Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council

Draft report submitted by the Chairperson

I. Introduction

1. In its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, the General Assembly decided to establish an open-ended working group to consider all aspects of the question of increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council.


4. In the United Nations Millennium Declaration, Heads of State and Government resolved, in respect of ongoing deliberations on Security Council reform, to intensify their efforts to achieve comprehensive reform of the Council in all its aspects (see General Assembly resolution 55/2, annex, para. 30).

5. In the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005, Heads of State and Government expressed support for early reform of the Security Council and recommended that the Security Council continue to adapt its working methods (see General Assembly resolution 60/1, paras. 153 and 154).

6. Following the deliberations of the Working Group, the General Assembly, in its decision 60/568, decided that the Working Group should continue its work and should submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the sixty-first session, including any agreed recommendations. The present report is submitted pursuant to that decision.
II. Sixty-first session of the General Assembly

7. The issue of the reform of the Security Council continues to be among those issues addressed at the annual general debate of the General Assembly. Many Heads of State and Government and other high-level representatives of Member States expressed the views of their Governments on the issue during the general debate of the sixty-first session of the General Assembly, held from 19 to 27 September 2006.

8. Member States also expressed their views on the reform of the Security Council when the General Assembly discussed the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters" (item 111) on 11 and 12 December 2006 (see A/61/PV.72-75).

III. Proceedings of the Open-ended Working Group during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly

A. Organizational matters

9. The President of the General Assembly, Haya Rashed al-Khalifa (Bahrain), served as Chairperson of the Working Group.

10. Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz (Chile), Ambassador Mirjana Mrdineo (Croatia), Ambassador Andreas D. Mavroyannis (Cyprus), Ambassador Frank Majoor (Netherlands) and Ambassador Ali Hachani (Tunisia), were appointed as facilitators by the Chairperson, on 8 February 2007, to interact with all Member States and to report back to her on the outcome of their consultations by the end of March 2007.

11. Later in the process, the Chairperson also appointed Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz (Chile) and Ambassador Christian Wenaweser (Liechtenstein) to carry the consultation process forward on the basis of the report of the facilitators.

12. The above-mentioned ambassadors chaired a number of informal meetings and conducted informal consultations with individual and groups of countries.

B. Meetings, informal meetings and consultations of the Working Group

13. At its 1st meeting, on 8 February 2007, the Chairperson announced the appointment of the facilitators and held a general exchange of views.

14. At the same meeting, the Chairperson proposed five themes for discussion by the Working Group, as follows: "Size of an enlarged Security Council"; "Categories of membership"; "Question of regional representation"; "Question of the veto"; and "Working methods of the Security Council and the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly".

15. During the sixty-first session of the General Assembly, the facilitators conducted extensive informal consultations with various individual and groups of delegations. They also convened a number of informal meetings of the Working Group.
16. From 20 to 23 February 2007, the facilitators separately chaired six informal meetings at which the five themes proposed by the Chairperson were discussed. The facilitators also jointly convened an informal interactive panel discussion on all five themes, on 13 March. A report of the facilitators on the discussions at the informal meetings and the succeeding informal consultations was submitted to the Chairperson on 19 April 2007 and circulated to all Member States on 20 April 2007 (see annex I).*

17. At its 7th and 8th informal meetings, on 3 and 4 May 2007, the Working Group discussed the report of the facilitators.

18. At its 9th and 10th informal meetings, on 19 July 2007, the Working Group discussed a follow-up report submitted to the Chairperson and circulated to all Member States on 26 June 2007 (see annex II).*

19. At its [...] meeting, on [...] 2007, the Working Group considered its draft report to the General Assembly (A/AC.247/2007/L.1) submitted by the Chairperson.

C. Adoption of the report of the Working Group

20. At its [...] meeting, on [...] 2007, the Working Group considered and adopted the present report.

IV. Recommendations

21. At its [...] meeting, on [...] 2007, the Working Group concluded its work for the sixty-first session of the General Assembly. The Working Group decided to recommend that consideration of the item be continued at the sixty-second session of the Assembly, building upon the work done during previous sessions and with a view to facilitating the process of reaching general agreement, bearing in mind the need to achieve progress on Security Council reform as an integral part of the ongoing United Nations reform process. To that end, the Working Group recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft decision:

"The General Assembly, recalling its previous resolutions and decisions relevant to the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council, having considered the report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council, which was established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, on its deliberations during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly,¹ bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000, adopted by Heads of State and Government,² in which they resolved, in respect of reform of the Security Council, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects, and recalling

* Annex I (the report of the facilitators to the President of the General Assembly on the consultations) and annex II (the follow-up report to the President of the General Assembly) are not reproduced in the present draft report but will be included in the final version of the report of the Open-ended Working Group, to be published as Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixty-first Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/61/47).
the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005,\(^3\) in which Heads of State and Government expressed support for early reform of the Council and recommended that the Council continue to adapt its working methods:

"(a) Takes note of the report of the Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council on its work during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly;"\(^1\)

"(b) Notes with appreciation the Chairperson's initiative to stimulate an active discussion relating to the comprehensive reform of the Security Council by the Working Group;

"(c) Urges the Working Group to continue to exert efforts during the sixty-second session, aimed at achieving progress in the consideration of all issues relevant to the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

"(d) Decides that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council should be considered during the sixty-second session of the General Assembly so that further concrete steps may be achieved;

"(e) Also decides that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to sixty-first sessions of the General Assembly and drawing on the experience of the sixty-first session, as well as the views to be expressed during the sixty-second session, and also taking into consideration the discussion on the process of implementation of the 2005 World Summit Outcome;

"(f) Further decides that the Working Group should submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of its sixty-second session, including any agreed recommendations."

**Notes**

\(^1\) To be issued as *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixty-first Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/61/47).*

\(^2\) See resolution 55/2.

\(^3\) See resolution 60/1.
REPORT
TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
ON THE CONSULTATIONS REGARDING
“THE QUESTION OF EQUITABLE
REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE
MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND
OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL”

United Nations, New York
26 June 2007
I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 22 May 2007, the President of the General Assembly appointed H.E. Mr. Heraldo Muñoz, the Permanent Representative of Chile and H.E. Mr. Christian Wenaweser, the Permanent Representative of Liechtenstein, (hereafter referred to as “the authors of this report”), to conduct consultations with the membership on how to move the process forward, in formats they should deem useful. The President asked the two Permanent Representatives to use the five Facilitators’ report of 19 April 2007 as the basis for those consultations, and to report back on the outcome before the end of June 2007.

2. Moreover, in view of their significant contribution to the deliberations on Security Council reform, the President of the General Assembly asked the facilitators appointed on 8 February 2007, to continue to advise her on this important matter.

II. BACKGROUND

3. This report is submitted in accordance with the mandate contained in the above-mentioned letter of 22 May. In keeping with this mandate and building upon the momentum created by the Facilitators’ report, the authors of this report have conducted inclusive and extensive consultations. In this context, they approached existing groups – those that have taken a position on Security Council reform in the past as well as others – and thus reached out to the membership in the course of their consultations. In addition, they also held numerous bilateral talks.

4. The authors of this report also benefited from the views offered during the informal plenary meetings held on 3 and 4 May 2007, as well as from the insight provided by the Facilitators advising the President of the General Assembly.

5. Throughout this latest stage of consultations, many Member States have reiterated that Security Council reform is an integral part of the ongoing United Nations reform process, and that United Nations reform would be incomplete without a meaningful reform of the Council. In this regard, the status quo is not acceptable to an overwhelming majority of Member States. There is thus a continued strong commitment to Security Council reform in accordance with paragraphs 152 to 154 of the Outcome Document of September 2005.

6. Furthermore, Member States underscored that to move forward on Security Council reform, flexibility had to be effectively shown and shared by all concerned. Such flexibility would imply a concrete commitment to find the widest possible political agreement.

7. Both the Facilitators’ report and the informal plenary meetings made it clear that those who have taken a distinct position on Security Council reform in the past still maintain those positions. This report is thus without prejudice to positions expressed by Member States in the past and in particular to the proposals on Security Council reform
submitted in the past by the G-4 (A/59/L.64), the Uniting for Consensus Group (A/59/L.68) and the African Group (A/59/L.67). The same applies to the proposal submitted by the S-5, which dealt exclusively with the working methods of the Security Council (A/60/L.49).

8. The consultations have reaffirmed that at this stage of the process, the positions of the major interest groups from the past are unlikely to be fully realized. Therefore, as stated in the five facilitators’ report, under the present state of affairs, Member States, including those supporting the above-cited draft resolutions, while retaining their initial positions, may be open to explore further a transitional approach to Security Council reform. At present, there is considerable interest in and openness to the transitional or intermediary approach; yet, a deeper understanding is needed to advance the process. This report is intended to assist in such a possible exploration.

III. THE INTERMEDIARY APPROACH

9. The positions taken in the past have revealed stark differences of opinion on a number of issues such as size of an enlarged Council, the veto and on whether new permanent seats should be created. The intermediary approach, as outlined in the Facilitators’ report, is intended to reconcile these positions to the extent possible and is therefore by definition a compromise. At the same time, it is not meant to reflect a lowest common denominator, but rather a possible solution that is at the same time politically sustainable and framed in a manner that is flexible enough to allow the membership to take further reform steps in the future. It is clear that the goal of any proposal on Security Council reform should be finding the formula that garners the strongest possible agreement of the membership - preferably expressed through support exceeding the legally required two-thirds majority, thus facilitating an early entry into force of the necessary Charter amendments.

10. Such a solid political majority will have to take into account the interests and concerns of all major interest groups and States, including of those who do not fully subscribe to any of the proposals submitted in the past. This includes small States who emphasize their particular interest in the issue of working methods, in particular the aspect of access to information and decision-making within the Council - to which those who have an item inscribed on the Council’s agenda also attach particular importance - as well as enhancing their possibility to serve in the Council.

11. A transitional approach assumes an interim arrangement and should have as an integral component a mandatory review to take place at a predetermined date to review and assess the adequacy of this arrangement. Issues on which Member States will not agree in the negotiations would have to be deferred to the review.
IV. NOTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

12. Paragraph 8 of the five Facilitators’ report states that “States may wish to explore new and emerging ideas concerning a transitional approach to Security Council reform.” It goes on to say that “within the transitional approach there are different options and variations that Member States may wish to further explore.” The following notions are intended to assist Member States in such a further exploration of a transitional approach, if they so wish.

Size and categories of membership
13. The size of an expanded Security Council depends on striking an adequate balance between the general satisfaction about the geographical representation of the Council, in particular in terms of the representation of developing countries and of small States, and the desire to maintain its efficient functioning. In their consideration of the size of the Council, States may want to examine the linkages between the size and the scope of the review clause, and address the issue of access of States that are not members of the Council to its decision-making process in the context of the discussions concerning the improvement of the working methods.

14. The intermediary approach entails the creation of a category of membership not currently provided for under the Charter. Within the intermediary or transitional approach, Member States may wish to consider, inter alia, creating extended seats that could be allocated for the full duration of the intermediary arrangement, up to the review; extended seats for a longer period than the existing non-permanent seats with the possibility of re-election; or extended seats for a longer term than the existing non-permanent seats but without the possibility of re-election.

15. Any of these options can be combined with enlargement in the regular non-permanent category, in accordance with article 23.2 of the Charter.

16. The options in size range from a limited to a large expansion, a decision which could be adopted either in one step or in stages – i.e., a given number at first and a further expansion in the review.

17. The length of the extended seats would have to be considered together with their re-election modalities, as appropriate, and the geographic distribution of the new seats. This constitutes an essential negotiable and is also tied to the review.

Elections of New Members
18. Member States may wish to consider the modalities for electing members in the new category of seats. While such elections would have to be held in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, States may want to consider whether the elections for additional seats and the regular two-year seats take place simultaneously. Furthermore, Member States may wish to add a provision which would prevent countries from presenting candidatures for both the new category and the traditional non-permanent category at the same time or in short intervals.
**Veto**

19. Within the intermediary approach, States may want to examine the question of rules concerning the exercise of the veto, including forms of limitations of its use, possibly in the framework of a decision on working methods. Given that none of the options under the intermediary approach entail the creation of new vetoes, this possibility would under any of the options be left for consideration in the course of a review. The use of the veto is linked to the issue of working methods as well as to categories of membership and the review.

**Regional representation**

20. As far as regional representation, States may wish to reflect on the notions presented in the Facilitators’ report in their possible further consideration of an intermediary approach. This issue is linked in particular to the question of size and composition.

**Review**

21. A review clause may open the way to take further reform steps in the future. Within an intermediary approach, special weight must be given to a review clause. Such a review must be mandatory and take place after a specified number of years following the entry into force of Charter amendments related to Security Council reform. It is further indispensable to clearly define the scope of the review.

22. While the review plays a central role in the consideration of an intermediary approach, further changes to any aspect of the composition of the Security Council will require a separate decision by the General Assembly on a further amendment of the UN Charter and a separate ratification process.

23. The central role of a review clause is linked to all other aspects of Security Council reform and in particular to those aspects on which Member States will not agree in negotiations. These might include the question of the creation of permanent seats including the question of the veto, the creation of additional non-permanent seats in accordance with Article 23, paragraph 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and the further consideration of arrangements regarding the use of non-concurring votes by Permanent members of the Security Council in accordance with Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Charter. The review should also entail undertaking a comprehensive reassessment of the Security Council, including its composition and working methods.

**Working methods**

24. There is general agreement on the high importance of working methods. Enlargement and working methods need to be dealt with in a comprehensive manner, and reform would be incomplete without either one. The complementary nature of the two areas of Security Council reform is generally recognized, within which the possibility of advancing independently on the two aspects is also put forward. The different nature of the two aspects of reform, with only enlargement requiring a Charter amendment, has to be taken into account in this regard. The issue of working methods is linked to the
review, the veto and the size of an enlarged Council, in particular through enhancing the access of non-members to the decision-making process of the Council.

V. FUTURE STEPS

25. A large number of Member States expressed the view that the President of the General Assembly has established favourable conditions to advance toward a process of negotiations among Member States. Delegations expressed the view that instead of further consultations, the next stage should consist of negotiations.

26. While the continued leadership of the President of the General Assembly will be essential, substantive input from Member States will be indispensable in order to take the discussions to the next stage, i.e. intergovernmental negotiations, with a view to continuing moving forward, so as to achieve further concrete steps within the sixty-second session of the General Assembly.

27. Future negotiations would need to be conducted on the basis of a text containing concrete elements on all the negotiables identified in this report. Member States should have primary ownership of such a process.

28. This report is intended to enable tangible progress through which Security Council reform can be brought to a next stage that could include - in concrete terms - an agreement on an intergovernmental negotiating process, as the only way to move forward.

29. Flexibility must be effectively shown and shared by all concerned in a process that would need to continue to be all-inclusive and transparent. There have been years of discussions, without substantial results. The time has come to bring the process closer to decision-making. It is therefore important that the current momentum be maintained in order to develop a common understanding conducive to the attainment of the Security Council reform.

30. This report represents a genuine effort of the two Permanent Representatives to fulfil the mandate given to them by the President of the General Assembly in her letter of 22 May. It thus brings to an end their work under this mandate.
REPORT OF THE FACILITATORS
TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
ON THE CONSULTATIONS REGARDING
“THE QUESTION OF EQUITABLE
REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE
MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND
OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL”
I. INTRODUCTION

The question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council was first introduced in our agenda in 1979, during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. At its forty-eighth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/26, of 3 December 1993, by which it decided to establish the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council.

After more than a decade of intensive discussions on this important matter, both in the General Assembly and within the Open-ended Working Group, no concrete result has been achieved thus far.

At the 2005 World Summit, stressing the need to complete Security Council reform - as an essential element of our overall effort to reform the United Nations – Heads of State and government expressed support for early reform of the Security Council, in order to make it more representative, efficient and transparent, and to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy of its decisions.

On 11 December 2006, when opening the plenary debate on Security Council reform, the President stated that after many years of inconclusive debate the time had come to make a realistic assessment of the whole issue; and to be prepared to look at this matter with a fresh and open mind if the General Assembly were to make substantial progress.

Against this backdrop, in her letter dated 24 January 2007, the President of the General Assembly invited the membership to start consultations around five key issues, namely: categories of membership; the question of the veto; the question of regional representation; the size of an enlarged Security Council; and, the working methods of the Security Council and the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. Subsequently, on 8 February 2007, the President of the General Assembly appointed five facilitators in their individual capacity to assist her during the consultation process on the five preceding issues respectively: H. E. Mr. Ali Hachani, the Permanent Representative of Tunisia; H. E. Mr. Andreas D. Mavroyiannis, the Permanent Representative of Cyprus; H.E. Mrs. Mirjana Mladineo, the Permanent Representative of Croatia; H. E. Mr. Heraldo Muñoz, the Permanent Representative of Chile; and, H. E. Mr. Frank Majoor, the Permanent Representative of Netherlands.

The President of the General Assembly mandated the five facilitators to conduct open, transparent and inclusive consultations with a view to making the most accurate possible assessment on the state of play on Security Council reform, for the purpose of establishing the appropriate process which would enable the General Assembly to fulfill the challenging task of reforming the Council.
Furthermore, the President requested the five facilitators to prepare a consolidated report on the result of their work, in order to allow the membership to have an informed follow up discussion on the way forward.

From 20 to 23 February 2007, the facilitators held a series of six informal meetings. The facilitators also convened an informal interactive panel discussion on 13 March 2007. These informal meetings, which took place in the framework of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council, provided the Member States with opportunities to comprehensively discuss all related aspects of the reform of the Council while focussing on each of the five aforementioned main issues identified by the President of the General Assembly.

In addition, the five facilitators conducted, separately or jointly, wide-ranging consultations and met with individual States and various groups of States. These contacts also allowed them to interact with delegations which did not participate in the open-ended informal meetings so as to take the fullest possible account of the views of all Member States.

The purpose of this report is to provide the President of the General Assembly with the outcome of the consultations the facilitators carried out over the past three months. The report includes a descriptive annex that gives an account and assessment of the views expressed by Member States on the different issues under consideration, and a more analytical part providing a number of notions on the way to move the process forward. The annex contains largely the evaluations of each facilitator responsible for his/her respective theme. The section “Notions on the Way Forward” reflects the common views of the facilitators. The facilitators hope that Member States would, in the next stage of the process, give special attention to the Notions on the Way Forward presented in this report.
II. **Notions on the Way Forward**

As stated in the introduction, the facilitators, guided by the President of the General Assembly, undertook an inclusive process of consultations to elicit an accurate reflection of the positions and suggestions of the membership on the main questions regarding Security Council reform. Based on those consultations, as well as on the assessments contained in the annex, below are a set of notions of reform that may serve as a framework for result-oriented negotiations, a process over which Member States should have collective ownership.

The objective of the facilitators was to map out what seems most feasible at this stage, so that Member States themselves might proceed to work out all possible configurations guided by the notions identified below as prospective ways of moving forward.

1. Security Council enlargement is an integral part of the United Nations reform process. Member States consider that the United Nations reform would be incomplete without meaningful Security Council reform. Maintaining the Status quo is not acceptable to an overwhelming majority of Member States that feel that the current situation should be improved.

2. Flexibility is key in order to move forward on Security Council reform; but flexibility must be effectively shown and shared by all concerned. A significant number of Member States tend to agree that their ideal solution may not be possible at this stage, and believe that it may be more reasonable to consider the best possible substantial solution for now.

3. The positions of the major interest groups, well-known to the membership for some time, are not likely to be fully realized at this stage. It was encouraging that, in order to move forward with the process and despite the reiteration of initial positions, flexibility was displayed in the form of willingness to explore a viable compromise solution.

4. The General Assembly should opt for a Security Council reform formula that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by the membership, and in any case, well above the required majority in the General Assembly, including the acquiescence by the current permanent members of the Council, bearing in mind the ratification process of any amendment to the Charter as stipulated in its article 108.

5. Any achievable solution must address the concerns of the wide majority of United Nations Member States aimed at enhancing their access, both in terms of increasing their chances to serve as members of the Council and by being more intensively involved with its work while not a member. Especially the second element was a source of concern for small States and for those who have an item inscribed on the Council’s agenda.

6. Enlargement and working methods need to be dealt with in a comprehensive manner. They are closely linked and reform will be incomplete without either one. However, in any scenario, continued efforts should be made to improve the working methods.
7. Expansion needs to be based both on Member States’ contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization as well as equitable geographical distribution, as stipulated in the Charter. Maintaining the current regional groups, any enlargement should address the under-representation of developing countries as well as small States. The wide diversity in the membership of the Organization might be taken into account.

8. Under the present state of affairs, Member States, while retaining their initial positions, may wish to explore new and emerging ideas concerning a transitional approach to Security Council reform. A transitional approach assumes an intermediary arrangement and should have as an integral component a mandatory review to take place at a predetermined date. Within the transitional approach there are different options and variations that Member States may wish to further explore. The negotiables include the content and duration of the intermediary arrangement and the nature of the review. Issues on which Member States will not agree in the negotiations would have to be deferred to the review. Consequently, at this stage none of the stakeholders has to give up its original position.

9. As regards categories, the transitional approach, without prejudice to the prospect of creating new permanent seats, could explore the creation of new non-permanent seats as well as an intermediate category. Member States may wish to consider, among others, the following variations of an intermediate category:

- Extended seats that could be allocated for the full duration of the intermediary arrangement, including the possibility of recall.
- Extended seats, which would be for a longer period than the regular two-year term, but with the possibility of re-election. The length of the terms as well as the re-election modalities should be decided in negotiations.
- Extended seats, which would be for a longer period than the regular two-year term, but without the possibility of re-election. The length of the term should be decided in the negotiations.
- Non-permanent two-year seats with the possibility of immediate re-election.

10. Regarding the veto, some Member States favour and some oppose its elimination; some demand and some oppose its extension. Therefore, as a definitive solution might not be feasible at this stage, Member States may wish to address this question within the framework of the review.

In the meantime, Member States may wish to consider forms of limitation in the use of the veto. These might include, among others:

- Ways of enhancing accountability for the use of the veto.
- Limitations of the scope of application of the veto.
- Individual or collective pledges to refrain from its use in certain instances.
11. Regarding regional representation, in the sense of Member States representing regional views, the notion of accountability, both in the election process and while serving in the Council, might be explored. To take into account this aspect, the following ideas could be considered:

- Future candidatures to the Security Council could be proposed directly by Member States or through regional consensus, it being understood that the final decision is to be taken by the General Assembly through the election process as set out in the Charter.
- Elected Members of the Council should be deemed, if they so wish, to also represent, through internal arrangements, the views of the groups to which they belong while continuing to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

12. As regards the question of the expansion of the size of the Security Council, Member States may decide to consider the following options:

- A limited expansion, believed to be supported by those Member States particularly concerned about the efficiency of the Council.
- A large expansion, believed to be supported by those Member States particularly concerned about the Security Council’s representativity
- A medium-size expansion that could reconcile the concerns of those who argue for an efficient Council with the views of those who underscore its representativity.
- A limited expansion in a first stage and a further expansion in the framework of the review.

13. Any reform scenario should enhance access for non-Council members by improving the working methods of the Security Council. Since any enlargement will only modestly improve the chances of individual Member States to become a member of the Council, better access for non-Council members is deemed an essential and integral part of a reform package. At the same time, improvement of the working methods can be seen as a continuous, dynamic process. At this stage, Member States may wish to consider the following options:

- Establishment of a mechanism ensuring that Member States whose interests are specially affected will be heard upon request in private meetings of the Council (more vigorous implementation of articles 31 and 32 of the Charter), and expansion of consultation and cooperation with regional organizations and countries in the region, not only in thematic, public meetings, but also in private meetings.
- Creation of additional opportunities for non-Council members whose interests are specially affected to be heard in the work of the subsidiary bodies; in case of resolutions that call into being far-reaching obligations of Member States, an extended consultation process could be established.
• Implementation of consistent consultations with potential Troop Contributing Countries in the early phase of a new operation, and regular substantive meetings during ongoing operations; Troop Contributing Countries and, as appropriate host countries, to be invited to private meetings of the Security Council in which the mandate of a Peacekeeping Operation is discussed.

• Increase in the transparency of the Council’s work by: encouraging formal adoption of rules of procedure, stimulating thematic reports by the Security Council for discussion in the General Assembly and ensuring regular consultations between the Presidents of the principal organs on the implementation of the respective mandates, in accordance with the Charter.
III. Conclusions

The present report represents the facilitators’ honest evaluation of the state of affairs on Security Council reform. It reflects months of extensive and inclusive consultations, where the facilitators carefully listened to the views and concerns of Member States. The facilitators have tried to make a fair assessment, as contained in the annex, of the different aspects related to the reform.

On the basis of the consultations and the assessment, the facilitators have prepared the above notions that Member States might want to further discuss in order to explore feasible solutions for the way forward, aimed at facilitating tangible progress on a key and integral component of United Nations reform. As such, an attempt has been made to identify new and emerging ideas that might be worth exploring. At the same time, as stressed before, the facilitators underline that Member States may wish to pursue other options. Those identified here are not necessarily exhaustive.

The facilitators trust that the report will contribute to productive further discussions in which Security Council reform can be brought to a next stage. This could include an agreement on a negotiating process that is conducive to timely decision-making. The facilitators believe that there is a path forward that Members States could build on towards meaningful negotiations, taking advantage of the current momentum. The reform process ahead needs to continue to be all-inclusive and transparent.
ANNEX

ASSESSMENTS ON CLUSTERS

Categories of Membership

The issue of categories of membership proved to be one of the key issues of the entire process. One of the main purposes of the facilitation was to explore whether innovative ideas heard during consultations could help to reconcile existing positions with a view of advancing the process. The following views were expressed during consultations:

- A large group of States continued to call for the enlargement of the Security Council in both categories of membership (permanent and non-permanent seats).

- A group of States, while defending an enlargement of the Security Council in both categories, is proposing that any new permanent seats holders enjoy all prerogatives of permanent members including veto right in case it is maintained.

- Another group of States reiterated its position seeking the creation of a category of membership which is of a permanent character but, at least initially, without exercising the veto. Addition of new non-permanent seats is also proposed by this group.

- A group of States reiterated its position of accepting enlargement only in the category of non-permanent seats, while considering that no initial positions should be pre-empted for any future discussions of the issue. The creation of only non-permanent seats is also considered by a group of States as a possible fall back position in case no other satisfactory solution is found.

- Some Member States encouraged the exploration of a sort of an “interim” or “transitional solution” based on a longer term renewability of seats. Likewise, other Member States expressed their readiness to explore a solution that would move the process ahead while enjoying broad acceptance.

- Some delegations, especially from small States, expressed the view that any solution should enhance their aspiration to serve in the Security Council.

- A large number of delegations expressed the view that there is a need for ensuring, in any expansion, a strengthened representation of developing countries and small states. A number of delegations stressed the need to take into account the wide cultural diversity within the international community.
• Some delegations expressed their wish to have the question of categories, as well as the other issue-areas ascertained through a “questionnaire” addressed to Member States.

• The notion of accountability, both at the time of election (art 23.2 of the Charter) and while serving in the Council (art 24.2 of the Charter) has been addressed by delegations in relation with categories of membership:

  - A group belonging to a specific region is of the view that this region would be responsible for the selection of its representative States in an enlarged Security Council, which would be accountable to it.

  - Other Member States expressed the view that accountability could be ensured through a process of “challenge” in a review mechanism.

Signals of flexibility were shown during the consultations: Despite the reiteration of initial positions, readiness for some flexibility was expressed by the main groups especially on the question of permanency:

• Delegations defending permanency would accept to submit the status of any new permanent seats to challenge.
• Delegations contesting the permanency would admit the possibility for a number of States to be in the Council for a longer period of time than that initially envisaged by the Charter.
• Members of a group of States, although remaining firm in their initial positions, expressed readiness to refer any new proposed elements regarding Security Council reform to their highest political authorities at the earliest possible opportunity.

The question of the veto

Given the sui generis character of the veto, the extent of member states’ flexibility and the scope of possible veto reform were explored through extensive bilateral consultations with a cross-regional sample incorporating small, medium-sized and large states, states having items on the Council’s agenda and the states currently holding the veto. Member states addressed the issue on two levels: ideal and attainable reform. The veto was criticised on various grounds by the significant majority of member states, many of whom relayed a perception at the same time that elimination is not realistic at this stage. Trends regarding the veto included the restriction of its use, prevention of its extension, resignation from its reform at this stage and extension of it to all permanent members so long as it exists.

In terms of restricting the veto, suggestions included limiting the instances where it can be used (e.g. to exclude instances such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity), establishing criteria for when and in which situations the veto can be used,
formalising explanations for the use of veto, limiting the scope of application of the veto (either restricting it to Chapter VII decisions or disallowing its use in Chapter VI decisions), restricting its use to only vital issues, barring the veto where a permanent member is a party to a conflict, changing its weight (e.g. requiring two negative votes to reject a draft resolution), overruling it, and placing a cap on the total number of negative votes that can be cast by a permanent member.

Member states considered that extension of the veto pre-supposes agreement on the addition of new permanent members. Permanent members themselves did not rule out extending the veto, depending on the number of prospective new permanent members and which those would be. Their position ranged from offering qualified support to the G4 draft resolution, to being ready to add one or two new members to the P5 group and to extending the veto to a representative from a region currently without it.

Among states in support of expansion in permanent and non-permanent members, three tendencies were identifiable; a) the veto is a tool for inaction that does not contribute to the effectiveness of the Council and should not be extended to new permanent members, b) in principle extension of the veto, accompanied by a commitment not to use it until a future review, and c) automatic extension of the veto to new permanent members. The second option gathered the most support, also because it was expressed as a fallback position by many states supporting options one and three. For those supporting extension of the veto at this stage, the second option would provide future prospect to this end while for those supporting non-extension of the veto, the second option would satisfy their position now without pre-empting the eventual settlement of the issue.

The general perception of the permanent members regarding the veto, despite nuances on certain aspects of this issue, is that the veto is at the core and is the sustaining force of the system of collective security. It is considered inherently different from other elements discussed in the reform process, as it is the result of a political understanding that pre-existed the Charter and thus could not be reformed by the wider membership. Its reform could only be governed by the same historical rationale that initially brought it into being as a tool of restricting the scope of the collective security system according to their major policy considerations.

Permanent members recognized that the wider membership had concerns regarding the veto but did not consider it was misused; rather, they insisted that the veto is exercised with restraint. However, they did not exclude the prospect of finding ways amongst themselves to appease those concerns, including for most of them through a) a voluntary commitment in this respect or b) an oral understanding that permanent members would agree to a non-legally binding statement once the reform process has been agreed.

Despite nuances, permanent members alluded to the limits of what could be agreed vis-à-vis the veto. The latter’s abolition or modification would not be ratifiable through Charter amendment. This includes legally-binding regulation of the veto or General Assembly guidelines on how to exercise it. General Assembly involvement in matters falling within what permanent members consider to be exclusive competence of the Security Council is
not amenable, nor is explanation of the use of veto before the General Assembly (the P5 consider the two organs to stand on equal footing). Most permanent members based their acceptance of enlargement and other reform of the Council on preserving the essence of their veto power.

The limited span between what the current holders of the veto could accept and what the wider membership is seeking prompted member states to contemplate the option of bypassing, at this stage, substantial veto reform while maintaining strong preference for the veto to be explicitly included on the agenda of a possible future review. The latter requires further exploration, as there does not seem to be across the board agreement on it. The assessment of the facilitator is that, although desirable for the majority of member states, veto reform alone might not be the single factor that will seal or break the reform deal at this stage, provided that the rest of the reform package will be substantial.

States that have thus far insisted on new permanent members obtaining the same rights and privileges as the incumbents, including the veto, were frequently mentioned as key to the process of Security Council reform. Such states, when consulted, reiterated their collective official position but appeared to be willing to consider alternatives on condition that those would be concrete and sufficiently attractive. While these states did not rule out the prospect of a provisional solution, it was quite clear that no definitive views could be provided by them on this level of consultation and at this stage.

Member states who addressed the use of the veto as a source of non-action on the part of the United Nations expressed varying views on whether and how this could be remedied. The mechanism created through General Assembly resolution 377 (V) was accepted as an alternative by some but deemed either ineffective and/or undesirable by others. No concrete suggestions were suggested on how the General Assembly might exercise a subsidiary role in those instances where the primary responsibility of the Council for the maintenance of international peace and security is not exercised because of a veto. Member states did however stress that the General Assembly should do more to fully exercise its competencies under articles 10-12 of the Charter, including by examining matters of peace and security, and calling on the Security Council to take relevant action. This could exhort the Security Council to take action on a situation, provide the viewpoint of the wider membership to the Security Council on a particular issue, and contain the veto through input that would deter its use. The awareness by the Security Council of the pronouncement of the General Assembly on a certain issue would make it difficult for the Council to subsequently ignore the collective will of the international community and be silent on account of a veto.

Through the above consultations it transpired that a pragmatic option concerning veto reform at this stage is the possibility of a pledge by the permanent members to exercise the veto with restraint. While this would not amount to a legally binding measure, some member states have indicated that this would have an impact in practical terms. It was reasoned that indirect limitation/regulation of the veto and the influence of permanent members could be achieved to some degree through the cumulative impact of reform. It was also suggested that enlargement itself amounts to a de facto limitation of the power
of the veto because permanent members will constitute less than 25% of the Council and the responsibility to block action through veto will be substantially heavier. As the veto is viewed as synonymous with P5 influence, it is particularly pertinent to note that the enhanced presence and voting might of members other than the P5 is believed by many to limit the influence of permanent members on decision making as well as decision-making that is exclusively power balance-driven. Lastly, it was suggested that the power stemming from possession of the veto (implicit veto) would diminish if the Council operated in a manner that allowed for less pressure to be exerted on non-permanent members.

The question of regional representation

There seemed to be a common understanding that the Security Council in its current composition does not reflect the geopolitical realities and thus needs to be adequately rebalanced.

- The majority of delegations were of the view that the rebalancing of the Security Council needs to be based on "the contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization", as well as on equitable geographical representation, as stipulated in article 23 of the Charter.

- Nevertheless, some delegations pointed out that additional objectives and measurable criteria had yet to be worked out to define the necessary capabilities of States relevant to the maintenance of international peace and security. Proposals included, *inter-alia*, the level of financial contribution to the United Nations, population, regional role and standing, size of military forces, as well as contributions to peacekeeping operations.

In the course of the discussion there seemed to be a two-fold understanding of the term "regional representation".

- Some delegations identified the term "regional representation" as identical to the "equitable geographical distribution" as contained in article 23.1 of the Charter.

- Other delegations expressed the view that the term "regional representation" should be understood as the regional seat leading to regional accountability. They argued that the notion of regional representation, in the sense of Member States representing regional views, could be explored further. Different options were suggested, such as candidatures to be proposed directly by Member States or through regional consensus, it being understood that the final decision is to be taken by the General Assembly through the election process as set out in the Charter. Another suggestion was that Members of the Council should be deemed, if they so wish, to also represent the views of regional groups to which they belong while continuing to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.
However, a wide number of delegations felt that, at this stage, the non-permanent members of the Council, although proposed on a regional basis, could not represent their respective regions. Rather, as members of the Security Council, they should have a global accountability as well as an obligation to the international community as a whole.

In addition, many delegations were of the view that the concept of the regional seat, given the different character of each regional group as well as the existing differences in their internal working procedures, was not feasible at this stage.

Although the composition of the existing regional groups was challenged in terms of not accurately reflecting geopolitical realities, there seems to be a wide understanding that the restructuring of the current system is not realistic. The majority is thus still of the view that the principle of the equitable geographic distribution should be exercised through the existing structures. Nevertheless, opinions varied on how to amend the situation, in particular with respect to defining the underrepresented.

The discussion brought out several interpretations within the category of the underrepresented. Accordingly, the underrepresented were classified in the following manner:

- Within the existing group arrangements, there was a general feeling that Africa, Asia and GRULAC were underrepresented. Some opined that the EEG was underrepresented as well.

- There was also a broad understanding that small and developing countries are underrepresented as a general rule. In addition, some delegations pointed out that small and developing countries from Africa, Asia and GRULAC were underrepresented in particular.

- Some delegations were of the opinion that there was a need for an enlarged Security Council to represent all cultures, religions and civilizations. In that respect, although various political organizations were mentioned as candidates for the Security Council seat, the majority of delegations argued it would contradict the intergovernmental nature of the United Nations and therefore proposed that their legitimate concerns should be accommodated through other means.

Bearing in mind the inseparable links between the Regional Representation cluster and those of Size and Categories of Membership, it might prove to be very difficult to devise any workable solution prior to the agreement on the number of seats to be distributed. However, since it can be argued that the notions of contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and equitable geographical distribution constitute the fundamental elements of any future fair and just solution, they should be taken into account as a general principle during deliberations as well as at the early stages of the eventual future negotiations on size and categories.
The size of an enlarged Security Council

During consultations Member States agreed with an enlargement in the size of the Security Council. No Member State opposed expansion. Below, are some of the main opinions expressed by Member States in the consultations:

- The size of an enlarged Security Council cannot be judged in isolation from other conditioning issues, such as equitable regional representation and the categories of membership. Determining the size of an enlarged Council was guided, for example, by the aspirations of regions to be satisfied with their representation, rather than a theoretical number decided a priori.

- Opinions as to the size of an enlarged Security Council vary. Many Member States gave specific preferred numbers, while others expressed that they are open to suggestions, some of them provided that additional considerations are taken into account.

- Some Member States expressed that among the main criteria that ought to be considered in determining the size of an expanded Security Council are equitable geographical distribution, enhanced credibility, efficiency and effectiveness of the Council. A number of delegations added criteria such as the financial and diplomatic contributions to the United Nations, as well as respect for democracy and human rights. Others prefer to adhere solely to the criteria enunciated in Article 23 (1) of the Charter, i.e. “due regard being specially paid, 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, and also to equitable geographical distribution.”

- The “efficiency” and “effectiveness” of an enlarged Security Council were considered by some delegations, particularly but not only permanent members of the Security Council, as paramount elements for a Council that is supposed to act swiftly in the face of crises. Other delegations argued that efficiency does not necessarily result from a reduced size, and that efficiency (or efficacy) could ultimately improve by enlargement in more representative higher numbers.

- Some Member States lamented the current configuration of regional groups, as not representative of like-minded States, but agreed, as most members did, that it would not be advisable to revisit existing regional groups, notwithstanding the wish expressed by some that an expanded Council should consider seats for small States or States of particular cultures and civilizations.

- A significant number of Member States, both developed and developing, from different regions, believe that the size of an expanded Security Council should
remedy the under-representation of developing countries, particularly from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

- A number of delegations, while stressing that the Security Council should properly represent current world reality, expressed their desire to see an adequate correlation between the number of members in the Council and the membership of the General Assembly. They pointed out that the ratio between Security Council and the general membership of the U.N. was 21% in 1945 (a ratio of 1:5), 13% in 1965 (a ratio of 1:8) and less than 8% (a ratio of 1:13) at present.

- A limited expansion of seats has been advocated by Member States on grounds of efficiency and agility of the Council to confront crises. Other member States favor a larger expansion of seats based on representativity of the Council.

- In the view of some Member States, an increase in the number of seats, even if solely in the non-permanent category, would entail a re-balancing of the power structure within the Security Council. More members would require new higher proportions of votes to approve resolutions, as the weight percentage of permanent members would decline.

- While some Member States addressed the question of size from the perspective of a one-time expansion, some Member States felt that a Review Conference should revisit the issue of size in the context of a transitional approach.

- Despite the fact that views on the exact size of an expanded Security Council differ among Member States, they do not seem irreconcilable.

**The working methods of the Security Council and the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly**

A wide majority of Member States felt that the working methods are an essential and integral part of Security Council reform. Some Member States opined that expansion and working methods should not be seen as inseparable. They argued that reform of the working methods, which would not require a Charter amendment, should be seen as a continuous process. Ultimately, a widely shared conclusion was that the working methods should be part of any reform package. If agreement on a package would not be attainable, efforts to reform the working methods could, and in the eyes of many, should still be continued.

- Some Member States offered another perspective on the relationship between the working methods and expansion of the Council. Many (smaller) Member States serve relatively sporadically on the Council, even in case of an expansion. For
those Member States, improved working methods, and thus better access as non-Council member to the work of the Council, is of essential importance.

- Member States alluded to the relationship of the Security Council with the General Assembly. Most Member States put this issue in the context of the so-called encroachment of the Security Council on the General Assembly. It was argued that this had much to do with the broadening definition of “security”. Working with this broad definition, the Security Council was increasingly discussing subjects that would, arguably, fall under the competence of the General Assembly. Most however felt that it was difficult to address this issue in the context of Security Council reform.

- As to the substance of the working methods, many Member States welcomed several initiatives that have recently been taken, such as the draft resolution by Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland (S5) and the recent Note by the President of the Security Council on working methods (S/2006/507). Many Member States saw as the central aim of improved working methods to ensure better access for non-Council members to the work of the Security Council. The access seemed to have distinct components: information, consultation and cooperation.

- With regard to access through information, Member States felt that timely and substantive information on the work of the Council would lead to more transparency. This would not only enable them to better follow the proceedings, but would also allow Member States to informally exert influence on the decision making process. Concrete suggestions that were made by Member States:
  - Better notification to all Member States of all Council meetings, including unscheduled meetings and early distribution of draft resolutions.
  - More frequent briefings by the President of the Security Council, as well as by the Chairmen of the subsidiary bodies. Distribution to all Member States of reports of the meetings of the subsidiary bodies.
  - Institutionalized periodic review of the implementation of Council mandates and decisions.

- On better access through consultations, Member States indicated an interest to have direct, real access to the Council in cases where their interests were specially affected, and in particular when they have an item on the agenda (both in open and private meetings). It was widely felt that this would increase the legitimacy of the Council’s decisions, without necessarily infringing on the prerogatives of the Council. Suggestions that were made:
  - A mechanism should be established to ensure that Member States whose interests are specially affected will be heard upon request in private meetings of the Council, as well as in the work of the subsidiary bodies.
  - Consistent consultations with potential TCC’s in the early phase of a new operation, with the participation of the host country, where appropriate, and regular substantive meetings during ongoing operations.
• As already stated, it was also argued that better access could be achieved by means of expanding on the mechanisms for interaction between UN bodies, most notably between the Security Council and General Assembly. Suggestions that were made:
  o The Security Council should issue special subject-oriented reports (article 24.3 Charter) for discussion in the General Assembly. This could include reports on the understanding of the mandate of the Security Council, e.g. what is the definition of “international peace and security”.
  o In addition to increased cooperation between the SC and GA, also a regularized, substantive dialogue should be established with ECOSOC, the Human Rights Council and the PBC (also on the implementation of the respective mandates).

As stated before, most Member States felt that measures as described above should be part of a reform package, that would eventually be voted on in the General Assembly. By and large, the permanent members indicated that they supported some level of reform of the working methods. Some of them stated that these measures should be adopted by the Security Council itself, and could not be ‘imposed’ by the General Assembly. This is a matter that would require further consultation.
Dear Excellency,

I am writing to follow up on my letter dated 3 August 2007, in which I outlined my intention to hold a meeting for the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and increase in the Membership of the Security Council Other Matters Related to the Security Council on 5 September 2007, in order to consider and adopt the draft report of the Working Group and recommend it to the General Assembly.

As you are well aware, the aforementioned meeting had to be rescheduled to a later date, in order to attempt to reach consensus among the Membership. I have held extensive consultations in the last ten days with Member States who wanted to amend the text of the report as well as those who proposed additions. While all Member States approached the matter in a constructive and flexible manner, this process did not result in achieving the agreement I was aspiring for.

In light of the time constrains of the current session of the Assembly, which officially concludes on 17 September 2007, and the remaining pending issues on the agenda of the 61st session that need to be concluded before then, and in view of the need to continue the work of the OEWG in the 62nd session while preserving and building on the positive momentum and spirit created in the 61st session, I am obliged to attach herewith a revised draft of the report that was circulated on the 3 August. I find that the attached version reflects, in my view, the only basis to achieve the broadest possible understanding necessary to conclude our work this session, and in order to ensure that the corresponding item remains on the agenda of the 62nd Session.

Therefore, it is my intention to convene a formal meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on Wednesday, 12 September in room 1, at 3 PM to consider and adopt the draft report. By adopting this draft, the report will be issued in the appropriate format and timing for the Assembly to take action on it by 17 September 2007.
Once again, I appeal to all Member States to exhibit the necessary constructiveness and flexibility in this regard, so that we could continue to move forward on this very important outstanding reform issue, which we all aspire to achieve as an integral part of the 2005 World Summit Outcome.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa

To
All Permanent Representative and
Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
DATE: 2 August 2007

TO/A: Communications Office

FROM/DE: Margie Kam, Officer-in-Charge
General Assembly Affairs Branch, DGACM

PAGES: (INCLUDING THIS PAGE / Y COMPRIS CETTE PAGES) 7

Please fax the attached letter to all Permanent Missions and Permanent Observers to the United Nations as soon as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.
Excellency,

As indicated at our last informal meeting on 19 July 2007, we need, at this stage, to consider the issue of continuing the work of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council in the upcoming 62nd session of the General Assembly, so that the momentum created during this session could be maintained.

I have, for your information, attached the draft report to be submitted for translation and issuance as a document of the Working Group in all UN official languages.

It is my intention to convene a formal meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on Wednesday, 5 September 2007, to consider and adopt the draft report to the General Assembly.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa

All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
Report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of
Equitable Representation on and Increase in the
Membership of the Security Council and Other
Matters related to the Security Council

Draft Report Submitted by the Chairperson

I. Introduction

1. In its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, the General Assembly decided to establish an open-ended working group to consider all aspects of the question of increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council.


4. In the United Nations Millennium Declaration, Heads of State and Government resolved, in respect of ongoing deliberations on Security Council reform, to intensify their efforts to achieve comprehensive reform of the Council in all its aspects (see General Assembly resolution 55/2, annex, para. 30).

5. In the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005, Heads of State and Government expressed support for early reform of the Security Council and recommended that the Security Council continue to adapt its working methods (see General Assembly resolution 60/1, paras. 153 and 154).

6. Following the deliberations of the Working Group, the General Assembly, in its decision 60/568 of 11 September
2006, decided that the Working Group should continue its work and should submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the sixty-first session, including any agreed recommendations. The present report is submitted pursuant to that decision.

II. Sixty-first session of the General Assembly

7. The issue of the reform of the Security Council continues to be among those issues addressed at the annual general debate of the General Assembly. Many Heads of State and Government and other high-level representatives of Member States expressed the views of their Governments on the issue during the general debate of the sixty first session of the General Assembly, held from 19 to 27 September 2006.

8. Member States also expressed their views on the reform of the Security Council when the General Assembly discussed the item entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters” (item 111) on 11 and 12 December 2006 (see A/61/PV.72-75).

III. Proceedings of the Open-ended Working Group during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly

A. Organizational matters

9. The President of the General Assembly, Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa (Bahrain), served as Chairperson of the Working Group.

10. Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz (Chile), Ambassador Mirjana Mladineo (Croatia), Ambassador Andreas D. Mavroyiannis (Cyprus), Ambassador Frank Majoors (Netherlands), and Ambassador Ali Hachani (Tunisia), were appointed as Facilitators by the Chairperson, on 8 February 2007, to interact with all Member States and to report back to her on the outcome of their consultations by the end of March 2007.

11. Later in the process, the Chairperson also appointed Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz (Chile) and Ambassador Christian Wenaweser (Liechtenstein) to carry the consultation process forward on the basis of the report of the Facilitators.
12. The abovementioned Ambassadors chaired a number of informal meetings and conducted informal consultations with individual and groups of countries.

B. Meetings, informal meetings and consultations of the Working Group

13. At its 1st meeting, on 8 February 2007, the Chairperson announced the appointment of the Facilitators and held general exchange of views.


15. During the inter-session of the sixty-first session of the General Assembly, the Facilitators conducted extensive informal consultations with various individual and groups of delegations. They also convened a number of informal meetings of the Working Group.

16. From 20 to 23 February 2007, the Facilitators chaired separately six informal meetings discussing the five themes proposed by the Chairperson. The Facilitators also jointly convened an informal interactive panel discussion on all 5 themes on Tuesday, 13 March. A report on the discussions at the informal meetings and the succeeding informal consultations was submitted to the Chairperson on 19 April 2007, and circulated to all Member States on 20 April 2007 (See Annex I).

17. At its 7th and 8th informal meetings, on 3 and 4 May 2007, the Working Group discussed the report by the Facilitators.

18. At its 9th and 10th informal meetings, on 19 July 2007, the Working Group discussed the follow-up report submitted to the Chairperson and circulated to all Member States on 26 June 2007 (See Annex II).

19. At the 11th meeting, on 2007, the Working Group considered its draft decision (A/AC.247/2007/L.1) and draft report to the General Assembly (A/AC.247/2007/L.2) submitted by the Chairperson.
C. Adoption of the report of the Working Group

20. At its --- meeting, on --- 2007, the Working Group considered and adopted the present report (A/AC.247/2007/L.2).

IV. Recommendations

21. At its --- meeting, on --- 2007, the Working Group concluded its work for the sixty-first session of the General Assembly. The Working Group decided to recommend that consideration of this item be continued at the sixty-second session of the Assembly, building upon the work done during previous sessions and with a view to facilitating the process of reaching general agreement bearing in mind the need to complete Security Council reform as an integral part of the ongoing United Nations reform process. To that end, the Working Group recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft decision:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its previous resolutions and decisions relevant to the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council,

"Having considered the report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council, which was established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, on its deliberations during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly,

"Bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000 adopted by Heads of State and Government\(^1\), in which they resolved, in respect of reform of the Security Council, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects,

"Recalling the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005, in which Heads of State and Government expressed support for early reform of the Security Council and recommended that the Security Council continue to adapt its working methods:"
“(a) Takes note of the report of the Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council on its work during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly;

“(b) Notes with appreciation the Chair’s initiative to stimulate an active discussion relating to the comprehensive reform of the Security Council by the Working Group;

“(c) Urges the Working Group to continue to exert efforts during the sixty-second session aimed at achieving progress in the consideration of all issues relevant to the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

“(d) Decides that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council should be considered during the sixty-second session of the General Assembly so that further concrete steps may be achieved;

“(e) Also decides that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to sixty-first sessions of the General Assembly and drawing on the experience of the sixty-first session, as well as the views to be expressed during the sixty-second session, and also taking into consideration the discussion on the process of implementation of the 2005 World Summit Outcome;

“(f) Further decides that the Working Group should submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of the sixty-second session of the Assembly, including any agreed recommendations.”

Notes

2 See General Assembly resolution 55/2.
26 June 2007

Excellency,

I have the honor to transmit to you, herewith, the Report just submitted to me by Their Excellencies Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz, the Permanent Representative of Chile, and Ambassador Christian Wenaweser, the Permanent Representative of Liechtenstein, pursuant to the mandate I have given them in my letter of 22 May 2007 to conduct consultations with the membership, on the basis of the five facilitator’s report of 19 April 2007, on how to move Security Council reform process forward in formats they may deem useful; and to report back to me on the outcome of these consultations before the end of June 2007.

I wish to thank Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz and Ambassador Christian Wenaweser for the dedicated and competent manner in which they have conducted this new phase of consultations on Security Council reform, in accordance with the mandate I gave them.

I am also grateful to Their Excellencies Ambassador Ali Hachani, the Permanent Representative of Tunisia; Ambassador Andreas D. Mavroyiannis, the Permanent Representative of Cyprus; Ambassador Mirjana Mladineo, the Permanent Representative of Croatia; and, Ambassador Frank Majoor, the Permanent Representative of Netherlands who have continued to advise me on Security Council reform.

I welcome this report which is intended to assist Member States in their further consideration of an intermediary approach, if they so choose. I agree that the decision whether to further pursue this approach lies with the Member States. I wish to underline that this report is complementary to the five Facilitators’ report of 19 April 2007, and the two documents should be read together.

The commitment to Security Council reform that all States undertook at the 2005 World Summit is yet to be fulfilled, and the prevailing view among the membership continues to be that status quo is not acceptable.

All Permanent Representatives and
Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
To allow all delegations to thoroughly review this report and receive guidance from their respective capitals, as appropriate, I have requested unofficial translations of the text in all other official languages. These will be made available as soon as possible, in advance of the informal open-ended meeting which I intend to convene on Thursday, 19 July 2007.

My personal commitment to the goal of Security Council reform remains unchanged and I stand ready to guide the membership in their future work. I concur with the view that, in order to move the process forward, the next stage should consist of intergovernmental negotiations.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa
Excellency,

On 3 and 4 May 2007, we held informal consultations to discuss the Facilitators' Report on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council, which I have communicated to you on 20 April 2007. These discussions have generated momentum on this important outstanding reform issue. We need to build upon this positive development if we are going to achieve further substantive progress in our collective efforts to reform the Security Council.

I wish to reaffirm my commitment to lead this process in a result-oriented manner. This is a process over which the entire membership should have collective ownership. I am therefore pleased to inform you of my decision to appoint Their Excellencies Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz, the Permanent Representative of Chile, and Ambassador Christian Wenaweser, the Permanent Representative of Liechtenstein, to conduct consultations with the membership on how to move the reform process forward, in formats they should deem useful. I have asked them to use the Facilitators' Report as the basis for these consultations. I expect them to report back to me on the outcome of these consultations before the end of June 2007.

Moreover, in view of their significant contribution to our deliberations as facilitators on Security Council reform, I have also asked Their Excellencies Ambassador Ali Hachani, the Permanent Representative of Tunisia; Ambassador Andreas D. Mavroyiannis, the Permanent Representative of Cyprus; Ambassador Mirjana Mladineo, the Permanent Representative of Croatia; and, Ambassador Frank Majoor, the Permanent Representative of Netherlands, to continue to advise me on this important matter.

All Permanent Representatives and
Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
We have a collective responsibility to pursue the goal of Security Council reform and I encourage Member States to continue to engage in this process in a constructive and flexible manner with a view to reaching the broadest possible agreement.

I shall personally continue to consult Member States and closely follow further developments on this matter.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa
Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that as outlined in my letter dated April 20, 2007, copies of the Report of the Facilitators to the President of the General Assembly on the consultations regarding “The Question of Equitable Representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council” are now available in all official UN languages in my office as well as in the Secretariat Room S-2925.


Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa

All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations New York
Excellency,

I have the honor to transmit to you, herewith, the Report of the Facilitators on the consultations regarding the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council.

These consultations represented a genuine attempt to assess the state of affairs concerning the longstanding issue of Security Council reform. The outcome of these consultations should help to maintain the momentum on Security Council reform in order to reach the broadest possible agreement on this important matter. The report contains a section “Notions on the Way Forward” that outlines a number of possible scenarios that Member States could take into account during forthcoming consultations.

The report emphasizes that Security Council reform is an integral part of the United Nations reform process; that maintaining the status quo is not acceptable; and, that flexibility by all Member States is key in order to achieve tangible results. Moreover, the report stresses the need to enhance Member States’ access to the Council, both in terms of increasing their chances to serve as members and, while not a member, to increase their involvement in the Council’s work. The report also underlines that enlargement should address the under-representation of developing countries as well as small States. It further highlights that enlargement and working methods are intertwined and need to be dealt with in a comprehensive manner; and, that under any scenario continued efforts should be made to improve the working methods of the Security Council.

All Permanent Representatives and
Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
In view of the current status of the reform process, the report invites Member States to explore new and emerging ideas as a means to move forward through a result-orientated process over which Member States should have collective ownership.

Against this backdrop, I share the Facilitators’ view that there is a path forward that Members States can build on taking advantage of the current momentum. I therefore invite you to give particular attention to the section “Notions on the Way Forward” in order to have a focused and productive discussion.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincerest appreciation and gratitude to the Facilitators, Their Excellencies Ali Hachani, the Permanent Representative of Tunisia; Andreas D. Mavroyiannis, the Permanent Representative of Cyprus; Mirjana Mladineo, the Permanent Representative of Croatia; Heraldo Muñoz, the Permanent Representative of Chile; and, Frank Majoor, the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands, for their dedication and for the skillful manner in which they have conducted these inclusive and transparent consultations on Security Council reform during the past three months.

Finally, I have requested unofficial translations of the text in all other official languages, in order to enable all delegations to make an in-depth review and consideration of the report. These should be ready by Wednesday, 25 April. To give Member States sufficient time to reflect on the report and, as appropriate, receive guidance from their respective capitals I intend to convene an informal meeting to discuss the report on Thursday, 3 May 2007.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa
Excellency,

Further to my letter of 13 February 2007, regarding the upcoming informal consultations of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council, I wish to draw your attention to the attached list of sub-items that Member States may find useful as reference tool during the consultations. A revised calendar of meetings is also enclosed.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al-Khalifa

All Permanent Representatives and
Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
Informal Consultations of the
Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable
Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security
Council and other Matters related to the Security Council

List of Sub-items for Reference

1. The size of an enlarged Security Council
   a) General principle
   b) Specific numbers

2. Categories of Security Council membership
   a) Enlargement in both permanent and non-
      permanent
   b) Enlargement in non-permanent for the time being
   c) Enlargement in non-permanent only

3. The question of regional representation
   a) The level of representation by regional groups in the
      Council
   b) Permanent and non-permanent seats for particular
      regions; group of States or particular countries

4. The question of the veto
   a) The use of veto
   b) Transitional arrangement on the use of veto
   c) Curtailment/elimination of veto
d) Should veto be extended to new permanent members

e) Number of affirmative votes required in an enlarged Council (with/without new permanent members)


I. Working methods

a) Working methods as part of the broader Security Council reform debate

b) Scope of the discussion on the Security Council working methods

c) Improvements on the working methods and transparency of the work of the Security Council

d) Substantive reforms that can be made to the working methods

II. Relationship between Security Council and General Assembly

a) Considering the issues that are of interest for both the Security Council and the General Assembly and coordination thereof
Calendar of the Informal Consultations Meetings of the
Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the
Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council

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Excellency,

In view of the upcoming informal consultations on Security Council reform, I wish to draw your attention to the attached table containing the calendar of meetings scheduled from 20 to 23 February 2007.

Consultations on each of the five themes will start with an open and inclusive informal meeting, in order to give the opportunity to all Member States to express their views on each of the subject areas. The meetings have been scheduled in sequence to enable a comprehensive exchange of views. If at the end of a given session the list of speakers has not been exhausted, the discussions should be resumed and carried over at the following session, before taking up a new theme.

As we resume our collective efforts on an important part of the overall reform of the United Nations we ought to strive to fulfil the commitment made by our leaders at the 2005 World Summit to achieve Security Council reform.

I invite delegations to actively participate in the consultation process and to express clearly their views on the different issues under consideration during the informal open-ended meetings, and at other meetings with me or the Facilitators.

I trust such an approach will be the most effective way to enable us to make an accurate reassessment of the current state of play on Security Council reform.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Haya Rashed Al-Khalifa

All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
Excellency,

In my letter of 22 December 2006, I underlined the growing desire of the membership to establish an open and inclusive consultation process to address the issue of Security Council reform. In this regard, I am pleased to confirm that the first meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council will take place on Thursday, 8 February 2007.

In light of paragraph 17 (e) of the Report of the Working Group [A/60/47 (supp)], this first meeting of the Working Group will provide an opportunity to exchange views on the relationship between the work of the Working Group and the process of implementation of the 2005 World Summit Outcome. This exchange should also include the mandate and functions of the Working Group, building upon the experience and progress attained by the Working Group since the beginning of its deliberations in January 1994.

Given the wish of the membership to consider Security Council reform in a fresh and creative manner and taking into account the comprehensiveness of the reform process, I propose that we start our deliberations around the following key issues, so that we can have a focussed and productive discussion. These issues are: the size of an enlarged Security Council; categories of membership; the question of regional representation; the question of the veto; and, the working methods of the Security Council and the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

All Permanent Representatives and
Permanent Observers to the United Nations
New York
I shall communicate to you soon the names and responsibilities of the five Facilitators who will assist me during the consultation process. I will request them to interact with all Member States in an open, inclusive and transparent way. I encourage you to engage with them in a frank and constructive manner during the various formats in which they will conduct their consultations. I expect them to report back to me on the result of their work in a consolidated manner by end of March 2007, so that we could all have an informed follow up discussion on the way forward.

I trust we will continue to work on the issue of Security Council reform with a view to reaching general agreement bearing in mind the commitment made by our leaders in the 2005 Outcome Document.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

[Signature]

Haya Rashed Al Khalifa
Statement of H.E. Ms. Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa, President of the 61st Session of the General Assembly, at the 8th Informal Meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have just listened to the last speaker of the 8th informal meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council for the sixty-first session.

You have unanimously reaffirmed the need to reform the Council.

In total, more than 60 delegations spoke. The large number of speakers and the presence of so many Permanent Representatives is a clear demonstration of Member States’ interest in and commitment to achieving a meaningful reform of the Security Council.

You have stated that maintaining the status quo is not an acceptable option. And, you have also emphasized the need to maintain the momentum that has been generated by the current process.

I am pleased with the warm welcome and overwhelming support you have expressed for the diligent work of the facilitators and their report. I once again commend the facilitators for performing their duties in good faith.

You have also acknowledged that the most important consideration at this stage is to establish a result-oriented process, which could enable us to reach a solution with the broadest possible agreement.

Excellencies,
I would like to point out that I established the facilitation process with a clear objective in mind: this was to provide the membership with a fair, objective and comprehensive assessment of the current state of affairs concerning Security Council reform.

Thanks to the dedicated work of the facilitators, I consider that we have achieved this objective. The challenge before us now is to take a few more steps forward.
I believe that the evaluation and suggestions contained in the report can serve as a good basis for our future discussions; without prejudging existing positions of Member States. You have called on me to continue to lead this process. I am personally committed to ensure that the current momentum is not lost.

I have carefully listened to your comments, views and suggestions. I will consider carefully all of them before reverting to you with my proposal on how best move the process forward.
Statement of H.E. Ms. Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa, President of the 61st Session of the General Assembly, at the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters related to the Security Council

Excellencies,
Distinguished delegates,

I would like to begin, by welcoming all delegations to the first meeting of the Open-ended Working Group of this session. I would also like to commend my predecessors and the Vice-chairs of the Working Group for their determination, over more than a decade, to find a way forward on this important matter. I would also like to thank the Secretary of the Working Group for his dedication and tireless efforts.

You will recall that last year the General Assembly decided, through resolution 60/568 of 11 September 2006, that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth through sixty-first session, and discussions on the process of implementing the 2005 World Summit Outcome, and in the context of paragraph 17 (e) of the Report of the Working Group.

As we resume our deliberations on Security Council reform this morning, we should also bear in mind the commitments made by our leaders at the World Summit to support early reform of the Council - as an essential element of our overall effort to reform the United Nations - in order to make it more representative, efficient and transparent, and to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy of its decisions.

To further these goals, World leaders also supported efforts to adapt the working methods of the Security Council, by increasing the involvement of States who are not members of the Council.

Excellencies,
Distinguished delegates,

Members States have demonstrated their interest in pursuing Security Council reform in a creative manner at the debates in the General Assembly on 11th and 12th of December 2006.

As I indicated in my letter of 24 January 2007, we could begin the process of consultations by focusing on a number of key issues. This thematic approach does not preclude any delegation from raising additional matters of significance in the context of Security Council reform.
However, I am convinced that this approach will allow us to have a more focused and productive discussion.

Against this background, I am pleased to announce the appointment of a number of Facilitators, from the five regional groups, who will assist me in carrying out the consultation process as follows:

- H. E. Mr. Ali Hachani, the Permanent Representative of Tunisia, will lead the consultations on, 'categories of membership';
- H. E. Mr. Andreas D. Mavroyiannis, the Permanent Representative of Cyprus, on, 'the question of the veto';
- H.E. Mrs. Mirjana Mladineo, the Permanent Representative of Croatia, on 'the question of regional representation';
- H. E. Mr. Heraldo Muñoz, the Permanent Representative of Chile, on, 'the size of an enlarged Security Council'; and,
- H. E. Mr. Frank Majoor, the Permanent Representative of Netherlands, on, 'the working methods of the Security Council and the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly'.

I would personally like to thank the Facilitators for accepting to perform these important responsibilities on my behalf.

I have asked them to interact with all Member States in an open, inclusive and transparent way, and I strongly encourage you to engage with them in a constructive manner during the various formats in which they will conduct their consultations. Notwithstanding the comprehensive nature of the consultation process and the relationship between the various issues, each Facilitator should lead consultations specific to the subject area that she or he is responsible for. The process of facilitation should reflect the views of the entire membership in a fair and factual manner, while underlining the areas of broad agreement within the Membership.

In due course, the Facilitators will inform you of their suggested work plans. I have asked them to report back to me on the outcome of their consultations by the end of March 2007.

At this point, we will have before us a consolidated report allowing the entire membership to have an informed follow-up discussion on the way forward.

Excellencies,
Distinguished delegates,

I should underline that, as President of the 61st session of the General Assembly, I will continue to be open to the views of all Member States. These consultations are the beginning of a process.
I appeal to all of you to work together in a constructive manner, in order to ensure the integrity of this process as we strive to achieve a comprehensive Security Council reform with the broadest possible agreement.

Thank you.

I would now like to give the floor to delegations for any comments.

Statements were made by 22 Delegations after which the President closed with the following statement.

Excellencies,
Distinguished delegates,

I am glad that the process that I have outlined today enjoys your full support.

I am also pleased with the constructive spirit of the meeting. I hope this will allow us to move ahead, away from the current status quo, to find a creative solution to this very important and outstanding reform issue.

I appeal to all of you to work together in a constructive manner, in order to ensure the integrity of this process as we strive to achieve comprehensive reform of the Security Council with the broadest possible agreement.

The Facilitators will begin the process of consultations during the week of the 19th of February, to allow all Member States enough time to reassess their views regarding each of the subject areas.

Each Facilitator will start the process of consultations with an inclusive informal meeting, to allow all Member States to express their views in a transparent manner on each of the subject areas.

My office will, in due course, inform you of the calendar of meetings.

Thank you very much for your attention.