



PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

5 June 2023

Excellency,

As a follow-up to my letter dated 28 April 2023, I have the honour to transmit herewith, a letter dated 2 June 2023 from H.E. Mr. Tareq M. A. M. Albanai, Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait and H.E. Mr. Alexander Marschik, Permanent Representative of Austria, co-chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on the Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and matters related to the Security Council, summarizing the progress achieved during this session and transmitting the updated document entitled '*Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters*'.

I convey my sincere thanks to Ambassador Albanai and Ambassador Marschik for their leadership role in the IGN on Security Council reform during the seventy-seventh session and commend their determination to take on an innovative approach and instill a new dynamic in this process.

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

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Csaba Kőrösi'.

Csaba KŐRÖSI

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



Permanent Mission of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations  
New York

 Permanent Mission  
of Austria to the  
United Nations in New York

2 June 2023

Excellency,  
Mr. President,

We have the honour to address you in our capacity as **Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations** on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (IGN) during the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.

At the outset, we would like to express our deep gratitude for the trust in having appointed us as Co-Chairs of the IGN during the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly and the support you have extended to us throughout this process. Without your personal commitment and engagement, the process would not have been able to move forward as it did.

***Progress achieved during this session***

We would also like to express our warm appreciation for the support that has been extended to us during the IGN process this session from Member States. Over the course of the 77<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, Member States participated in the IGN-process with a sincere determination to reform the UN Security Council, a readiness to engage with one another in an open and constructive manner, including on proposals that do not reflect their national positions, and an honest commitment to building convergences of positions. More than 90 Member States delivered statements, some on behalf of Groups of States, in the five formal informal meetings, five interactive dialogues and six “unformal” meetings between January and May 2023.

We have tried, to the best of our ability, to take on an innovative approach and to instill a new dynamic in this process in a manner that is in line with General Assembly Decision 62/557, whilst fully understanding and taking into consideration the growing sense of urgency regarding Security Council Reform. As such, we would like to recall the five innovative practices in the IGN process during this session:

- For the first time, IGN meetings have been **webcast** publicly (the first segment of the meetings). This step was long overdue and its introduction on 9 March 2023 and the subsequent webcasts have been very well-received by Member States. Its continuation will make the working methods of the IGN process more efficient, transparent and inclusive. From now on, reference can be made to positions previously explained, delegates that missed a statement can revert to the recordings, and positions are now publicly attributable.
- The launch of the specific **website** for the IGN process on 5 April 2023 was another important step. The website serves as a repository of the recordings of the webcasts, as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the IGN process as well as links to the statements of Member States. Continuing to upload and populate the repository with relevant IGN documents will further facilitate the work of Member States, particularly smaller delegations, and serve as a tool for deepening our discussions and understanding of positions.
- Much discussion has revolved during this session, as well as previous sessions, on the issue of the **working methods** of the current Security Council and a future expanded Council. As such, and to move this discussion forward in a more practical manner, the Co-Chairs have recommended in their letter to the Chair of the Security Council Informal Working Group (**IWG**) on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions dated 27 April 2023 to convene annual meetings between the IWG Chair and the IGN Co-Chairs to discuss ways and means whereby the two processes can best complement each other for the common goal of enhancing the working methods of the Security Council as soon as possible.
- An **Open-House discussion on Security Council reform** (“Taxel Talks”) with representatives from think tanks, academia, civil society and Member States was convened on 2 May 2023. This event was held with the aim of supporting the IGN process by providing a platform for an informal interactive discussion to generate innovative ideas, identify new approaches to bridge the gaps between positions and help move the reform process forward. The Co-Chairs also welcome the holding of another open think tank event on 1 June 2023 by a group of Member States to further contribute to the discussions.
- The **informal-informals** (“**un-formals**”) was a practice that was continued from the last session. During this session, the three sets of “unformal conversations” (six meetings) that were convened outside the United Nations set out to complement the IGN process by providing a platform for Member States to speak freely and in an

informal setting on a set of broad themes regarding the reform process. We are grateful for the active and collegial participation during those meetings which enabled us to address highly controversial political matters in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

### ***Revised Co-Chairs Elements Paper***

After conclusion of the fourth IGN Meeting held on 3-4 April 2023, the Co-Chairs circulated to Member States a letter dated 26 April 2023 containing the “Revised Co-Chairs’ Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters”. At the fifth IGN meeting held on 4-5 May 2023, Member States and Groups of States had the opportunity to express comments on the aforementioned Paper. Furthermore, the Co-Chairs also allowed for written comments on the Paper by Member States and Groups of States to be submitted to them by 22 May 2023. Having carefully considered the comments, we are pleased to transmit the final version of the Revised Co-Chairs’ Elements Paper (attached herewith). The Co-Chairs emphasize that this Paper reflects their personal understanding of the current state of the IGN discussions on the five clusters and their interlinkages, as well as other issues raised by delegations, including on procedural matters. It is our belief that the Co-Chairs’ Elements Paper for the 77<sup>th</sup> session will serve as a useful basis for taking the IGN process forward in the 78<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly. While significant divergences remain on the key issues of categories of membership and the veto, overall there has been a positive development with **more convergences and fewer divergences** reflected in the Co-Chair's Elements Paper, and several new elements or clarifications added to existing convergences and divergences. Nevertheless, it is clear that to overcome the remaining divergences, further in-depth discussions are necessary and long-held positions will have to be recalibrated.

### ***Way Forward***

In view of the strong sense of urgency that was expressed during the High-Level Debate at the beginning of the 77<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly and at all meetings of this IGN session to come to an early reform of the Security Council and the tangible momentum of the process this year, the Co-Chairs recommend that the work from this session be rolled over to the 78<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly. In view of the positive reactions and support by Member States, the Co-Chairs believe it would be useful to continue the five innovative practices that have been implemented during this session in future sessions.

In order to ensure that the IGN process moves forward towards elements and solutions that can garner the widest possible political acceptance during the 78<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, the Co-Chairs also recommend, based on the discussions held with Member States during the interactive dialogue on 5 May and the “un-formals” on 24 and 25 May, that the next round of the IGN process during the 78<sup>th</sup> session includes the following three elements:

- **Negotiations to reinforce and build convergences:** With a view to further increasing the understanding of positions and fostering convergences among IGN participants, all issues of the five clusters mentioned in paragraph (e) (ii) of UNGA Decision 62/557 should be addressed in a comprehensive and concentrated manner, better illuminating the interlinkages and connections among them.
- **Structured Dialogue on models proposed by States and Groups:** As mentioned in paragraphs d) and e) of UNGA Decision 62/557, the IGN works “*based on proposals by Member States*”. In order to enhance the understanding of details of the proposed models on Security Council reform submitted by individual Member States, regional groups and other groupings of Member States, the Co-Chairs should conduct a structured dialogue on individual proposals as they have been presented or submitted to the Co-Chairs and documented on the repository website. The Co-Chairs should lead discussions examining the individual models in depth enabling a better understanding of the different concepts, their impacts and consequences. This could assist States in converging around a conceptual approach that enjoys widest possible acceptance for the reform of the Security Council, and could allow Member States and Groups of States that have put forth specific models to reassess and adjust their proposals based on the reactions and comments of others. Member States and Groups of States are encouraged to submit their proposals to the Co-Chairs for circulation and publication on the repository.
- **Contribution for the Summit of the Future:** While the process of the IGN is distinct and separate from the OCA process, it is clear that the current parallel work strands on the future of the UN need to be coherent and mutually reinforcing. Member States engaged in the IGN during the 78th Session of the General Assembly need to be certain that the IGN negotiations will be conducive to and reflected in any Security Council Reform related outcome of the Summit for the Future in September 2024. In this regard, and to avoid any duplications, discussions should be held at the IGN to ensure that the Co-Chairs can convey a substantial contribution on Security Council Reform from the IGN to the coordinators of the outcome of the Summit.

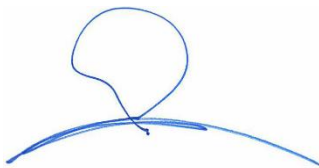
Mr. President,

Permit us to assure you once again that it has been a distinct honour to have been appointed to facilitate the IGN process during the 77<sup>th</sup> session. We take this opportunity to once more express our deep appreciation to you for the trust and confidence you have placed in us throughout the process during this session. We would also like to express to all Member States and Groups of States our profound gratitude for the support that they have extended to us. The progress achieved during this session would not have been possible without their active engagement, constructive approach, and commitment to moving this reform process forward. We are also grateful to the outside academics, think-tankers and experts who advised us and to those that shared their insights at the Open House. Finally, we would not have been able to do this work without the reliable support from Judit Cziko and Peter Stone of the PGA Office, from Svetlana Emelina-Sarte of DGACM and, in particular, our advisers Raphael Ruppacher at the Austrian Mission and Fahad Mohammad Hajji at the Kuwaiti Mission. They deserve our highest appreciation and gratitude.

Over the past months we have come to understand that Security Council reform is truly a team effort and we are grateful to have been part of this team this year.

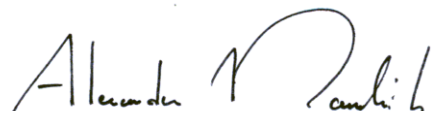
Finally, we would be grateful if this letter and its attachments could be circulated to all Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations in New York.

Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.



**Tareq Albanai**  
Ambassador

Permanent Representative of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations



**Alexander Marschik**  
Ambassador

Permanent Representative of the  
Republic of Austria to the United Nations

**To:**  
**H.E. Mr. Csaba Kőrösi**  
**President of the UN General Assembly**  
**United Nations Headquarters**  
**New York**

*Attached: The Co-Chair's letter of 3 March 2023 recommending webcasting and the establishment of a website, the Co-Chair's letter of 5 April 2023 regarding the launch of the website, the Co-Chair's letter of 27 April 2023 recommending convening an annual meeting between the IWG Chair and IGN Co-Chairs, the revised Co-Chair's Elements Paper.*



Permanent Mission of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations  
New York

Permanent Mission  
of Austria to the  
United Nations in New York

3 March 2023

Excellencies,

At the outset, we would like to once again express our deepest appreciation for the trust and confidence the President of the General Assembly has placed in us by appointing us as **Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations** on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (**IGN**) during the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly. We will continue to facilitate this process in a way that ensures its transparency, inclusivity and Member State driven nature.

So far, we have conducted **two rounds of IGN meetings**. The first meeting took place on 26 – 27 January 2023, and the second on 16-17 February 2023. Alongside these meetings, the Co-Chairs have met, engaged and consulted extensively with all interested Member States and Groups of States. These meetings and exchanges will continue during our Co-Chairmanship in order to find the spaces of convergence enabling Member States to move this important process forward.

Having said that, we believe we have found an **opening that will make a positive impact on the IGN process as a whole** – one that enhances its working methods and its transparency and maintains its credibility. Throughout the first and second IGN meetings, and from our extensive meetings and exchanges with Member States and Groups of States, the Co-Chairs have heard the consistent and clear calls for webcasting and record-keeping of the IGN meetings. This matter is of specific importance to smaller Permanent Missions, which face particular challenges in following the numerous parallel processes during the General Assembly session, as well as other meetings at the United Nations.

Based on the converging positions of Member States and Groups of States that we have been able to identify from our engagement with them, we would like to **recommend the following**:

1. To **webcast the first segment of each of the IGN meetings**, i.e. the debate where States have the possibility to deliver prepared statements until the list of speakers is exhausted. The second segment of the meetings, which takes the form of an interactive discussion, will not be webcast. We suggest to start proceeding this way at the next meeting of the IGN scheduled for 9 and 10 March 2023.
2. That the Office of the President of the General Assembly (OPGA) works with the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management (DGACM) to establish a **specific website** to act as a repository of the recordings of the webcasts as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the IGN process as well as links to the Member States' statements. As a starting point, we would kindly encourage Member States to email their statements to [e-statements@un.org](mailto:e-statements@un.org), preferably at least 2 hours in advance of each meeting, both to facilitate interpretation and to publish the statements on e-statements in the [United Nations Journal](#).

Excellencies,

We believe, and hope, that the aforementioned recommendations – when put into practice – will be most useful for the IGN process as it continues its diligent and assiduous negotiations towards the reform of the Security Council, whilst ensuring the transparency and inclusivity of the process for all Member States and stakeholders.

Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.



**Tareq Albanai**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations



**Alexander Marschik**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
Republic of Austria to the United Nations

**To: All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations, New York**





Permanent Mission of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations  
New York

 Permanent Mission  
of Austria to the  
United Nations in New York

5 April 2023

Excellencies,

We have the honour to address you in our capacity as **Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations** on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (**IGN**) during the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.

With reference to our letter dated 3 March 2023 regarding our recommendation to webcast the first segment of the IGN meetings and to establish a specific website to act as a repository of the recordings of the webcasts as well as of the letters, decisions, statements of Member States, and other documents related to the IGN process, we have the pleasure to inform you that the aforementioned website has been launched.

We hope that the establishment of this website will be another important step to push the IGN process forward, and ensure its transparency and inclusivity for all Member States. The link to access the website is as follows:

<https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/>

Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.

**Tareq Albanai**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations

**Alexander Marschik**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
Republic of Austria to the United Nations

**To: All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations, New York**



Permanent Mission of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations  
New York

 Permanent Mission  
of Austria to the  
United Nations in New York

27 April 2023

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacity as **Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations** on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (**IGN**) during the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.

Kindly find attached for your information a copy of our letter dated 27 April 2023 addressed to H.E. Ambassador Ferit Hoxha, Permanent Representative of Albania to the United Nations, in his capacity as **Chair of the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions**.

Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.

**Tareq Albanai**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations

**Alexander Marschik**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
Republic of Austria to the United Nations

**To: All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations, New York**



Permanent Mission of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations  
New York

 Permanent Mission  
of Austria to the  
United Nations in New York

27 April 2023

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacity as **Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations** on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (**IGN**) during the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.

At the outset, we take this opportunity to express our appreciation for your efforts, in your capacity as Chair of the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions, towards enhancing the working methods of the Security Council and improving the process by which the Council addresses issues concerning its documentation and other procedural questions.

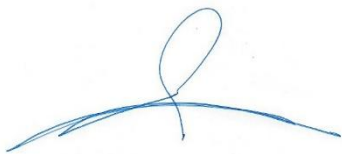
During the IGN meetings this session, many Member States highlighted the need to enhance the working methods of the Security Council in order to ensure its transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning. Several issues have been raised by Member States during this session's IGN meetings, as well as previous sessions, which relate to the working methods not only of a future – reformed and enlarged – Security Council, but delegations also consistently raise issues that relate to improvements of the working methods in the current set-up of the Council. These issues relate, amongst others, to the following:

- Reviewing the current system of penholdership.
- Enhancing the opportunities of non-members of the Security Council to participate in and contribute to the work of the Council and its subsidiary organs.
- Enhancing consultation between the Security Council and troop and police-contributing countries.
- Increasing interaction between the Security Council and the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, including the Peacebuilding Commission.
- Undertaking a revision of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure to reflect these measures and further considering the formal adoption of its Provisional Rules of Procedure.

- The effective and consistent implementation of Presidential Note 507 and other Presidential Notes related to the working methods of the Council.
- Further enhancing the Council's interaction, including consultations with non-Council members in the process of negotiation of resolutions, with specially affected Member States, in line with relevant provisions of the Charter.
- Further strengthening cooperation with regional and sub-regional organizations and arrangements.
- Early submission by the Security Council of annual reports of a more comprehensive and substantive nature.
- Increased transparency and accountability of the Council towards the wider membership, for example by holding interactive wrap-up sessions at the end of Presidencies.

Having heard these loud and clear calls from Member States within the IGN process, we believe there is potential for greater cooperation and coordination between the IGN and IWG processes. In this context, we would like to recommend the convening of an annual meeting between the IWG Chair and the IGN Co-Chairs, in order to discuss the aforementioned issues which have been raised regularly over the years during the IGN meetings, as well as deliberating ways and means these two processes can best complement each other for the common goal of enhancing the working methods of the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.



**Tareq Albanai**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations



**Alexander Marschik**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
Republic of Austria to the United Nations

**To:**

**H.E. Ambassador Ferit Hoxha**

**Permanent Representative of Albania to the United Nations  
Chair of the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural  
Questions**

## Co-Chairs IGN GA77

### **Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

#### **Introduction**

In the Declaration on the Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (A/RES/75/1 of 21 September 2020), the Heads of State and Government representing the peoples of the world, reiterated a call for reforms of the three principal organs of the United Nations and committed *"to instill new life in the discussions on the reform of the Security Council"*. In the United Nations Secretary General Report on "Our Common Agenda" it was indicated, among other things, that *"After decades of debate, the majority of Member States now acknowledge that the Security Council could be made more representative of the twenty-first century, such as through enlargement, including better representation for Africa, as well as more systematic arrangements for more voices at the table"*. At the General Debate during High-Level Week of the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA77), 73 Heads of State or Government, Ministers and other high-level participants referred to the need for a reform of the Security Council. This also indicates the renewed urgency for the continuation of the intergovernmental negotiations.

During the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the UNGA, the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN) has built on the informal meetings held during its seventy-sixth and previous sessions, and on the *"Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters"* circulated on 19 May 2022, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015 (known as the "Framework Document"), as stipulated by Decision 76/572 of 12 July 2022.

During the UNGA 77 IGN, the Co-Chairs convened five meetings: 26-27 January, focused on the process and the cluster on regional representation; 16-17 February, focused on the question of the veto; 9-10 March, focused on the clusters on the size of an enlarged Security Council and its working methods, as well as the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council; 3-4 April, focused on the categories of membership, views on how to rectify the historical injustice done to Africa, views on Latin American and Caribbean representation and views on Asia-Pacific representation as well as the status of the IGN documents; and 4-5 May to reflect on the way forward for the IGN process. In addition, the Co-Chairs convened six rounds of informal discussions ("un-formals") to complement the IGN meetings.

In order to seek new academic insights and expand the sources of inspiration for the intergovernmental discussions, the Co-Chairs in their personal capacity invited representatives

from Think Tanks and Member States to an informal Open House Discussion, entitled “*Thinking Outside the Horseshoe*” on 2 May 2023. The Co-Chairs also informally met with representatives of present and former Chairs of the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions (IWG) to discuss efforts to reform the working methods of the Council. As a follow-up, the Co-Chairs sent a letter to the Chair of the IWG on 27 April 2023, in which they informed the Chair about issues concerning the current working methods of the Security Council that were raised during the UNGA 77 IGN and recommended an annual meeting between the IGN Co-Chairs and the IWG Chair.

Pursuant to the recommendation of the Co-Chairs in their letter of 3 March 2023, from the third IGN meeting of 9 March 2023 onwards, the first part of the IGN meetings, i.e. the debate where States have the possibility to deliver prepared statements until the list of speakers is exhausted, were webcast in order to enhance the transparency and inclusivity of the IGN process. In the same letter dated 3 March 2023, the Co-Chairs recommended that the Office of the President of the General Assembly (OPGA) to collaborate with the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management (DGACM) to establish a specific website to act as a repository of the recordings of the webcasts as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the IGN process as well as links to the Member States’ statements. These two recommendations by the Co-Chairs (webcasting and website) were widely welcomed by delegations in the IGN meeting on 9 March 2023. The Co-Chairs in their letter of 5 April 2023 announced the launch of the website. It can be accessed via the following link: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/>.

Within the IGN process, there are several major Groups, representing a set of positions regarding the reform of the Security Council, including but not limited to: the African Group, the Arab Group, Benelux, CARICOM, the Group of 4, the L69 Group, the Nordic Group, and the Uniting for Consensus Group.

"The World Summit Outcome Document of 2005" adopted by GA Resolution A/RES/60/1 reaffirmed Member States' commitment to strengthen the United Nations, with a view to enhancing its authority and efficiency, as well as its capacity to address effectively, and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It supports in this context an early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of the overall effort to reform the United Nations to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions. Preceding the IGN and the World Summit Outcome Document of 2005, the General Assembly adopted several resolutions specifically on Security Council reform, including Resolution 47/62 from 11 December 1992, Resolution 48/26 on 3 December 1993, which created the Open-Ended Working Group on Security Council Reform, and Resolution 53/30 from 23 November 1998.

On 15 September 2008, the General Assembly adopted Decision 62/557 on the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters", which stipulates: *"To commence intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly during the sixty- third session of the*

*General Assembly, but not later than 28 February 2009, based on proposals by Member States, in good faith, with mutual respect and in an open, inclusive and transparent manner, on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council, seeking a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States".*

Decision 62/557 also mentions that IGN should refer to five key issues: categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

The IGN officially started in early 2009 and has continued since then in informal plenary of the General Assembly. Throughout the years of the IGN deliberations several documents have been produced by the previous Co-Chairs and submitted for consideration by Member States to help inform the IGN's future work, including the Framework Document of 2015, the "Elements of Convergence" circulated on 12 July 2016, the "Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration" circulated on 27 June 2017, the "Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration" circulated on 14 June 2018, as well as the "Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration" as circulated on 7 June 2019. Since IGN GA72 session, efforts have been made by the subsequent Co-Chairs to advance the work of the IGN. As a result there are now two documents referred to in the last roll-over decision (Decision 76/572 of 12 July 2022) - the Framework Document of 2015 and the "Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters" circulated on 19 May 2022.

This Elements Paper builds on the "*Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters*" circulated on 19 May 2022 and reflects the Co-Chairs' understanding of and views on the current state of the IGN process following the comments and remarks heard from Groups of States and Member States during the UNGA 77 IGN session.

## **I. Elements of General Convergence and Divergence**

### **Convergences**

- 1) The reform of the United Nations Security Council is in the interest of Member States and the United Nations system as a whole.
- 2) The reform of the Security Council is a Member States driven process.
- 3) The reform of the Security Council shall ensure an inclusive, transparent, efficient, effective, and accountable functioning of the Council.

- 4) The principle of democracy remains an important principle in Member States' efforts to reform the Council and needs to be further discussed.
- 5) The objective of reform is to make the Council more "broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions", as stipulated by "the World Summit Outcome Document" of 2005.
- 6) There is a growing general agreement on the need for the increased representation of developing countries and small- and medium-sized states, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS).
- 7) There is a wider recognition and broader support by Member States for the legitimate aspiration of the African countries to play their rightful role on the global stage, including through an increased presence in the Security Council, as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration adopted by the African Union in 2005. Redressing the historical injustice against Africa is viewed as a priority, and several delegations emphasized that Africa should be treated as a special case.
- 8) To improve the prospects for early reform, a continued, substantive, and enhanced engagement is of utmost importance.
- 9) Although expressing different views on substance, Member States are driving the IGN process forward together, in accordance with the usual practices and procedures of the General Assembly, and agree that the IGN process is the legitimate and most appropriate platform to pursue Security Council reform.
- 10) All five clusters are strongly interlinked and therefore negotiations should be based on the principle: "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed". Member States acknowledge that arriving to a successful conclusion of the IGN process will entail compromises and agree to support a possible outcome that strikes a balance between different interests and positions, while not reflecting in its entirety each individual proposal.
- 11) The IGN process should build on the work done in previous years, so that convergence will increase gradually, seeking solutions that garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States, as mentioned in Decision 62/557.
- 12) Member States support the introduction of the webcast for the first segment of each of the IGN meetings, namely the debate where delegations have the possibility to deliver prepared statements since 9 March 2023. Member States also support the retention of the second segment of each IGN meeting (interactive dialogues) as closed meetings without webcast. There is also broad convergence on the usefulness of the so-called "un-formals" organized by the Co-Chairs to complement the IGN meetings.
- 13) There is broad convergence on the usefulness of the repository in the form of a website of the IGN process, the establishment of which was recommended in the letter of the Co-Chairs of 3 March 2023 and which became operational on 5 April 2023. The website acts



as a repository of the webcasts, as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the IGN process and the links to Member States' statements. In order to maximize transparency and inclusivity of the process and facilitate the work of smaller delegations, the website needs to be continuously updated and populated with relevant documents related to the IGN process.

- 14) There is a growing sense of urgency for Security Council reform which has been expressed in the IGN process and in the General Debate during the High-Level Week. Although a large variety of opinions on the Security Council's reform persist, particularly in relation to the categories of membership; the question of the veto; and regional representation, many member states express a need to progress in the debate over these three clusters. It would be useful to discuss the suggestions contained in the documents submitted by the various groups and individual Member States more in detail. This would enhance the possibility of convergence and enhance the interlinkages between the five clusters, addressing them in a comprehensive manner.
- 15) When discussing the presence of new members in the Council, their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, as reflected in article 23 (1) of the UN Charter, should be given due regard.

### **Divergences**

- 1) There are repeated calls by a number of delegations, in particular the L.69 Group, the Benelux Group, the Group of 4, and the Nordic Group, to introduce a single consolidated document with attributions based on which the IGN negotiations should continue (text-based negotiations), while a number of delegations, in particular the Uniting for Consensus Group, the African Group, and the Arab Group, advocate for the need to first agree on the principles of the reform – particularly the model of reform - before proceeding to negotiations based on a text. One Member State proposed to move towards “text-oriented negotiations” in order to make progress on the reform.

## **II. Clusters**

### **1. Relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly**

#### **Convergences**

- 1) The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations, the only UN body with universal representation.
- 2) The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly should be mutually reinforcing and complementary, in accordance with and with full respect for their respective functions, authority, powers, and competencies as enshrined in the Charter, including in respect to matters related to international peace and security. In this regard, it is important to:

- 2.1 Ensure increased cooperation, coordination and the exchange of information among the Presidents of the Security Council and of the General Assembly and also with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in particular the Secretary-General,
- 2.2 Continue and institutionalize the practice of regular meetings between the President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly,
- 2.3 Strengthen the cooperation and communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in particular through the early submission by the Security Council of annual reports of a more comprehensive and substantive nature, and through a timely, informed and meaningful discussion in the General Assembly of the annual report of the Council and of special reports to the General Assembly, in full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>1</sup>,
- 2.4 Improve the participation in and access to the work of the Security Council and its subsidiary organs for all members of the General Assembly, to enhance the Council's accountability to the membership and increase the transparency of its work, in particular through:
  - 2.4.1 Continuing to hold open sessions, open briefings, open debates, informal interactive dialogues, Arria-formula meetings, and regular as well as substantive wrap-up meetings by the presidency<sup>2</sup>,
  - 2.4.2 Continuing the progress in the selection and appointment process of the Secretary-General as an example of cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly,
  - 2.4.3 Further enhancing consultations between the Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries throughout all phases of Council-mandated peacekeeping operations, in line with the relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>3</sup>,
  - 2.4.4 Increasing interaction between the Council and the subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly, including the Peacebuilding Commission, in line with the relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>4</sup>,
  - 2.4.5 Further enhancing the Council's interaction, including consultations with non-Council members in the process of negotiation of resolutions, with specially affected Member

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<sup>1</sup> Inter alia, Articles 15(1) and 24(3) of the UN Charter, and taking into account GA resolutions 51/193 and 59/313.

<sup>2</sup> In line with, inter alia, the Presidential Statement S/PRST/1994/81 of 16 December 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Inter alia, Article 31 of the UN Charter.

<sup>4</sup> Inter alia, Article 96 of the UN Charter.

States, in line with relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>5</sup>,

2.4.6 Further strengthening cooperation with regional and sub-regional organizations and arrangements, inter alia the African Union's Peace and Security Council<sup>6</sup>,

2.4.7 Further enhancing the transparency of the work of subsidiary organs of the Security Council.

- 3) Deliberations of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly (AHWG), including resolution 75/325 of 10 September 2021 and all other previous resolutions adopted by consensus relating to the GA revitalization, should be taken into consideration in discussions on this key issue.

### **Divergences**

- 1) Further ways to enhance the accountability of an enlarged Security Council to the UN membership continue to be explored.

## **2. Size of an enlarged Security Council and the Working Methods of the Council**

### **Convergences**

- 1) There is a shared agreement among Member States that the Security Council needs to be enlarged in order to be more representative of the current membership and reflective of the realities of the contemporary world.
- 2) The reform of the Security Council should lead to an expansion of the Security Council, and therefore, certain areas of working methods need to be addressed as a result of expansion, with a view to increasing the transparency, effectiveness, functionality, and accountability of an enlarged Council.

### Size of an enlarged Security Council

- 3) An enlarged Security Council should consist of a total of members in the mid-20s, within an overall range of 21-27 seats, with the exact number to emerge from the discussion of Member States on the key issues of "categories of membership" and "regional representation", and with the total size ensuring a balance between the representativeness and effectiveness of an enlarged Council<sup>7</sup>.

### Working methods of the Security Council

- 4) There is a need to regularly review the working methods of an enlarged Security Council

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<sup>5</sup> Inter alia, Articles 31 and 32 of the UN Charter.

<sup>6</sup> In line with, inter alia, Chapter 8 of the UN Charter.

<sup>7</sup> This would, at a minimum, entail amendments to Article 23 (1) and 23 (2) of the UN Charter.

and to adjust them as appropriate.

- 5) Majority required for decision-making: the number of affirmative votes required should be in line with the current practice<sup>8</sup>, with the exact number of votes required to emerge from the discussions of Member States on the key issues of "categories of membership", "regional representation" and "the question of veto"<sup>9</sup>.
- 6) In addition to the ongoing efforts of the Security Council towards keeping its working methods under consideration in its regular work, with a view to ensuring their effective and consistent implementation, including of Note 507, the Security Council should be invited to consider the following measures in light of the increase in its membership:

6.1 Adapting its working methods to ensure transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council,

6.2 Adapting and reviewing the working methods of its subsidiary organs with a view to enhancing transparency, consistency, and clarity,

6.3 Ensuring the full participation of all members of the Security Council in its work, with a special emphasis on encouraging greater participation of non-permanent members, including the opportunity to serve as penholders and to hold the presidency of the enlarged Security Council at least once during their tenure.

6.4 Enhancing the opportunities of non-members of the Council to participate in and contribute to the work of the Council and its subsidiary bodies, e.g. by ensuring the timely availability of the Council's working documents to the UN membership,

6.5 Undertaking a revision of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure to reflect these measures and further considering the formal adoption of its Provisional Rules of Procedure.

- 7) Delegations also consistently raise issues related to the current working methods of the Security Council in the IGN process, including on the question of pen-holdership, transparency towards the wider membership, the consistent implementation of Note 507 and the consultation processes for resolutions which could already be considered by the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural

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<sup>8</sup> Examples (based on the assumption "half plus one", while the interpretation of the current provision could also be interpreted as 60% or majority +1):

- If an enlarged Council consists of 21 members, 12 votes would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 22 members, 12 votes would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 23 members, 13 votes would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 24 members, 13 votes would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 25 members, 14 votes would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 26 members, 14 votes would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 27 members, 15 votes would be required

<sup>9</sup> This would, at a minimum, entail amendments to Article 27 (2) and 27 (3) and to Article 109 (1) of the UN Charter.

Questions. The proposal of the IGN Co-Chairs for an annual meeting between the IGN Co-Chairs and the IWG Chair to share information in this regard is supported by delegations.

### **Divergences**

- 1) While there is a convergence on the need to enlarge the Council and ensure a balance between the representativeness and effectiveness of an enlarged Council, the specifics will depend on the outcome of discussions regarding the clusters on categories of membership and regional representation.

### **3. Categories of membership**

#### **Convergences**

- 1) In an enlarged Security Council, the expansion of the category of 2-year term non-permanent members is accepted by all Member States as part of a comprehensive Security Council reform.

#### **Divergences**

- 1) During the IGN meetings, the following options in a reformed Security Council have been presented by Member States:
  - a. Enlargement of the Security Council in both the permanent and 2-year non-permanent categories; and
  - b. Enlargement of the Security Council with non-permanent seats only; either with 2-year term non-permanent seats only or 2-year term non-permanent seats and/or the possibility of immediate re-election and/or longer term non-permanent seats.
- 2) While there are different views on the categories of membership in a reformed Council, a significant number of delegations argue that the enlargement should include expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent categories.
- 3) A number of delegations, in particular the Uniting for Consensus Group, stress that only periodic elections of the members of the Security Council can guarantee full accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly and enable regular assessments whether the composition of the Council reflects the current membership and the realities of the contemporary world.

## 4. The question of the veto

### Convergences

- 1) The question of the veto is a key element of Security Council reform.
- 2) A significant, growing number of Member States support limitations to the scope and use of the veto.
- 3) There is a strong and growing support among Member States for voluntarily refraining from the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocity crimes. Initiatives in this regard include (1) the "Political statement on the suspension of the veto in case of mass atrocities" presented by France and Mexico during the 70th session of the GA<sup>10</sup>, (2) the "Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes"<sup>11</sup> by the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) Group.

### Divergences

- 1) The following options in regards to the veto are being discussed by Member States:
  - a. In the case of enlargement of the Security Council in the permanent category:
    - i. Extension of the veto to all new permanent members; or
    - ii. No extension of the veto; or
    - iii. Extension of the veto to be decided on in the framework of a review.
  - b. Abolition of the veto,
  - c. Opposition in principle to the veto but with the caveat that as long as it exists, it should be made available to all permanent members of the Security Council, including any potential permanent members from Africa - based on the common African position reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration adopted by the African Union in March 2005.
  - d. Limiting the scope and use of the veto. The following options have been suggested by Member States, amongst others:
    - i. Introducing a possibility for the General Assembly to overrule a veto with a large majority.
    - ii. Limiting the scope of the veto to enforcement measures under Chapter VII.
    - iii. A more consistent application of Art. 27 (3) of the UN Charter.
    - iv. Introducing the necessity of more than one negative vote of permanent members to count as a veto in an enlarged Security Council, in case of

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<sup>10</sup> A/68/PV.5

<sup>11</sup> A/70/621

enlargement in the permanent category and expansion of the veto to new permanent members.

## **5. Regional representation**

### **Convergences**

- 1) Enlargement of the Security Council should serve to improve the representation of the underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups.
- 2) An increase in membership should allow for fair and equitable representation of all regional groups, as well as cross regional balances, while maintaining an effective and operational character of the Council.
- 3) There has been overall agreement to the need for an equitable representation of developing countries, small states, cross-regional groups such as Small Island Developing States, and Arab States. In this regard, there is significant support for the creation of a rotating cross-regional seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS). However, more in-depth discussions are needed to clarify questions pertaining to the specific mechanics of nomination and rotation for cross-regional groups.
- 4) There has been overall agreement that Africa should be equitably represented in a reformed Security Council.
- 5) Africa reserves its right to select Africa's representatives in the Security Council, based on its criteria for selection, as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. Candidates would then be considered for election by the General Assembly.
- 6) Representatives from the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Countries (GRULAC) and the Asia-Pacific Group (APG) stressed the need for fair representation of their respective regional groups.
- 7) Members States have expressed different views with regard to the distribution of additional seats among the regional groups, but the majority of proposals call for the distribution of additional seats, whether non-permanent or permanent, to entail no less than 3 additional seats for African States, 3 for Asia-Pacific States, 2 for Latin American and Caribbean States, 1 for Western European and Other States, 1 for Eastern European States, 1 for Arab States and possibly 1 rotating cross-regional seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

### **Divergences**

- 1) The appropriate ratio between the number of non-permanent members and the number of countries in regional groups continues to be discussed.
- 2) The UN Charter, in Article 24(1) states: *“In order to ensure prompt and effective action*

*by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf*'. The question of whether a country represents only itself in the Council, its region, or the whole of UN membership continues to be discussed. Member States' views on this issue differ depending also on the category of membership in question.

- 3) In relation with equitable representation, further clarification is needed on the distinction between the concepts of "equitable geographic distribution" and "regional representation". In case of enlargement in the permanent category, the question whether the additional permanent seats will be allocated in the amended Charter to individual Member States or a region continues to be discussed.
- 4) In seeking a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States for an enlarged Security Council, ways should be sought to ensure consistency between the principles listed in paragraph d) of GA decision 62/557 with Article 23 (1) of the UN Charter which refers 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*".
- 5) Proposals put forward during IGN GA77 meetings as well as previously reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015 (known as the Framework Document) on the distribution of additional seats under various reform models include, but are not limited to:
  - 5.1 In case of expansion of non-permanent seats, including with a longer term, some Member States, including the Uniting for Consensus group, proposed:

African States: 3 longer-term seats; Asia-Pacific States: 3 longer-term seats; Latin American and Caribbean States: 2 longer-term seats; Western European and Other States: 1 longer-term seat; Eastern European States: 1 two-year term seat; Small States, including Small Island Developing States [SIDS]: 1 two-year rotating seat across all regions.

Mexico proposed the following model during the UNGA 77 IGN<sup>12</sup>: African States: 3 longer-term seats; Asia-Pacific States: 2 longer-term seats; Latin American and Caribbean States: 2 longer-term seats; Western European and Other States: 1 longer-term seat; Eastern European States: 1 two-year term seat; Small States, including Small Island Developing States [SIDS]: 1 two-year rotating seat across all regions. Among the five longer-term elected seats assigned to Africa and Asia-Pacific, one shall be always assigned to an Arab country.

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<sup>12</sup> See A/77/717.



5.2 In case of expansion of both permanent and non-permanent seats, some Member States, including the African Group, the Arab Group, CARICOM, the Group of 4, and the L.69 Group, proposed:

5.2.1 New/additional permanent seats for: African States: no less than 2 or 2; Asia-Pacific States: 2; Latin American and Caribbean States: 1; Western European and Other States: 1; Arab States: 1.

5.2.2 Additional two-year non-permanent seats for: African States: no less than 2, 1, 1-2, 2; Asia-Pacific States: 1; Eastern European States: 1; Latin American and Caribbean States: 1; Western European and Other States: 1; Small Island Developing States [SIDS] across all regions that contain SIDS: 1; Arab States across regions: proportionate representation.