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President: Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT (India).

**Address by Colonel José Antonio Remón Cantera,  
President of the Republic of Panama**

1. The PRESIDENT: A few moments ago it was my pleasant duty to greet His Excellency Colonel José Antonio Remón Cantera, the President of the Republic of Panama, on his arrival at the United Nations. It is my privilege to invite His Excellency to attend this meeting of the General Assembly. May I, on behalf of the members, extend to him a warm and cordial welcome on the occasion of his visit.

2. Colonel REMON CANTERA, President of the Republic of Panama (*translated from Spanish*): I should like first of all to express my sincere gratitude to this great General Assembly of the United Nations for its courtesy in receiving me here in this historic chamber where the great problems affecting mankind are debated in an atmosphere of justice and reason.

3. The Charter of the United Nations, whose existence is a consequence of the last world war in which so many lives were sacrificed so that freedom might prevail, may be considered as a peerless embodiment of those lofty principles which have marked man's perennial quest for security, stability and well-being. Nor could it have been otherwise. The age-old and negative idea that war is a natural and normal means of settling disputes between nations has been finally rejected by civilized peoples. It has yielded to the new concept that war is a crime against the human race and that negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement should be used to settle disputes. These are the wise means indicated by wholesome common sense, and advocated by those minds now concerned with the establishment of a world from which the scourge of war, that past source of untold suffering for humanity, shall be banished forever.

4. Those pessimists and sceptics who saw in the Charter of the United Nations no more than a collection of almost Utopian principles, inapplicable and incapable of bringing security, peace and happiness to the world, have been proved profoundly wrong. It is true that peaceful relations among peoples are still threatened by reprehensible manœuvres designed to create chaos

in international life, as if, after the bitter experiences of the past, it were still possible to forget the unlimited suffering, the universal disruption and the turmoil which such experiences cause. All the forces of civilization, all the means at the command of the United Nations, must be marshalled against this retrograde tendency, so that it may neither spread nor find root in minds which are hostile to harmony, to peace and international order.

5. The most zealous efforts must accordingly be made to achieve this supreme objective of true peace. We must dispel anxieties, and put a stop to underhand and suspicious methods which reflect a lack of good faith on the part of certain States in their international relations; instead, the reasons for disputes and disagreement and the nature of the purposes to be achieved must be clearly, frankly and sincerely stated. When the problems affecting world order have been clearly stated, and a solution to them frankly sought, a decisive step will have been taken towards the strengthening of peace.

6. The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of nations large and small. If these statements are to have real meaning, they must be put into practice. Man, who has always been and will remain the essential factor, must be the focal point of all our thinking. The continual improvement of social, economic and cultural conditions in the world, and the establishment of standards of living compatible with human dignity, are prerequisites for the happiness and well-being of mankind. In this way, man will acquire a fuller consciousness of his destiny and will be better prepared to fight for true democracy, which is based on noble principles.

7. The principle of the juridical equality of nations must be maintained intact. Today powerful States cannot belittle the importance of the weak. If it is desired that mankind should achieve a higher destiny and a universal solidarity based on sincerity, justice and equity, if it is recognized that the interdependence of peoples powerfully influences international relations, then it must be admitted that it is absolutely essential to adopt a policy designed to establish harmonious relations among States.

8. Consistent with these principles I have mentioned, the Charter of the United Nations postulates respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law.

9. Compliance with treaties, in conformity with the agreed terms, must be ensured and should not be subject to petty quibbling. Action based upon them should be conceived in a generous spirit, especially when such treaties are concluded between States which have vast resources and States which, through no fault on the part of their peoples, but because they have

insufficient means to ensure their own development, are obviously poor.

10. It has been suggested that the United Nations Charter, despite the manifest excellence of its principles and its undeniable force as an achievement of the free peoples of the world, stands in urgent need of certain amendments. This view may of course be largely justified. Times change; developments in international affairs bring about new circumstances and situations which were not foreseen, yet which have to be faced. That is why it is necessary to review the principles which have been proclaimed and to evaluate them in the light of present realities, in order to determine whether they are appropriate to the new circumstances and situations necessary for harmonious relations among peoples.

11. If this is true of the United Nations Charter, then by analogy the same applies to international treaties to which at least two States are parties. Such treaties are often concluded in very special circumstances, under outside pressure which makes it difficult to take account of future contingencies, and in haste, so that the provisions are not properly defined. After some time discrepancies, injustices and serious defects become apparent. The pacific settlement of disputes, and a study of all points requiring prompt attention, make it possible to remedy these defects, and revision undertaken in a spirit of mutual trust can strengthen the reign of equity and justice.

12. In the same way the value and soundness of the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations are reflected not in generalities but in specific cases. We should therefore maintain unshaken our firm faith in its purpose, which is to promote those friendly relations which should prevail amongst all the peoples of the earth.

13. Before I conclude, allow me to refer to one of the items now before you: the United Nations Children's Fund. The work of the Fund on behalf of children is one of the most concrete achievements of the United Nations and one of the wisest steps taken to ensure the lasting welfare of mankind. The children of Panama are benefiting from its programmes. I bring to you the expression of their gratitude. At a time when the Assembly is about to consider the question of continuing UNICEF on a permanent basis, I should like to state that the Republic of Panama will contribute to the extent of its ability to the continued existence of this necessary and useful body.

14. I should like once more to thank the General Assembly of the United Nations, through its President, for the honour it has done me. I sincerely wish it further success in its great task of ensuring the final victory of peace, security and well-being for all nations of the world.

*The meeting was suspended at 11.5 a.m. and resumed at 11.15 a.m.*

### **Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council** [Agenda item 14]

15. The PRESIDENT: The terms of three members of the Security Council—Chile, Greece and Pakistan—expire on 31 December of this year. In this election to replace these members, all Members of the United Nations are of course eligible for election, except those

which are at present represented on the Security Council. The present membership of the Security Council is as follows: Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, France, Greece, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. Under rule 92 of our rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot and nominations are not in order.

16. Mr. VYSHIINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly has to elect three non-permanent members of the Security Council to replace Pakistan, Chile and Greece, whose terms of office are about to expire. There is no need, I think, for me to lay particular emphasis on the very important position of the Security Council which, by virtue of our Charter and, in particular, of Article 24, bears "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". It is no accident, therefore, that the United Nations Charter devotes special attention to the method of electing the six non-permanent members of the Security Council.

17. As you know, Article 23 of the Charter specifically states that in elections to the Security Council the General Assembly should pay "due regard... in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization". At the same time, it emphasizes the need to pay due regard "also to equitable geographical distribution". I should like to draw attention to the fact that the article refers not simply to "geographical distribution", but to "equitable geographical distribution". The principle of equitable geographical distribution in the Security Council is one of the most important features of the structure of the United Nations as an international organization the purpose of which, as emphasized in Article 1 of the Charter, is "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

18. The Security Council is and should be a centre for harmonizing such of our actions as are aimed primarily at maintaining international peace and security. It is responsible for the pacific settlement of disputes and for measures to combat threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to dwell on its importance. Consequently it is perfectly natural that the United Nations as a whole, and each of its Members in particular, should take the utmost interest in ensuring the proper constitution of the Security Council, since otherwise it would not be able to discharge its obligations successfully.

19. One of the most important conditions for the proper constitution of the Security Council, in our opinion, is the observance of the principle of equitable geographical distribution to which I have already referred. The importance of this principle is also emphasized in the Security Council's rules of procedure. That circumstance, as you know, prompted the permanent members of the Security Council to conclude in London in 1946 an oral agreement—known as a gentleman's agreement, because it was an agreement by word of honour and was not recorded in any documents—whereby the seats were to be distributed among the non-permanent members of the Security Council in accordance with a fixed plan. By the terms of that agreement, the permanent members of the Security

Council undertook to support the election to the Council of candidates nominated by the countries of the five main regions of the world. In accordance with that plan it was agreed that in the election of non-permanent members support would be given to two countries from the Latin-American region, so that that region would have two seats, while one seat would be allotted to the British Commonwealth, one to the Middle East, one to Western Europe and one to Eastern Europe.

20. The General Assembly has adhered strictly to this agreement in the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council ever since the establishment of the United Nations except in 1949, and more particularly in 1951, on which occasions the Charter, the rules of procedure to which I have referred and the London agreement were violated with respect to the Eastern European countries. Thus, what can only be regarded as a form of discrimination was practised against the Eastern European countries.

21. As far as the other regions are concerned, the agreement has been fully, consistently and scrupulously observed at every session. Allow me to remind you that, for the Latin-American countries, Mexico occupied a seat in the Security Council in 1946, Colombia subsequently being elected for the period 1947-1948, Cuba for the period 1949-1950, Brazil for the period 1951-1952, and, finally, Colombia, whose term of office expires in 1954. The other seat for the Latin-American region was occupied in 1946-1947 by Brazil, in 1948-1949 by Argentina, in 1950-1951 by Ecuador and in 1952-1953 by Chile. The seat for the non-permanent member on the Security Council from the British Commonwealth region during those same years was occupied in turn by Australia, Canada, India and Pakistan. The seat for the non-permanent member on the Security Council from the Western European region has been occupied in turn by the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, again the Netherlands, and Denmark. The seat for the non-permanent member on the Security Council from the Eastern European region has been occupied by Poland and the Ukrainian SSR.

22. Thus the gentleman's agreement has been faithfully observed with respect to every region except Eastern Europe. Moreover, that agreement among the five permanent members of the Security Council has invariably been endorsed by the whole of the General Assembly—certainly by the great majority of this Assembly, which has tacitly approved the agreement by the way it has voted.

23. As regards the Soviet Union and the Eastern European delegations, we have strictly, honourably and punctiliously observed that agreement and have always voted for the countries I mentioned, whether we agreed with them or not, and whether we maintained or did not maintain diplomatic relations with them. We voted for Brazil when Brazil had broken off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. We ignored political considerations of that kind and were faithful to the gentleman's agreement, and we consider that those who wish to be true to their word as gentlemen should also be faithful to it and should not look around for every kind of excuse, such as the allegation that the agreement applied only to one set of elections, those of 1946. That allegation is refuted by the fact that the Ukrainian SSR was elected from the Eastern European region in accordance with the agreement, and Poland was elected long after 1946, so that this agreement

must be regarded as still operative and in any case cannot be unilaterally revoked. I think it is essential to draw attention to this important fact.

24. Countries from the various regions are nominated for seats as non-permanent members not in a haphazard way but according to a definite system, with the approval of all or the majority of the countries of the geographical region concerned and in the name of the majority of those countries. This explains why, as a rule, there was complete unanimity in the elections in the General Assembly to the non-permanent seats in the Security Council until the established rules began to be violated.

25. It is well known that in the elections with which we are now being invited to proceed—the election of three non-permanent members—there is to be a fresh violation of the Charter, of the rules of procedure and of the London agreement in connexion with the election of a non-permanent member from among the countries of Eastern Europe. It is known that certain delegations intend to have Turkey elected to that seat, although that country has not been nominated by the Eastern European countries, instead of Poland, whose candidature those countries support. Such a move constitutes a flagrant violation both of Article 23 of the Charter and of the rules of procedure concerning equitable geographical distribution, since it results in an unequitable geographical distribution. These delegations, moreover, are not even embarrassed by the fact that Turkey, the country they are proposing for the seat assigned to the Eastern European countries, in 1951 occupied the seat in the Security Council assigned to the Middle East after its vacation by Egypt. The result is that Turkey's name is put forward whatever the circumstances, to replace one country in one region or another country in another region. This we consider both unjust and wrong.

26. The PRESIDENT: I am obliged to interrupt the representative of the Soviet Union in order to draw his attention to the provisions of rule 92 of the rules of procedure governing elections. Under that rule, there shall be no nominations, and it is therefore improper for any declarations to be made before the elections with regard to the candidacy of any particular Member of the Assembly. I must therefore request the representative of the Soviet Union not to speak further. I regret that he should have made any statement with regard to the candidates in the elections now before the General Assembly. We shall now proceed with the elections.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	60
<i>Number of abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	59
<i>Required majority:</i>	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Brazil .....	56
New Zealand .....	48
Turkey .....	32
Poland .....	18
Philippines .....	17



Czechoslovakia .....	2
Ecuador .....	2
Mexico .....	1

*Brazil and New Zealand, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, were elected non-permanent members of the Security Council.*

27. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to the election of a third non-permanent member of the Security Council. This election will be held under rule 94 of the rules of procedure. Accordingly, the voting will be restricted to the two candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes in the previous ballot, namely, Turkey and Poland.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	1
Number of invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	58
Required majority:	39

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	38
Poland .....	20

28. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the two candidates has attained the required two-thirds majority, another ballot is required under rule 94. Again the voting will be restricted to these two countries, Turkey and Poland.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	1
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	59
Required majority:	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	37
Poland .....	22

29. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, a third ballot is required on these two countries, Turkey and Poland, under rule 94, with the same conditions.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	1
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	59
Required majority:	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	36
Poland .....	23

30. The PRESIDENT: We have now held three inconclusive ballots in respect of the election to the third

place on the Security Council. In these circumstances, rule 94 of the rules of procedure provides that, after the third inconclusive ballot, votes may be cast for any eligible person or Member. Any of the Members which are not presently represented on the Security Council, with the exception of Brazil and New Zealand which have already been elected, will therefore be eligible for election in the fourth ballot, which we shall now take.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	0
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	60
Required majority:	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	31
Poland .....	18
Philippines .....	11

31. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the second unrestricted ballot.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	0
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	60
Required majority:	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	33
Poland .....	16
Philippines .....	11

32. The PRESIDENT: We shall therefore proceed to the third unrestricted ballot.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	0
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	60
Required majority:	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	35
Poland .....	15
Philippines .....	10

33. The PRESIDENT: The result of the third unrestricted ballot has been inconclusive. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the next three ballots will be restricted to the two candidates that obtained the greatest number of votes in the third unrestricted ballot, namely, Turkey and Poland.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	60
<i>Number of abstentions:</i>	1
<i>Number of invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	59
<i>Required majority:</i>	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

Turkey .....	40
Poland .....	19

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

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	60
<i>Number of abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	59
<i>Required majority:</i>	40

*Number of votes obtained:*

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	47
Ecuador .....	45
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics .....	45
Czechoslovakia .....	42
Norway .....	42
Indonesia .....	36
Pakistan .....	33
Afghanistan .....	28
Philippines .....	7
Colombia .....	2
Burma .....	1
Haiti .....	1
Israel .....	1
New Zealand .....	1
Peru .....	1
Poland .....	1
Thailand .....	1
Uruguay .....	1

*The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Ecuador, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia and Norway, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, were elected members of the Economic and Social Council.*

35. The PRESIDENT: The next ballot will take place this afternoon and will be confined to Indonesia and Pakistan.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

**Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council**  
[Agenda item 15]

34. The PRESIDENT: The members of the Economic and Social Council whose term of office expires at the end of this year are the Philippines, Poland, Sweden, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Uruguay. Under Article 61, paragraph 2, of the Charter retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election. All Members of the United Nations are, therefore, eligible for the present election with the exception of those twelve members of the Economic and Social Council whose terms do not expire at the end of this year. Those twelve members are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France, India, Turkey, the United States of America, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot and there will be no nominations.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.*