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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 15

Election of five non-permanent members
of the Security Council

1. The PRESIDENT: The first item on our agenda for this morning is the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council to replace those whose term of office expires on 31 December 1977. The five outgoing members are the following: Benin, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Pakistan, Panama and Romania. These five countries cannot be re-elected and therefore their names must not appear on the ballot papers.

2. Apart from the five permanent members, the Security Council in 1978 will include the following States: Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela. Therefore, the names of these States also should not appear on the ballot paper.

3. Of the five non-permanent members which will remain in office in 1978, two are from Africa and Asia, one from Latin America and two from Western Europe and other States. Therefore, in accordance with paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1991 A (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the non-permanent members to be elected should be as follows: three from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe and one from Latin America. The ballot paper takes that pattern into account. In this connexion, I have been asked to announce that there is an understanding to the effect that of the three States to be elected from Africa and Asia, two should be from Africa and one from Asia.

4. In accordance with existing practice, the required number of candidates receiving the largest number of votes and not less than the majority required will be declared elected. In case of a tie vote for the last place, there will be a restricted ballot limited to those candidates which have obtained an equal number of votes.

5. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election shall be held by secret ballot, and there shall be no nominations.

7. The ballot papers are now being distributed. May I request representatives to use only the ballot papers that have been distributed and to write on them the names of the five Member States for which they choose to vote. As I have indicated, the ballot papers should not include the names of the five permanent members, of the five outgoing non-permanent members, or of the five countries that are already non-permanent members for 1978. Any ballot paper containing more than five names will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adams (New Zealand) and Mr. Zejmo (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

8. The PRESIDENT: I propose now to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 11.20 a.m. and resumed at 11.50 a.m.

9. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting for the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	145
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	145
<i>Abstentions:</i>	1
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	144
<i>Required majority:</i>	96

<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Czechoslovakia	131
Kuwait	130
Bolivia	115
Gabon	103
Niger	85
Nigeria	84
Jamaica	13
Cuba	3
Argentina	1
Iraq	1
Oman	1
Poland	1
Zambia	1

Having obtained the required majority, Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Gabon and Kuwait were elected non-permanent

members of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on 1 January 1978 (decision 32/306).¹

10. The PRESIDENT: There remains one seat to be filled. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, we shall proceed to a second ballot restricted to the two candidates which have obtained the largest numbers of votes. These two countries are Niger and Nigeria. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adams (New Zealand) and Mr. Żejmo (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

11. The PRESIDENT: I propose now to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

A meeting was suspended at 12.15 p.m. and resumed at 12.25 p.m.

12. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	146
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	145
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	145
<i>Required majority:</i>	97
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Nigeria	83
Niger	62

13. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the two candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, the General Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a second restricted ballot. The only countries whose names may be included on the ballot papers are Nigeria or Niger. Any ballot papers containing the names of other countries will be declared invalid. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adams (New Zealand) and Mr. Żejmo (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

14. The PRESIDENT: I shall again suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 12.40 p.m. and resumed at 12.45 p.m.

15. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	146
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	146
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	146
<i>Required majority:</i>	98

Number of votes obtained:

Nigeria	89
Niger	57

16. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the two countries obtained the required two-thirds majority, the General Assembly will now continue the voting and will hold a third restricted ballot. As in the last ballot, the only two countries whose names may be included in the ballot papers are Nigeria and Niger. Any paper containing the names of other countries will be declared invalid. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adams (New Zealand) and Mr. Żejmo (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

17. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Niger on a point of order. The statement should be only about the voting procedure.

18. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to remind the entire Assembly that Niger's candidacy is that of an African country. We note that at this stage of the elections certain principles governing the various groups of States in the Assembly as a whole have not been respected. We note also that the African candidacy seems less and less to be borne in mind by the entire Assembly. Consequently, Niger does not insist that the election continues. We should like to add, however, that it is not Niger that has been beaten but the Organization of African Unity.

19. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Niger has withdrawn his candidacy. I shall give representatives a few more minutes for reflection before the third restricted balloting begins.

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

21. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Number of us have, I think, already filled in our particular voting slips. It would seem surely better not to continue with this particular balloting but to have a completely fresh balloting with completely fresh ballot forms distributed, if I might suggest it.

22. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Senegal to speak on a point of order.

23. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to ask the Secretary of the General Assembly whether voting can legally be interrupted. It has already begun. Two delegations have already voted. I think we should pursue the voting to the end.

24. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Senegal has made a correct point of order concerning the conduct of the voting. Two countries have already cast their ballots. Those members yet to vote may, if they wish, make another choice before they are called upon to cast their votes. The voting will now proceed.

25. I call on the representative of Nigeria on a point of order.

¹ See also paragraph 47 below.

26. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): I want to thank the Assembly for its patience. It was not my intention to speak at this stage, when the process of secret balloting is going on, because I did not believe it to be necessary at this late stage to start campaigning. However, since my colleague was allowed to speak, I thought that I, too, should say a few words.

27. I want to remind members that at the beginning of the balloting the President read out the names of countries which were candidates for the five seats for non-permanent members of the Security Council. Also, during the past week or so I spoke to a few persons and I was able to gather documents and proof to the effect that in Africa there was no agreement as to what candidates were proposed. All the documents of the Organization of African Unity to which people have been referring say categorically that Nigeria is a candidate for the Security Council.

28. Furthermore, in case anyone should not be aware, I would point out that Article 23 of our Charter clearly states that it is the responsibility of the General Assembly to elect Member countries to the Security Council. I do not know of any instance when regional groups—which were established to facilitate election progresses—have usurped the powers of the General Assembly.

29. Lastly, I should like to have some clarification regarding my colleague's point of order. Was he withdrawing his country's candidature or was he disassociating himself from the results of this present ballot? I am seeking clarification because if his intention was to whip up emotions I do not think that that is fair to my country.

30. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

31. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I wish to deal with this question seriously and to take precedent into account. I shall not go into the pros and cons that have been adduced here for one country or the other.

32. There have been several precedents; some were resolved quietly and other semi-quietly, but now we are trying to solve this question riotously, and that is no way to proceed to a solution. If we go by the numbers, we have to respect those numbers.

33. I do not want to appear from what I say to be favouring one country over the other. We should like to respect the wishes of our African brothers, but it is not always possible to please everybody. Therefore, it is not a question of repeating the ballot. There is a solution, and we have had recourse to such a solution on several previous occasions. I do not wish to mention their names, but two big Asian countries were faced with the same problem. The Asians for the most part wanted one country, and very few of them opposed the candidature of that country for election to the Security Council. However, we could not bridge the gap, and finally there was a gentleman's agreement that one of the two countries, without subjecting itself to further balloting, would cede to the other—*noblesse oblige*—on the understanding that it would itself be elected to the Council later. That is what happened, not only then but on several other occasions.

34. We are exacerbating matters here by letting it appear that some of us favour one country over the other. To me, Nigeria and Niger are equal in dignity, importance and sovereignty, regardless of size, language or geography.

35. Therefore, you, Sir, as our President may suggest to us, if the results of the latest ballot should prove adverse to one and favourable to the other, not to proceed with balloting *ad nauseam*, because it does not redound to our dignity in the United Nations. Hence I propose—or, rather, I suggest, because sometimes a proposal becomes the focus for a debate—that the country which loses should be assured by us all that it would have the first chance, regardless of what regional groups do or do not do, to fill the post in the future.

36. I can say that because Saudi Arabia, a founding Member of this Organization, can be objective since it has never sought to be a member of the Security Council or Chairman of a Committee. We believe that those posts are onerous and burdensome, and not always honorific. At the same time, whenever we wish to speak before the Security Council, all we have to do is to write a letter to its President. So it is feasible for any country which loses to appear before the Council with regard to something of import to it whenever it wishes.

37. But, for heaven's sake, let us not keep going round in circles and giving an opportunity to peoples outside this building to say: "Look how in elections there is contention and dissidence between the Members of the United Nations". That would not redound to our dignity or to our honour.

38. My suggestion stands that, if the result of this latest ballot is not favourable to one of the two countries, the losing country should be assured of a seat on the Security Council the next time the Assembly holds such elections.

39. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his suggestion; but may I remind representatives that, under rule 88 of the rules of procedure, after the President has announced the beginning of the voting no representative can interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting.

40. I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for reminding the Assembly about past experiences and for proposing useful suggestions; but let us wait for the result of the third restricted ballot, and if that is not conclusive I shall then allow enough time for consultations about how to proceed further. For the time being, we are awaiting the results of the vote which will be announced very soon and then we shall know the exact situation with respect to the voting.

41. The result of the vote is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	144
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	144
<i>Abstentions:</i>	3
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	141
<i>Required majority:</i>	94
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Nigeria	92
Niger	49

42. The PRESIDENT: Since the result of the third restricted ballot did not produce a candidate with the required two-thirds majority, we must proceed to an unrestricted ballot in accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure. Before proceeding to the unrestricted ballot, I should like to state the present situation.

43. The representative of Niger has, on a point of order, explained that Niger has withdrawn its candidature to the Security Council for this year.

44. I propose to proceed immediately to the next ballot in order to have the result of the vote before lunch. After lunch we shall, if this proves inconclusive, proceed to further unrestricted ballots according to the rules of procedure; if it proves conclusive we shall proceed with the elections to the Economic and Social Council [item 16].

45. In the unrestricted balloting, any Member State may be a candidate for election—except, of course, the five permanent members of the Security Council, those which the Assembly elected this morning, those whose term as members of the Council is still unexpired and the outgoing members of the Council. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adams (New Zealand) and Mr. Zejmo (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

46. The PRESIDENT: I propose now to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 1.25 p.m. and resumed at 1.35 p.m.

47. The PRESIDENT: The result of the last ballot is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	145
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	144
<i>Abstentions:</i>	16
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	128
<i>Required majority:</i>	86

Number of votes obtained:

Nigeria	96
Niger	27
Cuba	2
Angola	1
Senegal	1
United Republic of Tanzania	1

Having obtained the required majority, Nigeria was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on 1 January 1978 (decision 32/306).²

48. The PRESIDENT: I wish to congratulate Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Kuwait and Nigeria on their election as members of the Security Council for a two-year period beginning 1 January 1978. I thank the tellers for their assistance.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

² See also paragraph 9 above.