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**President: Mr. Gaston THORN  
(Luxembourg).**

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Nzengeya (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 15**

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The decision to postpone consideration of agenda item 15 for 48 hours was taken at the end of the 2386th meeting on Tuesday afternoon. The present meeting has been convened at the request of the Chairman of the Asian group.

2. The Assembly will now resume the voting to elect one non-permanent member of the Security Council to replace one Asian country, namely, Iraq. Members will recall that we have had three restricted ballots followed by three unrestricted ballots, all of which were inconclusive.

3. Before proceeding to the next round of balloting, I call on the representative of Kuwait, the Chairman of the Asian group.

4. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): I want to make it abundantly clear that I take the floor at this juncture as the representative of Kuwait and not in any other capacity. It is clear by now that the six secret ballots we have had since Monday demonstrate neutrality, but do not generate ingenuity. Deadlock has prevailed. Neither of the two contestants has obtained the required two-thirds majority.

5. While it is obvious that one can inhibit the other from getting the vote, secret ballots heighten the heat of confrontation. Only quiet consultation, conducted in a serene atmosphere, can bring about the spirit of accommodation. My delegation is aware of the serious implications if the General Assembly continues endlessly to take unpleasant secret ballots. My delegation is concerned that this might affect the image of the General Assembly, which we cannot allow to be tarnished by crippling votes. My delegation is also very much concerned about the prestige of the two contestants. India and Pakistan maintain friendship with almost every Member of the United Nations, and both abound with friendship for almost every State the world over.

6. Therefore, my delegation, prompted by a spirit of friendship to both countries and motivated by a constructive approach toward a solution of this inelegant stalemate, would like to launch a sincere and resounding appeal to one of the two contestants to withdraw from this procedural combat in favour of the other. My delegation would also like to combine this brotherly appeal with positive assurances that Kuwait will do its utmost to support the candidature of the country which thus withdraws, whenever that country submits it for the Security Council.

7. We also pledge ourselves to exert the maximum effort to ensure the success of that candidature. The subcontinent of Asia is noted for its wisdom, vision and tolerance. It has always been the source of sound advice when advice was needed. It has never ignored a brotherly appeal. For that reason my delegation pins great hope on the response of one of the two contestants to my sincere and brotherly appeal. That appeal, I am sure, will fall on responsive ears.

8. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): I asked to speak, Mr. President, to join my voice to the appeal just made by my friend and colleague the representative of Kuwait, Mr. Bishara, to one of the candidates for whom we have been voting since Monday to fill the fifth seat on the Security Council to make it possible for this Assembly to complete the task it had begun.

9. There is no doubt that if we continue to vote in this way we shall not be able to fulfil our task. That is why Dahomey believes that the heartfelt appeal made by the representative of Kuwait is an appeal to common sense. Indeed, it is by no means with a light heart that, each time the ballot papers are distributed, most delegations have to choose between "India" and "Pakistan", in view of the close relations between the Governments of those delegations and the Governments of India and Pakistan.

10. It would therefore be a very valuable help if one or the other of those two countries were able to answer the appeal of the representative of Kuwait. I must point out that the answer of either to this appeal and the subsequent election of the other ought not to be taken as either failure or success. The attitude of the country—whether it be India or Pakistan—should be taken as an expression of the spirit of solidarity, tolerance and co-operation, a spirit which animates the third world and particularly the countries of Asia.

11. The representative of Kuwait has said that the one of the two candidates which would not have an opportunity of serving on the Security Council in 1976 might be assured of the moral support of Africa and Asia, which would spare no effort to help that country to fulfil its desire to make a contribution to the work of the Security Council in the future.

12. I hope that this appeal by the representative of Kuwait, which has come from the very depths of our hearts, will be well received and that very shortly the Assembly will be in a position to fulfil its task.

13. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The state of affairs in which we find ourselves clearly indicates that the deadlock in the election of an Asian State to the Security Council will not be easily resolved. There is a curious logic in this, the logic that the Assembly has to take a stand in favour of one of two countries which not only have a most legitimate right to aspire to that very sensitive post but also come to us from a background that makes the election of either one of them very delicate indeed, *un embarras du choix*, as they say in French.

14. India, like Pakistan, is a worthy representative of Asia and that continent would be equally well represented by India as by Pakistan. If we continue to vote as we have done over the past two days the results will not vary very substantially, we believe, because once the election, with all its attendant difficulties, has been held, the countries that have supported one or the other will not fundamentally change their positions. The task in itself has been an extremely difficult one; giving due weight to all the circumstances and backing one country or the other is a very complex task indeed for delegations.

15. What are we to do in these circumstances? I think the proposal made by the representative of Kuwait is very wise indeed. Obviously the solution must be initiated by one of the two countries directly concerned. Only by responding to an appeal such as that made on behalf of his country by the representative of Kuwait, supported immediately by our colleague the representative of Dahomey, shall we be able satisfactorily to resolve this matter. The increasingly encouraging co-operation between India and Pakistan leads us, we who consider those two countries as friends and brothers, as in Argentina's case, to support whole-heartedly the appeal made by the representative of Kuwait. As the representative of Dahomey has put it so well, if one of the two countries decides to withdraw, no one will be able to speak of success or failure but simply of a joint triumph: the triumph of reason and brotherhood.

16. It is obvious that for two countries with such sound reasons to aspire to a seat in the highest executive body of the Organization the decision to withdraw cannot be easy. We should therefore like to express to the delegation that makes this difficult decision our moral support and our assurance of the most favourable consideration possible if it decides to present its candidacy in the future. For my part I would assure the delegation that decides to assist us in solving this problem by withdrawing its candidacy that the delegation of Argentina will give that delegation its full support when it deservedly resubmits its candidacy in the future.

17. I do not want to tax the patience of the Assembly, but I must say that I am deeply convinced that the vast majority of the countries represented here share the views so eloquently set forth by the representative of Kuwait. I myself support those views one hundred per cent, and I am sure that after the statements we have heard we shall be able to resolve this delicate

matter in a friendly way and to everyone's satisfaction.

18. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): I think that the members of this Assembly will agree with me that, in their previous terms of office in the Security Council, both India and Pakistan made a positive contribution to the work of that important body. I am equally sure that this Assembly feels that the two countries still have much to contribute to the work of the Security Council; that is no doubt why it has not been able to make a final choice between them.

19. My country has excellent relations with both Pakistan and India. I need not dwell on the many close ties that unite our countries in that part of the world. But it is precisely because of those close ties that I should like to join the representatives who have preceded me in appealing to the delegations of India and Pakistan to consider the possibility of one of them withdrawing in favour of the other, thus maintaining the spirit of solidarity that has always motivated the group of countries of the third world.

20. But it is obvious that the withdrawal of one of those two delegations must be regarded only as a temporary sacrifice. Indeed, as the representative of Kuwait said, the country that withdraws will have the opportunity to resubmit its candidacy for the Security Council in the future.

21. We have heard the representatives of Kuwait, Argentina and Dahomey express the views of the majority of the Asian, Latin American and African groups. I, for my part, would add our assurance that the delegation that withdraws will receive the full support of the delegation of Iran when it resubmits its candidacy for a seat in the Security Council.

22. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): My delegation, like other delegations here, has followed with interest the results of the repeated balloting for the election to the seat in the Security Council which is sought by both India and Pakistan. The close results of that balloting reflect clearly the wide recognition by the international community of the contribution of both countries to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. Egypt has the highest esteem for both India and Pakistan and has always enjoyed brotherly relations with both of them.

23. It is in that spirit and in the light of what has been said here this afternoon that my delegation too ventures to appeal to the delegations of both India and Pakistan to consider the possibility of agreeing that one of them should withdraw its candidacy in favour of the other. Acceding to that appeal will spare the General Assembly repeated balloting on a matter which concerns us all. We are quite confident that a positive response to this appeal will be appreciated by all the members of the Assembly, since such a response would reflect the spirit of solidarity in the third world.

24. I must state, in all fairness, that the delegation that might withdraw should receive support for its next drive for membership of the Security Council. On that understanding, my delegation addresses the foregoing appeal to the delegations of India and Pakistan, in order to facilitate the work of the General Assembly.

25. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The friendly and brotherly contest—and I repeat “contest”; I do not use the word “confrontation”—that has taken place in this Assembly between three Asian delegations—and I say “delegations”, not countries or Governments or heads of State—should normally have taken place within the regional group of Asia at the ambassadorial level. It is sad that it became necessary to bring this question of filling the Asian vacancy in the Security Council to the plenary Assembly.

26. The results of the few secret ballots have made it clear to all of us that both India and Pakistan have significant support and that they can block each other in this election. As a French croupier would say, “*Les jeux sont faits*”.

27. It is obvious that neither country can get elected no matter how many restricted ballots we hold. I therefore join my colleagues who have spoken before me this afternoon to appeal strongly and sincerely to one of the two candidates to withdraw from the contest in favour of the other so as to facilitate our work.

28. While I have no mandate to speak on behalf of the non-aligned group of countries, I personally feel confident that the candidate that withdraws in a spirit of good will and co-operation will command the full and unqualified support of the non-aligned group on a future occasion. Both delegations, that is, of India and of Pakistan, have conducted their negotiations in a gentlemanly, friendly and civilized manner. There has never been any sign of bitterness or rancour. After all, up to recently they were one and the same people, and they still are, culturally and socially if not politically, a reason perhaps why they have not allowed others to interfere unduly in their negotiations or to allow them to make capital out of a very minor and temporary disagreement on such a small matter as a non-permanent seat on the Security Council. The delegation that withdraws its candidature will not have lost its prestige. That will remain unshaken. It takes a little more to affect the dignity and prestige of a delegation or of a State than the mere withdrawal of a candidature from an election in an international organization.

29. My country enjoys the best diplomatic relations and co-operation with both India and Pakistan at all levels. It would please me very much indeed to see these two delegations embracing each other with mutual respect and in brotherly love at the end of our appeal, which I have no doubt one of them will heed in a spirit of magnanimity and solidarity of the third world.

30. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLI (Iraq): During the last few days the General Assembly has tried and failed several times to elect a new member for the Asian seat in the Security Council which is to be vacated by Iraq at the end of this year. The deadlock between the two Asian candidates, namely, India and Pakistan, is but a demonstration of the wide confidence that each of them enjoys among the Members of the world body. As it is the Iraqi seat which is being contested, I feel that it is a special duty for my delegation to launch a brotherly and urgent appeal to both India and Pakistan to respond to the appeals already made to them by other delegations so that one may withdraw in favour of the other in the interests of the work of this session of the General Assembly and of the United Nations as a whole. An agreement between

the two candidates would earn the warm appreciation and gratitude of all the Members of the United Nations.

31. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has devoted lengthy meetings to the vote on candidates to the Security Council. This has been in vain. The determination of the two countries to maintain their candidacy is equalled only by the determination of the support which they have, which has led the Assembly to a true impasse. In order to overcome this difficulty, the Algerian delegation, which has the same friendship for India and for Pakistan, feels it should make an appeal to the two delegations and support that made by the representative of Kuwait in order that an honourable solution to this problem may be found. We are convinced that the desire of both countries is, above all, to contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the seat of the supreme organ of the United Nations, the Security Council.

32. In 1968 and 1969, Algeria sat in the Security Council together with India and Pakistan, and we know to what extent the two countries have contributed to the solution of numerous problems which were dealt with at that time. We are convinced that our appeal will be heard and that one of the candidates will withdraw in favour of the other. We are also convinced that the members of the Assembly will not forget this gesture when, at the next session, the non-permanent members of the Security Council are elected.

33. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): My delegation has listened with great interest and understanding to the very strong appeals made by the previous speakers addressed to the two parties directly concerned, the parties which are still contesting the election to one of the non-permanent seats of the Security Council. My delegation associates itself with the remarks made by the previous speakers and we do feel that good will, if expressed by one party or the other, will definitely pave the way towards the solution of our problem.

34. On the other hand, I have listened with keen interest not only to the appeals, but also to the pledges of support made by some speakers regarding future elections for seats in the Security Council. Perhaps it will not be taken amiss if I also add one very important factor which, in our view, played a very significant role in the debate, or perhaps in this election to the Security Council seat.

35. It may be recalled that at the start of the election to the Security Council seat there were three candidates. I should also like to recall that at the 2385th meeting, on 20 October, the third candidate, which is not currently a party to the election, namely, the Philippines, voluntarily decided to withdraw from the contest. During that meeting, the representative of the Philippines announced that the Philippines was withdrawing from the contest and therefore from the two remaining unrestricted ballots, in the hope that the Assembly's task would thus be made less complicated and less difficult.

36. As I said, it was a voluntary act on the part of the Philippines, and I am sure that we are all deeply indebted to that gesture of friendship and the spirit of

co-operation and solidarity expressed by the Government of the Philippines.

37. My Government has very good relations with both India and Pakistan, and I have no doubt that when the party that decides to withdraw from the contest this afternoon should decide to resubmit its application for election to a seat in the Security Council in the future at an appropriate time, my Government will ungrudgingly give it its full support.

38. Be that as it may, I should like to remind the Assembly that in next year's election Japan will be vacating its seat, and the Philippines, which I believe still remains a candidate for next year's election, intends to run for the seat that will be vacated by Japan, a country that comes from the same area as the Philippines. Moreover, taking into account rule 144 of the provisional rules of procedure, which refers to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, my delegation believes that the Philippines, which perhaps has been a member of the Security Council fewer times than either Pakistan or India, should also be entitled to the support of the Assembly when it resubmits its application.

39. Mr. JAIPAL (India): My delegation has listened with considerable interest to the statements made by the representatives of Kuwait, Dahomey, Argentina, Iran, Mauritius, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria and Thailand. It is quite clear to us as it is to them that we are, in fact, facing a deadlock. We are as much concerned about it as they are, and we are equally anxious to resolve it in a manner that is in keeping with the dignity of this Organization.

40. There seems to be no prospect of either candidate securing the two-thirds majority of the votes required for election to the Security Council. In these circumstances, attempts were made by some well-meaning friends to explore several possibilities, but those attempts have not yielded any mutually acceptable solution.

41. One possible choice before us is continued balloting, which might mean continued deadlock and consequent failure to fill an Afro-Asian seat in the Security Council. Such a situation should clearly be avoided in the interest of Afro-Asian solidarity. My delegation has therefore decided not to press the candidature of India any longer in order to facilitate the filling of the seat to be vacated by Iraq.

42. My delegation takes this opportunity to express its deep appreciation and gratitude to those countries which consistently honoured their assurances of support to India and furthermore offered to maintain their support. We also very much appreciate the declarations of support for the future made by preceding speakers.

43. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): On behalf of my delegation and of my Government I wish to express our most sincere appreciation for the statement just made by the distinguished leader of the Indian delegation. The spirit of accommodation animating the Indian decision is matched, I should like to assure him and members of the General Assembly, by the sincerity of Pakistan's appreciation of it. This stems not merely from the fact that the way has been cleared for the uncontested election of Pakistan to the Security

Council, but also, and above all, because this decision strengthens the unity of the Asian group.

44. Elections are a normal phenomenon in the United Nations, sometimes pitting friends and neighbours against each other. There is nothing surprising nor unusual in this. Pakistan did not enter the contest in order to compete with India—in fact it has just been pointed out that in the beginning there were three candidates for the seat—but in defence of what it thought was an important principle.

45. Members will bear witness that the election campaign of both sides was free of elements of nationalistic rivalry or political confrontation. There is, if I may say so, no winner or loser today. If there is victory, then it is the victory of good sense and friendship.

46. In reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the representative of India I should like to say that the decision made by his delegation is yet another element contributing to the promotion of harmony that both countries are seeking to establish in their relationships with each other and on the subcontinent as a whole.

47. In the same spirit of co-operation and good-neighbourliness I wish to state that when India next offers its candidature to the Security Council the delegation of Pakistan will consider it a pleasure and a duty to give it its full support.

48. May I take this opportunity to offer my delegation's most sincere gratitude to all those countries which supported Pakistan's candidature. I should like, in particular, to thank those friends of both Pakistan and India and, if I may be allowed, to mention in particular the names of the Chairman of the Asian group, Mr. Bishara of Kuwait; the representatives of Iran and Egypt, Mr. Hoveyda and Mr. Abdel Meguid; and the Chairman of the African group, Mr. Adjibadé of Dahomey, for the selfless manner in which they tried to promote and have successfully brought about an amicable settlement of this matter.

49. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): My delegation had not intended to take the floor this afternoon. However, listening closely and intently to the various speakers who preceded me, we thought we should make some remarks, particularly in the light of the statement made by the representative of Thailand. Far be it from me to introduce an element of discord or be the fly in the ointment, so to speak. I must say at the outset that my delegation is very happy that the Assembly at last will be able to discharge its task. We should all congratulate India and express our appreciation to it for its magnanimous gesture, thus enabling us to proceed with the election of the one vacancy from Asia to the Security Council this year. I also appreciate the initiative of the various speakers who made their appeal and paved the way for the withdrawal of India this afternoon. I must say that, speaking on behalf of their delegations, they have every right to say what they said.

50. First of all, as I said, I should like also to refer to the statement of the representative of Thailand and to thank him most sincerely for his words. He said that it was his impression that the Philippines is still interested in the Security Council. I am sure that he said this to the Assembly because when there was a

stalemate in the balloting and before the withdrawal of the Philippines from the contest, the Asian group held a meeting where my delegation first intimated its intention to withdraw. But it was also in that meeting that my delegation expressed its continuing interest in occupying an Asian seat on the Security Council, particularly the seat to be vacated by Japan in 1976. Therefore, I wish to confirm what the representative of Thailand has said to the Assembly.

51. I also wish to add that elections to the Security Council from a particular region are open to all Members and that there cannot be any advance guarantee whatsoever of a seat on the Council. There are not only two countries in Asia, there are many. Asia is a big region and we must not forget this. Furthermore, elections to the Security Council should not be subject to negotiations between candidates—whether there are two or three or more—because, as I said, it is the right of any Member from that region, before the elections, to announce and declare its candidacy.

52. I have made these remarks, as I said, not to introduce any element of discord—I am happy that we have at last arrived at an amicable settlement. I just want to make it clear that the position of the Philippines is precisely as has been stated by the representative of Thailand.

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The co-operation shown by the representative of India deserves our gratitude.

54. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, we shall proceed to the next ballot, taking into account the withdrawal of India. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hepburn (Bahamas) and Mr. Talvitie (Finland) acted as tellers.*

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	136
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	5
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	131
<i>Abstentions:</i>	8
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	123
<i>Required majority:</i>	82
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Pakistan .....	123

*Pakistan, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on 1 January 1976.*

55. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to congratulate Pakistan and the other countries which have been elected as non-permanent members of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on 1 January 1976. I should also like to thank the representatives who acted as tellers for their co-operation.

*The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.*