as we are concerned, the only real alternative to the United Nations is an even more powerful United Nations. Realizing this, we have tried our best to fulfil all our commitments to the Organization. We have tried not only to adhere to the spirit of the Charter but also to fulfil all our financial pledges for its activities including the peace-keeping operations. Let us work collectively and in harmony for the noble cause of peace progress and human brotherhood which this great Organization so eloquently symbolizes. To this goal, in a most sublime form, Lord Buddha beckoned us more than twenty-five hundred years ago. I pledge my country's support and endeavour for the realization of this goal. While reiterating this pledge, may I be permitted to warn this great Assembly that no world peace can be achieved unless interference and encroachment are fully stopped, unless defence expenditures are reduced and diverted to development and unless the developed countries help the developing countries in a really disinterested manner in man's pursuit of peace and happiness.

17. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank his Majesty, the King of Nepal, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 15

Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

18. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The second item on this meeting's agenda is the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council to replace those whose term of office will expire on 31 December 1967. The retiring members are: Argentina, Bulgaria, Japan, Mali and Nigeria. These five countries will not be re-elected.

19. In addition to the five permanent members, the Security Council in 1968 will include Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Ethiopia and India who were elected at the twenty-first session for a term of two years. The names of these five States, therefore, should not appear on the ballots.

20. Of the five non-permanent members who will remain in office in 1968, two are from African and Asian States, one from Latin American States, and two from Western European and other States. In accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 A (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the non-permanent members to be elected should be distributed as follows: three from African and Asian States, one from Eastern European States, and one from Latin American States.

21. I understand that of the three seats to be filled from African and Asian States, two are to go to African States and one to an Asian State.

22. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the elections will be by secret ballot and no nominations will be made.

23. I would ask the members of the General Assembly to use only the ballot papers distributed to them and to write on them the names of the five Member States for which they wish to vote. May I remind you not to write the names of the five permanent members, those of the five retiring non-permanent members, or those of the five countries which are already non-permanent members for 1968.

At the invitation of the President, Miss Dever (Belgium) and Mr. Grekov (Byelorussian SSR) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

24. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I suggest that the meeting should be suspended for twenty minutes to allow the ballots to be counted.

The meeting was suspended at 3.55 p.m. and resumed at 4.35 p.m.

25. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The result of the voting is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	118
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	118
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	118
<i>Required majority:</i>	79

Number of votes obtained:

Pakistan	118
Senegal	110
Algeria	108
Hungary	105
Paraguay	101
Romania	3
Albania	2
Tunisia	2
Uruguay	2
Chile	1
Cyprus	1
Congo (Brazzaville)	1
Congo (Democratic Republic of)	1
Cuba	1
Dahomey	1
Ecuador	1
Madagascar	1
Malawi	1
Morocco	1
Peru	1
Yugoslavia	1

Having obtained the required majority, Algeria, Hungary, Pakistan, Paraguay and Senegal were elected non-permanent members of the Security Council.

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Algeria, Hungary, Pakistan, Paraguay and Senegal have been elected non-permanent members of the Security

Council for a period of two years beginning 1 January 1968. I congratulate the members of the Council who have just been elected.

27. May I also thank the tellers for their assistance.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.