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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we continue with the agenda, the Chair would like to make an announcement in regard to agenda item 20, which is "Admission of new members to the United Nations."
2. After consultations, and subject to the agreement of the Assembly, the Chair would venture to suggest that the consideration of this item might be left over to the resumed session. In the absence of objection, the Chair will take it that the Assembly is agreeable to this course.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 85

The situation in the Republic of the Congo (continued)

3. The PRESIDENT: There are two explanations of vote, following the discussion this morning, regarding the situation in the Congo. I call first on the representative of India.
4. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): We are at the final stages of the discussion of the item on the Congo which, consistent with the reality of the situation, remains on our agenda. And for the third or fourth time during this session, the Assembly and all the organs of the United Nations display themselves before the world as a picture of incapacity and inaction.
5. It cannot be said that the important aspects of the problem are not before this Assembly. No subject, in my recollection, has been discussed in detail and become so threadbare. At no time had the expert knowledge and the responsible opinion of the Secretary-General been made so available to the Assembly. There is a considerable amount of documentation of a readable character which has been available to us.
6. There have been two draft resolutions before the Assembly. Since I am the sponsor of one of the draft

resolutions [A/L.331/Rev.1], my delegation is not entitled to participate in the explanation of the vote in regard to that one; but we cast our vote against the draft resolution presented by the United Kingdom and of the United States [A/L.332] which had been called the Anglo-American draft resolution. We regret that we had to vote against a resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom. I venture to come here this afternoon largely because the principal representatives concerned in the matter were not present in the Assembly during the early hours of this morning [957th meeting] when I concluded my objections to that draft resolution.

7. I do not intend to cover that ground, and even though the Secretary-General is not here he is within hearing. I want to say, however, that we have created a situation, as a result of the proceedings in this Assembly, in which each Government must act according to its own wisdom and judgement.

8. For the third or fourth time there has been a decision which, as I said, will probably prove to be a very costly victory. Our Government has been approached since the casting of this vote by the Government at Stanleyville for recognition. Therefore, the process that I forecast here has already begun.

9. This Assembly has made a contribution—that is all we can call it. This Assembly's performance will only speed the elements of disintegration in the Congo, unless by good fortune the character of the Congolese people is able to assert itself, and we wish them god-speed in their adventure.

10. My delegation and my Government make no apologies for opposing the Anglo-American resolution. Our only regret is that our opposition did not go towards defeating it totally, but only preventing its passage. For once the two-thirds majority at least has been of some use. But the position now is that for the last two months the Security Council and this Assembly has not been able to come to any decision. Can we, therefore, blame the Secretary-General if he comes forward and says, "You do not share responsibility; you have no ideas to give. You have only passed a resolution and, therefore, I must interpret it in my own way".

11. In these circumstances, with the withdrawal of the Guineans, the Moroccans, the Indonesians, the United Arab Republic and the rumour of the withdrawal of the Yugoslav contingents in the Congo, the Governments that remain—at least some of them—would have to review their entire position, and we are among them. I am in no position to state what attitude we would take or what decision we will be forced to take. Our position is that the failure of the United Nations in the Congo and the necessity of the mission having to be withdrawn would not be a failure of the United Nations only, but a disaster to the Congolese people who will be steeped in the blood of civil war. This is not said with any desire that it should be so, but it is a catastrophe that we are facing.

12. It is my duty, the duty of my delegation, to air, to place fully before all of you, the views of another unimportant country in this region of Asia-Africa on this matter. We have tried our best—we have exercised a great deal of restraint upon ourselves—and have sought to persuade our colleagues to do the same, and even in the course of the discussions we have brought evidence before the Assembly to show that a reversal of the process of deterioration could not take place if a partisan attitude was adopted and if fuller co-operation were not available within the United Nations.

13. We are now faced with the position that sitting in the United Nations is a Government without full constitutional authority. On the other hand, there is a constitutional Head of State; there is another Government that will probably claim constitutionality. The Secretary-General interprets his mandate—in what way I do not know because he has interpreted the mandate in three ways during the course of this Assembly itself.

14. In all these circumstances—the position I expressed last night—the prospect is very ominous, and, in our submission, this Assembly, after the failure of the Security Council, could have made a contribution. That contribution was largely stymied, in our submission, by the late intervention of the Anglo-American draft resolution promoted by the United Kingdom. I am happy to say that the former colonies of the United Kingdom—which are now like ourselves free members of the Commonwealth—did not participate in this. It is only other members of the Commonwealth that voted with the United Kingdom, and an analysis of the vote will show that while some of the African countries have not voted for the resolution that we submitted, they have also not voted for the other, so it is quite clear that the Assembly is painfully divided. Therefore, apart from all other considerations, the question before us is whether, with the Assembly so sharply divided on a question of this character, it can undertake the operations in the Congo which, from the very presence of troops, is of a military character.

15. It will be the duty of my delegation to submit all these facts, the atmosphere and the events that have taken place in this Assembly—and informally—before my Government and in due course to communicate to the Secretary-General our position. I say this because it should not be thought that there was any act of irresponsibility.

16. The decisions that have been taken by various delegations are no doubt considered decisions; we have no right to think otherwise. But if they are considered decisions we have to think of their consequences. Truly, as Mr. Ormsby-Gore said [952nd meeting], the United Nations faces a serious crisis, and, in his submission, has not appreciated the nature of that crisis. Whether that would apply to us or some others, I do not know.

17. In these circumstances the interpretation of the Security Council resolutions is, so far as my Government is concerned, of the order that we submitted in this Assembly time after time. The resolution against which you have voted is a step in the reverse direction. It is an attempt which will in effect place the United Nations behind a partisan position. We want to plead entirely not guilty in backing one side or the other on this score. We back law and order and the principles of the Charter, and any attempt to divert the United Nations from those purposes we oppose.

18. I thought that we should make this explanation in fairness to the Assembly and once again repeat the fact that we do face a very difficult situation, and my Government is obliged to have another look at the situation in regard to the presence and participation of our country in the general position as it obtains today.

19. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the representative of the Soviet Union.

20. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): In the course of the discussion on the question of the situation in the Republic of the Congo in connexion with recent events in that country, the Soviet delegation has clearly defined its position. It proposed the immediate carrying out of a number of measures which would radically improve the situation in the Republic of the Congo. Among these measures were: the disarming of Mobutu's gangs and the resumption of the normal functioning of the Republic's democratic institutions; the immediate and decisive cessation of Belgian aggression through the withdrawal of Belgian military, paramilitary and civilian personnel from Congolese territory; the liberation of Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, and of other members of the Government and Parliament; and the correction of the distortions of the Security Council's decisions of which the Secretary-General and the United Nations command have been guilty.

21. The Soviet delegation is firmly convinced that unless these measures are carried out no improvement in the Congo situation will be possible.

22. The discussion has made it clear that the ideas expressed by the Soviet delegation on the question of the Congo coincide in many respects with the views held on this matter by those Asian and African countries which sincerely desire to secure the political independence and territorial integrity of the young African Republic.

23. At the same time, the statements made by the representatives of the Western Powers and their allies have shown that they still have no intention of renouncing their subversive policy towards that Republic or of desisting from their attempts to restore it to colonial status. Whatever statements the colonial Powers may make to conceal their true aims with regard to the Congo, they will no longer succeed in deceiving world public opinion and the peace-loving States Members of the United Nations.

24. The discussion of the Congo question in the Security Council and the General Assembly has clearly demonstrated that the colonialists do not wish a situation to come about where the Security Council and the General Assembly would take a decision aimed at the radical improvement of the situation in the Congo.

25. Through the efforts of the colonial Powers and their allies, the Security Council was paralysed, as you know, and proved unable to adopt any decision at all after a week-long discussion. We have now completed consideration of the Congo question in this General Assembly and once again we have a situation where, because of the subversive tactics of the Western Powers, the Assembly has failed to take a decision of any kind. Such a development does not, of course, meet the interests of international peace and security.

26. The Secretary-General has some serious lessons to learn from the discussion on this question and from

the voting that has taken place today. In the brief statement he made at the last meeting he betrayed his intention of continuing to act as he has done up to now. If that is so, the Soviet delegation will not agree to it.

27. The Secretary-General must bear in mind that less than half the Member States voted for new instructions to be given to him that would consolidate the existing situation in the Congo, while at the same time about one-third of the Member States, including the leading countries of Africa and Asia, sharply criticized his activities and called for decisive changes in the Congo, the convening of Parliament and the restoration of the Government and of all constitutional procedures, and the decisive cessation of the colonialists' interference in the life of the Congolese people. Let the Secretary-General heed the voices of these States and peoples and draw the proper conclusions.

28. When all is said and done, one thing is clear: whatever happens in this building, life goes on and no one can escape the realities of the grave situation that has now developed in the Congo. That situation is deteriorating with every hour and the latent threat to peace is constantly growing.

29. Those who thwarted the discussion of the Congo question in the Security Council and the General Assembly and those who supported them in these activities that are harmful to the cause of peace have assumed a heavy burden of responsibility. As a result of these activities the authority of the United Nations has been gravely impaired and in these circumstances the peace-loving States will naturally seek other ways of ensuring peace in Africa.

30. The discussion of the Congo question in the United Nations is an excellent object lesson for the peoples of the world. They can now see more clearly who really desires to maintain peace in the world and who is infinitely remote from having such a desire; who really is in favour of eliminating the colonial system in all its forms, and who is attempting by hook or by crook to preserve colonialism. The truth will inevitably prevail and the people of the Congo, with the support of all peace-loving peoples, will triumph in the struggle against the colonialists for their complete independence. This will be yet another giant step towards the entire elimination of the colonial system. However bitter, the resistance of the colonialists will be broken.

31. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the consideration of the situation in the Republic of the Congo at the present part of the fifteenth session.

AGENDA ITEM 15

Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council (concluded)*

32. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the election of one non-permanent member of the Security Council.

33. The Assembly will recall that the voting was adjourned at the 941st plenary meeting of the Assembly after the seventh ballot, which was the first of a series of three restricted ballots. That first series, the series of three restricted ballots, proved inconclusive.

In accordance with the rules of procedure, we shall now proceed to the second restricted ballot of the series. This ballot, like the first one, should be restricted to the candidacies of Liberia and Portugal.

34. I call on the representative of Portugal on a point of order.

35. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Before the Assembly resumes the voting, my delegation wishes to make the following statement.

36. We have examined the results of the ballots cast at the 941st meeting on this subject and, in accordance with instructions received by my delegation, I should like to inform the Assembly that it has been decided to withdraw Portugal's candidature for election to membership of the Security Council. The two co-chairmen of the European group were advised of this decision in due time. The reasons for the decision are as follows.

37. It became apparent after seven votes had been taken on a previous occasion that the Assembly was finding it very difficult to choose between the two leading candidates. A continuation of this contest would most probably create a serious problem for the Assembly, particularly at this late hour, when we are trying to adjourn our work. My delegation would not like to be a party to such difficulties. Furthermore, we have been in this contest as the candidate of Western Europe for election to a seat which has traditionally belonged to Western Europe—a tradition that we very strongly feel should be maintained. This is a question of principle with us. We could not, therefore, accept any arrangement for the division of the mandate. This was shown by the position taken by my delegation during the discussion of item 23 in the Special Political Committee^{1/} of the possibility of a redistribution of the non-permanent seats being vacated next year in the Security Council. Such an attitude does not mean that my delegation is not in favour of seeing the newly independent African countries represented in the Council. Quite to the contrary—and I wish to emphasize this point—we strongly believe that seating representatives of those countries in the Council will be only fair and just and will be of great importance to the work of that body.

38. But it has always seemed to us that such an objective should be obtained by more reasonable means; that is, through an enlargement of the Council, which would reflect the great increase in the membership of the Organization, and not through the sacrifice of the legitimate interests of the older Members, or of previous agreements and practices, which have so successfully helped this Organization to fill, without dispute or bitterness, the seats in both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

39. For the reasons I have just expressed my delegation has therefore decided to withdraw Portugal's candidature, in favour of any new candidate of the European group which might hold a view different from our own on the question of the possibility of dividing the term of the mandate, if that should become necessary. My delegation will give its support to any other European country which may be willing to present its candidature under the circumstances.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, (Part I), Special Political Committee, 186th to 199th meetings, 214th to 219th meetings.

*Resumed from the 941st meeting.

40. Finally, I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of both my Government and my delegation, very warmly to thank all those delegations that have been supporting Portugal.

41. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to a second restricted ballot in this series of votes. In the light of the statement just made by the representative of Portugal, I should like to make it clear that any ballot paper which bears the name of any country other than Liberia or Portugal will be regarded as invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	94
Invalid ballots:	2
Number of valid ballots:	92
Abstentions:	4
Number of members voting:	88
Required majority:	59

Number of votes obtained:

Liberia	45
Portug	43

42. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to a ninth ballot, which will be the third in the present series of ballots restricted to Liberia and Portugal.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	94
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	94
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	94
Required majority:	63

Number of votes obtained:

Liberia	48
Portugal	46

43. The PRESIDENT: Since neither of the two countries to whom the series of three ballots which we have just concluded was restricted has obtained the necessary two-thirds majority required for election, the Assembly will now proceed to the first of a series of three unrestricted ballots. In this ballot, all Members of the Organization are eligible, except those who are retiring from the Security Council, those who are presently members of the Security Council, Turkey, and the two States which were elected earlier this session, that is to say, Chile and the United Arab Republic.

44. The name of only one country may be written on the ballot paper. Papers containing the names of more than one country will be invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	94
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	94
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	93
Required majority:	62

Number of votes obtained:

Liberia	45
Ireland	36
Portugal	7
Cyprus	3
Nigeria	1
Ghana	1

45. The PRESIDENT: Since the result of the first of this series of ballots is inconclusive, the Assembly will proceed to a second unrestricted ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	94
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	94
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	94
Required majority:	63

Number of votes obtained:

Liberia	48
Ireland	38
Portugal	4
Cyprus	2
Mali	1
Nigeria	1

46. The PRESIDENT: Since the result of the second of this series of unrestricted ballots is inconclusive, the Assembly will proceed to the third in this series of unrestricted ballots.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	94
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	94
Abstentions:	2
Number of members voting:	92
Required majority:	62

Number of votes obtained:

Liberia	44
Ireland	40
Portugal	3
Cyprus	2
Dahomey	1
Ghana	1
Nigeria	1

47. The PRESIDENT: The series of three unrestricted ballots having proved inconclusive, the Assembly will now proceed to the first of the series of ballots restricted to the two countries which received the greatest number of votes, namely, Liberia and Ireland.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	93
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	92
Abstentions:	2
Number of members voting:	90
Required majority:	60

Number of votes obtained:

Ireland.....	45
Liberia.....	45

48. The PRESIDENT: It is clear from the series of ballots which the Assembly has just held to fill this vacancy on the Security Council that a deadlock exists. That is the situation which has confronted the Assembly before, and as a result of consultations and efforts by the parties concerned it has proved possible to find a solution for it in previous cases. In the hope that it may be possible to find a solution in the present case also, I would suggest that the Assembly defer further balloting on this vacancy in the Security Council for the time being in the hope that by means of contact between the parties concerned it may be possible to approach the problem with a better chance of success later in the evening. I would, however, urge the parties concerned to lose no time in their efforts to find a solution, because the Assembly should reach a decision on this matter tonight.

49. I call on the representative of Sudan, on a point of order.

50. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan): Mr. President, may I request you to recess the present meeting of the Assembly for only about fifteen minutes in an effort to arrive at a solution of this so-called deadlock? I hope my request is not too difficult to meet.

51. The PRESIDENT: I had rather hoped that it might be possible to deal with this problem without recessing the plenary meeting of the Assembly, but I am quite prepared to put the proposal of the representative of Sudan to the Assembly if that is his wish. If there is no objection to his proposal, I will recess the meeting for fifteen minutes. I would beg that it be fifteen minutes precisely and no more.

The meeting was suspended at 5.10 p.m. and resumed at 5.30 p.m.

52. The PRESIDENT: During the brief recess on which the General Assembly agreed, discussions have taken place with regard to the filling of this remaining vacancy for a non-permanent member of the Security Council. I have now been informed, and I am authorized to announce, that an informal agreement has been reached for a solution of the deadlock. The understanding is that at this time Liberia will be the only candidate for election as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, and, if elected, will serve in that capacity during the year 1961. On 31 December 1961, Liberia will, under the same agreement, withdraw from the Council and Ireland will be the only candidate for the vacancy thus created on the Council and will serve during the year 1962, that is, during the remainder of the two-year period now under consideration.

53. The Assembly will now hold another ballot on the basis of the agreement which I have just announced. The only candidate in this ballot will be Liberia, and the election of Liberia will be taken as confirming the Assembly's acceptance of the agreement which I have just announced.

54. I call on the representative of India on a point of order.

55. Mr. JHA (India): Mr. President, you have just announced that an agreement has been reached with regard to the candidature for the Security Council election. I might say straight away that our delegation

is happy that this deadlock, which it was necessary to break in order to ensure the functioning of the Security Council during the next year, has been resolved. But I would like to make a small reservation, it is on the lines of what we have done in the past.

56. You stated, Mr. President, that an agreement had been reached. Well, I presume that this agreement is between the two candidates, that is to say, Liberia and Ireland. You said that Liberia would serve during the year 1961, and after 31 December 1961, Ireland would serve in the Security Council. I do not know exactly whether you meant this to be ratified so as to be an agreement of the Assembly. But it is our view that, while we welcome this agreement between the candidates, so far as the Assembly is concerned, there cannot be an agreement on this kind of thing.

57. The Charter has provided for membership for two years. Next year, when Liberia voluntarily withdraws from the Security Council, there will have to be an election, and although, as I said, the agreement between the candidates that you have announced has been reported to the Assembly and is to be inscribed in its records, my delegation does not subscribe and will not regard that as an agreement by the Assembly itself, or an agreement involving my delegation.

58. While saying this, I would also make it clear that we are not saying anything against this arrangement when it is due to come into effect next year. But it is necessary from the point of view of my delegation to make this constitutional position clear, because if we do not do that, then, although in the past in one or two cases this kind of splitting has been done, we would really be making very serious difficulties in the application of the Charter with regard to the elections in the Security Council.

59. Mr. President, I would conclude by saying that we have heard what you have said. We welcome the agreement as solving a difficulty which we all faced, but we leave the matter at that; there should be no formal agreement or ratification by this Assembly, and, when the time comes next year, my delegation, while taking what you have said into account, will do as it thinks best for the observance of the Charter and for the carrying out of the purposes of our Organization.

60. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation wishes to state clearly, as the representative of India has done, that the agreement which the President has announced to us is one which goes beyond the framework of the Charter and cannot therefore be regarded as binding under the provisions of the Charter. The Soviet delegation will be guided by this in the coming year.

61. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will be aware, I think, that in announcing the agreement I used the same terms as were used by my predecessors in announcing similar agreements to the Assembly.

62. It is obvious that, on occasions like this when a serious deadlock exists, which it is necessary to resolve in the interests of the Organization as a whole, that some sort of assurance must exist if a satisfactory solution is to be found. I can understand that individual delegations might wish to make reservations with regard to it on constitutional grounds. But if the arrangements as a whole were not agreeable, it would be better that that should be made clear now, because

otherwise the agreements reached would not be acceptable to the parties concerned.

63. I call on the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

64. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): In view of the statements which have just been made by the representatives of India and the Soviet Union, I think it would be unwise for the Assembly to proceed with the voting for the remaining seat on the Security Council, for the moment. I suggest, Mr. President, that we proceed with the other business on our agenda so that further time can be given to consider the statements which have been made.

65. The PRESIDENT: Is there any objection to the suggestion made by the representative of the United Kingdom?

66. I call on the representative of India.

67. Mr. JHA (India): I apologize for taking the floor again, but it is possible that what I said earlier was perhaps not very clear. The point of view of my delegation is that the report that you have made about the agreement between Liberia and Ireland will now be in the records of the Assembly, but the Assembly cannot be asked either to accept or not to accept that arrangement. That would be something quite outside the Charter and for that reason outside the functions of the Assembly in this matter.

68. I do not want it to be understood that we are opposed to the arrangement being worked out in the manner that you have indicated next year, but the reason I took the floor was because you asked the Assembly, at any rate by implication, for acceptance of this agreement. My point is, please do not ask the Assembly either to accept or not to accept. That is what was done last year, if I remember correctly. The agreement was reported and we did not vote on it; we did not discuss it. It was just reported and there was another ballot. Everybody understood the meaning of what was reported, and one of the candidates—I believe it was Poland—was elected by the ballot. When Poland's term expired this year, this matter was considered, and there had to be a ballot on another candidate involving an agreement, and Turkey was elected.

69. I would, therefore, respectfully request you, Mr. President, not to take this matter any further. We have heard your statement and we have heard of the agreement. I might say that I welcome the agreement as avoiding a serious deadlock, because none of us would like the Security Council, which has the main responsibility for maintaining peace and security, to be paralysed during the year 1962, but I would be opposed to any kind of ratification, any motion, either from the Chair or from any member of the Assembly, for acceptance of this. If we get into that I am afraid we will get into difficulties.

70. I want to make it clear that it was not my proposal not to accept this agreement. I only wanted to make a reservation, which reservation seems fully justified by the requirements of the Charter.

71. The PRESIDENT: I believe that it might be helpful to the Assembly if, at this stage, I read the words used by my distinguished predecessor when he was announcing to the fourteenth session the agreement which was reached at that session with regard to a similar deadlock. I read the same words earlier in this session when we were electing Turkey to the Security Council.

My distinguished predecessor, having announced the arrangement and the fact that Poland would be the only candidate on the ballot which was about to be held, then said:

"We shall now hold another ballot on the basis of the agreement which I have just announced. In the vote, it is understood that the Members of the Assembly will confirm that agreement." [857th meeting, para. 306.]

The representative of the Soviet Union, who spoke immediately afterwards, accepted the agreement and the statement of the President and no objection was taken by any other speaker.

72. I hope I have not used any language which is different from that used by my predecessor when he announced a similar agreement to the Assembly at the fourteenth session.

73. I call on the representative of Brazil on a point of order.

74. Mr. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): I am afraid of doing again what is contrary to our Charter, but that is a consideration that we have to accept because it has been done before; and you were right when you just showed us the precedent, the last one, because it has been done twice. But we have to be practical men. A place that was supposed to belong to Western Europe has been taken—or really half the place, because it is for one year. I am sure that this agreement will be respected and accepted.

75. We have the same situation in the Economic and Social Council. I think that we must be practical and pay attention to what we are doing. Brazil, more than any other country, I believe, welcomes the new Members, especially the African Members, since we are linked to Africa in the way we are, many of our men descending from Africans. We hope that Africa will be given the representation it deserves, but the new African Members are not having representation in those elections. It is the old African Members that are going to have representation and that is a point that has to be made very clear. I think that something has to be done by agreement. I know that this is unconstitutional because it does not represent the idea of the Charter, but if you make an agreement about the Security Council, I suppose it would be very advisable to make an agreement also about the Economic and Social Council.

76. The PRESIDENT: I think that the statements that have been made—which will of course appear on the record—make it clear what the results will be if, as I just suggested, we hold a single ballot in which the only candidate will be Liberia. If the Assembly agrees to that course, we will now proceed to a ballot on the basis of the agreement reached in which the only candidate will be Liberia.

77. I call on the representative of Argentina on a point of order.

78. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): I merely want to ask a question in connexion with what the President just said I should like him to clarify this point for me. He said that Liberia will be the only candidate on the basis of the informal agreement reached. May I ask whether in that case any votes cast for candidates other than Liberia will be considered invalid; and, if so, under what legal rule they would be so considered? If, on the other hand, they

will be considered valid, why are we told that Liberia is the only candidate for the vacant seat?

79. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly is asked to vote in the light of the fact that in spite of thirteen ballots it has been unable to fill this vacancy in the Security Council, and also in light of the fact that Liberia and Ireland emerged as the two leading candidates in the last restricted ballot.

80. Ballot papers on which names other than that of Liberia appear will not be invalid, but the Assembly is asked to take account in its voting of the deadlock which has occurred and the agreement which I have announced to the Assembly.

81. If that is agreeable the Assembly will now proceed to the balloting. Members are invited to write the name of only one country on their ballot papers.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Svenningsen (Denmark) and Mr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	93
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	92
Abstentions:	7
Number of members voting:	85
Required majority:	57
Number of votes obtained:	
Liberia	76
Ireland	5
Portugal	2
Cyprus	1
Nigeria	1

Liberia, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

82. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Liberia.

83. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): On behalf of the Liberian delegation, I wish to confirm the statement of the President of the Assembly to the effect that the delegations of Liberia and Ireland reached an agreement whereby the deadlock which had arisen in this Assembly in connexion with the Security Council membership for the forthcoming year would be broken.

84. With your permission, Mr. President, Liberia having been elected, we would therefore ask the supporters of Liberia please to cast their votes for Ireland when Liberia resigns at the end of the first year, and we wish to thank them very much for their support.

85. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): First, I should like to congratulate Liberia on its election to the Security Council. We trust that in the course of the next year Liberia will contribute greatly to the work of the Security Council and will help to bring peace to this much troubled world.

86. After a number of ballots had been taken to fill this vacancy in the Security Council, it became quite apparent that the Assembly was deadlocked and that, unless something was done, the Security Council would not be able to function. That was the situation in which my delegation agreed to allow its name to be put forward. We have heard the President's statement of the agreement that has been reached, and we have heard the Liberian representative's confirmation of that statement.

87. Again I wish to congratulate Liberia and to express the hope that it will be one of the best members of the Security Council in the coming year.

AGENDA ITEM 16

Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council (continued)*

88. The PRESIDENT: At the 942nd meeting, the voting for the one remaining vacancy on the Economic and Social Council was deferred after the tenth ballot, which was the first of a series of three unrestricted ballots, had proved inconclusive. In accordance with the rules of procedure, the Assembly must now, therefore, proceed to the second unrestricted ballot of this series. In this ballot every Member is eligible except the members of the Economic and Social Council which will continue to hold office after 1 January 1961 and the five Members which were elected on the first ballot earlier in this session. Members are requested to write the name of only one country on the ballot papers.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus) and Mr. Sommer (Denmark) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	93
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	92
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	91
Required majority:	61

Number of votes obtained:

India	43
Belgium	36
China	9
Austria	2
Congo (Brazzaville)	1
Ivory Coast	1

89. The PRESIDENT: The eleventh ballot being also inconclusive, we will now proceed to the twelfth ballot, which will be the third of a series of three unrestricted ballots.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus) and Mr. Sommer (Denmark) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	94
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	93
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	93
Required majority:	62

Number of votes obtained:

India	43
Belgium	36
China	8
Austria	3
Ceylon	1
Costa Rica	1
Liberia	1

90. The PRESIDENT: The twelfth ballot is therefore inconclusive. Having now completed a series of three unrestricted ballots, the Assembly will proceed to the

*Resumed from the 942nd meeting.

first of a series of ballots restricted to India and Belgium.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus) and Mr. Sommer (Denmark) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	94
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	3
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	91
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	91
<i>Required majority:</i>	61
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
India	48
Belgium	43

91. The PRESIDENT: The result of the thirteenth ballot is therefore also inconclusive.

92. I now call on the representative of Cyprus.

93. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): In view of the many items that are still to be dealt with by the General Assembly before it adjourns, and in view of the fact that there is a deadlock and there seems to be no possibility of breaking it at the moment, I propose that the matter of the election concerning the Economic and Social Council be left over until the second part of this session. Since there will be no meeting of the Economic and Social Council between now and March, I suggest that there is no harm in putting the matter off until then.

94. The PRESIDENT: Is the suggestion made by the representative of Cyprus acceptable to the Assembly? If there is no objection I shall take it as being agreed to and, therefore, the question of the filling of the remaining vacancy on the Economic and Social Council will be taken up at an early stage of the resumed session.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.