



PERMANENT MISSION OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
*on behalf of the L69 group*



# HANDBOOK ON SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM: 25 YEARS OF DELIBERATIONS

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# Foreword

**T**wenty-five years have elapsed since the adoption of RES/47/62 of December 11, 1992, which called for the inclusion in the provisional agenda of the General Assembly's 48th session the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council." Different formats, numerous statements and discussions have followed its adoption. "The Handbook on Security Council Reform: 25 Years of Deliberations" is intended to contribute to the establishment of the institutional memory on this vital issue of Security Council Reform and serves as a practical tool for contextualizing and traversing the landscape of this twenty-five year journey.

I am proud of the herculean efforts of our colleagues in the L69, a diverse group of developing countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Asia and the Pacific, who are united by a common cause – to achieve lasting and comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council. This project is open-ended and the L69 invites all UN Member States to submit policy papers, statements and any other documents of relevance for inclusion in the more-expansive electronic version of this handbook.

The hard copy will provide a broad overview of the reform process to date and will allow for quick and easy access to important decisions and developments over the past twenty-five years. We have created this handbook for all delegations from diplomatic missions large, medium and small, but we believe this will be especially helpful to smaller sized missions and new UN delegates.

Secretary-General Antonio Gutteres began his tenure in 2017 by embracing the call for meaningful reforms across the broad spectrum of the United Nations System. Reform, however, would remain incomplete if we do not address the composition, size and working methods of the Security Council, while enhancing its representativeness and ensuring its efficiency and effectiveness.

The venerable Mahatma Gandhi once said "healthy discontent is the prelude to progress" and so I remain optimistic. Healthy discontent can be seen all around and is growing. In compiling the papers and viewpoints documented in this Handbook we were conscious of the plethora of voices and diverse propositions on the table. This has strengthened our conviction that we have collected all the viewpoints that can serve as a prelude to real progress.

## **I. Rhonda King**

L69 Chair / Spokesperson

Permanent Representative of

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations

New York, May 2018



# Introduction

*“Never interrupt someone doing what you said couldn’t be done.”*

**Amelia Earhart**

I was privileged to lead the Intergovernmental-Negotiations (IGN) process on UN Security Council reform in 2014 and 2015 during the 69th Session of the UN General Assembly (GA). Throughout my Chairmanship I sought to build the scaffolding for a text that could advance the negotiation process. The effort to construct a comprehensive framework text represents a modest contribution to a much larger body of work, documentation for which is compiled in this handbook.

The desire to make the Security Council (the Council) more representative has been a preoccupation since the 1950s, particularly for newly independent states that secured UN membership following the historic wave of decolonization that began during that decade. In the interest of broader representation, developing countries immediately sought greater voice and participation in decisions made by the Council. Working in solidarity, they championed the 1963 GA resolution, 1991 A (XVIII), which resulted in the amendment of the UN Charter to expand the membership of the Council from 11 to 15 through the addition of 4 non-permanent members.

It is now more than 50 years since this sole enlargement of the Council. In hindsight, it is remarkable that the Charter amendment on this weighty institutional issue took such a brief period to be negotiated and adopted; during a single GA session (the 18th). Following its adoption, the even more difficult ratification process was completed by 1965, well within two years. In contrast, the current consideration of this matter has been plodding along annually from 1979, since the 34th Session of the GA.

Following the initial placement of the issue on the agenda of the GA in 1979, it was not until December 1992 that structured deliberations on Council reform were initiated. This occurred during the GA's 47th Session, via resolution 47/62. Through this landmark resolution, adopted 25 years ago, 35 members of the Non-Aligned Movement requested that the Secretary-General table a report on a “possible review of the membership of the Security Council”. They believed that by subjecting the reform of the Council to the GA's standard mechanisms of decision making, disagreements surrounding central questions on its structure and composition could be bridged.

The Secretary-General's report, issued in July 1993, led to the establishment of an Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG) on 3rd December 1993, for the purpose of enabling Member States to "consider all aspects of the question" of Security Council reform. Since then, significant diplomatic resources have been expended and ink spilt by academics on the formulation of various reform models. However, other than the modest expansion of its membership in 1965, the Council's features remain largely reflective of its 1945 configuration.

Beginning in early 2009, Member States have grappled with this important and complex issue within the informal IGN process, pursuant to GA Decision 62/557. While the IGN started with ambitious intentions, it has been hampered by an inability to move beyond procedural concerns. As a consequence, Member States have yet to narrow the gaps in their positions. The absence of real give and take negotiations, the hallmark of attempts to forge consensus on all contentious issues at the UN, has elicited significant diplomatic fatigue.

UN reform has been described as "a campaign of a thousand skirmishes, rather than one decisive battle". This is doubly so for the deliberations on Security Council reform, which are truly like no other UN negotiation. The reform process is highly influenced by external factors, such as geo-political dynamics, regional rivalries, as well as power shifts between major states. These factors are at the root of concerns held by those who espouse a conservative, incremental approach to reform.

A question that has frequently arisen is whether the composition of the Council, which reflects the geo-political power hierarchy established in the aftermath of World War II, remains appropriate for today's changed international situation? With multilateralism and the international rules-based order under threat, and with rising powers and emerging markets increasingly shaping world events, there is ample evidence that it does not. The reform endeavor presents, therefore, an opportunity for Member States to refashion the Council in a manner that is better suited to 21st century geo-political realities.

Concerns about the implications that Council reform will have on global power relations are not the sole cause for the lack of progress, as the procedures of the IGN create their own obstruction. Some insist that decisions taken should be made on the basis of overwhelming consensus if not unanimity. However, this has served to deepen the gridlock that has impeded advancement of negotiations over the years. Such procedural obstacles could be removed if Member States adopt modus operandi whereby deadlocks on important matters are decided via a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. This would be in line with the Charter's and GA's two-thirds majority rule regarding decisions on "important questions". It would also be consistent with GA resolution 53/30 of 1st December 1998, which stipulates that no resolution on the question of Security Council reform can be adopted without the agreement of at least two thirds of its members. It is not my intention, however, to put too fine a point on the importance of adjusting the IGN's procedural mechanisms.

My experience at the coalface of this process reinforced a key lesson, which is that real movement will only take place if sufficient political will is brought to bear at higher levels. This is as the framers of the UN Charter envisaged, for the Council was intended to serve as the sentinel of international peace and security; which it accomplishes through the exercise of politically-influenced collective decision-making. As such, its inherently political nature stimulates questions that merit politically astute responses.

For instance, given that the effectiveness of the Council is measured by its ability to maintain international peace and security, how would this be enhanced by the enlargement of its membership?

On the other hand, as the Council's effectiveness is not solely related to its size, could this not be achieved through more wide-ranging reforms of its working methods? The initiatives taken by some countries to garner support for a collective and voluntary undertaking to refrain from using the veto in situations involving mass atrocities is a case in point.

There are other pertinent questions that arise, such as: how would the inclusion of new permanent members affect the internal dynamics of the P5 "concert function"? It is entirely appropriate for such questions to be debated within the IGN, an inclusive multilateral forum for the exchange of ideas and viewpoints on critical issues.

There are some who believe that the IGN should be opened to broader multi-stakeholder involvement, so that grass-roots perspectives and transparency can be injected into the negotiations. Whether this would be a feasible way to proceed is debatable. What is certain, however, is that the consequence of maintaining the current approach, in which well-known positions and proposals are repeated *seriatim* year after year, is that the reform "negotiations" will continue to meander along its desultory path, devoid of any sense of urgency.

I believe the political will required to kindle reform will arrive when a tipping point is reached. This will reflect an accumulation of frustration on the part of the broader international community at the Council's inability to resolve critical global peace and security issues. These issues will not only encompass traditional intra and inter-state conflicts, e.g. Syria, Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but emerging threats and non-traditional challenges, such as acts of terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors.

One cannot know when the moment of inflection that triggers Council reform will be reached. In the interim, Member States can stimulate progress by undertaking pro-active diplomacy, through demonstrating the courage to subject their positions and proposals to text-based negotiations. I am reminded of Henry Kissinger's dictum that when bridging gaps one "must act at the outer edge of the possible"; for this, "no little daring is required."

As I stated to the GA upon my appointment to chair the IGN, "It will be impossible to achieve results in the absence of the hope that our aspiration for reform will ultimately be realized, or the expectation that Member States will come to the negotiating table imbued with a spirit of good faith, and the assuredness that which may appear beyond our reach is well within our grasp."

I am confident that the documents assembled in this handbook will prove useful in ensuring that this Gordian knot of international diplomacy is finally loosened.

### **E. Courtenay Rattray**

*Former Chair of the SCR IGN during the 69th Session*

*Ambassador/Permanent Representative of Jamaica*

*to the United Nations, New York*



**SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM ON  
THE AGENDA OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

*The Road to the Open Ended Working Group:  
1993-2008*



# SECURITY COUNCIL REFORMS ON THE AGENDA OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## Road to the Open Ended Working Group

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**T**he Charter of the United Nations, signed on 26 June 1945, provided for a Security Council comprising of 11 members - 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent members. The Charter was amended on 17 December 1963 to increase the number of non-permanent members from 6 to 10. The resolution, mandating the amendments was adopted by vote with one permanent member voting against and two permanent members abstaining. Jamaica was the first country to ratify the amendments which entered into force on 31 August 1965 when the final Security Council permanent member, the United States of America, deposited its Instrument of Ratification. With the exponential increase in the United Nations' membership over the years, however, these changes were no longer satisfactory.

The question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council was included in the agenda of the General Assembly in 1979 at the request of Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Guyana, India, Maldives, Nepal, Nigeria and Sri Lanka. While from 1980 to 1991, the General Assembly adopted annual decisions on the issue which ensured that the item remained inscribed on the agenda, the consideration of the item was deferred each year till 1992.

At its forty-seventh session, in 1992, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit written comments on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council and requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly at its forty-eight session a report on the same. The report of the Secretary-General with comments from 79 Member States and three regional groups (African Group, Arab States and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)) facilitated the start of annual and comprehensive consideration of the issue by the General Assembly.

The landmark resolution 48/26 of 1993 which created the Open Ended Working Group (OEWG) on Security Council Reform, emphasized, *inter alia*, the need to review the membership of the Security Council in view of the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations, especially of developing countries as well as changes in international relations. It is apposite to note that the membership of the United Nations stood at 152 in 1979 when the agenda item on the reform of the Security Council was introduced but by 1993 this number had increased to 184.

After the establishment of the OEWG in 1993, the General Assembly adopted

annual resolutions on the reform of the Security Council and on each occasion decided to continue the work of the OEWG.

The OEWG was chaired by the President of the General Assembly (PGA), assisted by the two Vice Chairpersons who served as the Bureau. The Secretariat also provided administrative assistance for the work of the OEWG. The work of the OEWG was undertaken through formal and informal meetings, as well as consultations with individual Member States and groups of Member States and these activities would often be carried out over several days and weeks at a time. The reports of the OEWG reflected the extensive work undertaken on various issues relating to the reform of the Security Council. Given space constraints, this publication includes only indexes of the reports of the OEWG with the full reports available as supplements in the e-version of the handbook.

The frequency of meetings of the OEWG was comparatively greater than what obtains under the current Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) process. In 1998, for example, the OEWG had convened a record 56 meetings. On account of these frequent meetings, there was a greater level of engagement on the reform issue.

In 1997 PGA Razali Ismail (Malaysia) presented a draft resolution for the consideration of the OEWG which engendered significant debate on the substance of the matter. Despite being an informal effort, it was a nevertheless a serious effort to advance the discussions on Security Council reforms. Over the years the topics under discussion in the OEWG crystalized

into two clusters. Cluster 1 encompassed the issue of increase in membership and related matters (expansion of the permanent and non-permanent categories of membership, criteria for expansion, size of the Council, periodic review of the reform of the Council etc.) and cluster 2 took in working methods of the Security Council and transparency of its work. It became increasingly clear in the early years of the first decade of the 21st century that given the lack of progress on Cluster 1 topics, there was a need for greater efforts to address those issues. This concern was reflected in the decision of the OEWG in the 54th session (2000) which acknowledged the need “to exert efforts during the forthcoming session, aimed at achieving progress in the consideration of all issues relevant to the question of equitable representation”.

Speaking at the Korea Conference on the United Nations in the Republic of Korea on 1 April 1996, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali acknowledged the correlation between the reform of the Security Council and the grave and urgent crises that the United Nations as an Organization was facing at the time. He further acknowledged the widely held view that enlargement of the permanent category ‘is in order’.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan also spoke of the need for reform of the Security Council on several occasions and reflected this perspective in his various reports on the UN agenda and its work. In September 2003, he declared “we are an organization of sovereign States, but the structure of the Council has not changed and I think it is about time that we took the

reform very seriously. It will entail expansion in membership. It could be increase in permanent membership as well as in ordinary, elected membership.”

The issue of the reform of the Security Council also featured at the various multilateral summits convened during this period including at the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations Conference in 1995, the Millennium Summit in 2000 and the World Summit in 2005. A High level 16-member panel of prominent politicians, diplomats and development experts was appointed by UNSG Kofi Annan in November 2003, to assess the threats then facing the international community, to evaluate the UN's ability to address those challenges, and to recommend policy and institutional changes to deal with them. In its report, the panel highlighted the principles to be met by the Security Council Reforms which amongst other things, included the need to bring into the decision-making process countries more representative of the broader membership, especially of the developing world and that the reforms are now a necessity. The issue was also discussed at other fora outside of the United Nations including at the African Union summits as well as at the summits of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). These developments were accompanied by a further evolution of the positions of several countries on the issue which led to the formation of a number of negotiating groups. The positions adumbrated by a number of these groups were endorsed at the summit level within the respective groups. Groups whose positions have been endorsed at the summit level include G4, CARICOM, the African Group, *inter alia*.

In March 2005, the African Group adopted a position on Security Council Reform called the Ezulwini Consensus which clarified Africa's position on several issues relating to the reform.

The 'Uniting for Consensus' group (UfC) (with some members from the erstwhile Coffee Club) was also formed around the same time and held the position that there should be no expansion in the permanent category of membership but that there should instead be an expansion in non permanent seats only. During the discussions in the OEWG, several delegations requested clarity on the positions of the Permanent Members of the Security Council on the reform of the Council. In response to these requests, some of the Permanent Members have over the years, presented their positions but some have not explained what their position is on crucial issues such as the question of the veto and categories of membership.

Around 2005, several attempts were made to present draft resolutions from major groupings so as to initiate a serious debate on key issues. However, none of these resolutions were voted upon. Furthermore, these efforts were not adequately captured in the discussions of the OEWG and informal consultations were held by the Vice Presidents and the Facilitators appointed by the PGA. During these consultations, the idea of taking the reform process to its next logical phase, i.e. negotiations, was discussed and supported by a large number of delegations. In their report to the PGA on their consultations, the Facilitators, the Permanent Representatives of Chile and Liech-

tenstein, noted that “*Future negotiations would need to be conducted on the basis of a text containing concrete elements on all the negotiables identified in the present report’.....’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.*”

Following these critical developments, the General Assembly took a decision in

2008 to begin a process of intergovernmental negotiations (IGN). The IGN began in February 2009. While in its Decision 63/565 and subsequent Decisions on the issue, the General Assembly consistently decided to also convene the OEWG, “if Member States so decide”, the OEWG has not convened since 2008 neither has any Member State requested that meetings under this mechanism be reactivated.

# 1963

## Report of the Special Political Committee on Question of Equitable Representation of the Security Council amongst other things

UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL  
A/5675  
16 December 1963  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

Eighteenth session  
Agenda items 81, 82 and 12

QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
AND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL  
[chapter XIII (section VI)]

Report of the Special Political Committee

Rapporteur: Mrs. Huguette ACEARD (Dahomey)

19  
1  
1963

1. In a letter dated 16 September 1963 (A/5519), the Permanent Representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Yemen requested the inclusion in the agenda of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly". In an explanatory memorandum accompanying the request it was stated that rule 38 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly had laid down that the General Committee should be so constituted as to ensure its representative character. In view of the fact that in recent years a large increase had taken place in the membership of the United Nations, particularly from Asia and Africa, the General Committee had lost its representative character and no longer reflected the principle of equitable geographical distribution. The memorandum recalled

that in 1957 the General Assembly, by its resolution 1192 (XII), had increased the number of vice-presidencies from nine to thirteen. Since then, however, the membership had further increased from 82 to 111, of which 56 Members came from Asia and Africa. In view of that increase, the sponsors of the item felt it necessary that the Assembly, at its eighteenth session, should consider again the question of the composition of the General Committee.

2. In a letter dated 16 September 1963 (A/5520), the Permanent Representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Thailand, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Yemen requested the inclusion in the agenda of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council". In an explanatory memorandum accompanying the request it was stated that since 1945, sixty new Member States had been admitted to the United Nations. That increase was mainly due to the emergence and admission to the United Nations of a large number of new States from Africa and Asia. At present, the Member States belonging to those two continents constituted more than half the membership of the United Nations. In view of that development and the likelihood of further increase in membership, it had become necessary to review the composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, with a view to providing for a more equitable representation that would reflect the increase in the membership of the United Nations.

3. Section VI of chapter XIII of the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/5503) reported the adoption of two resolutions by the Council at its thirty-sixth session. The first (974 B (XXXVI)), adopted on the recommendation of the Economic Commission for Africa, proposed to the General Assembly that all measures be taken to ensure adequate representation of Africa in the Council on the basis of equitable geographical distribution. The second (974 C (XXXVI)) urged the Assembly, in the light of the additional increase in the membership of the United Nations, to take the necessary action at its eighteenth session to bring about an appropriate increase in the membership of the Council, in order to enable it to remain the effective and representative organ envisaged in Chapters IX and X of the Charter.

4. At its 1210th plenary meeting, on 20 September, the General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of its General Committee, decided to include the three above items in its agenda and to allocate them to the Special Political Committee for consideration and report.

5. At the 416th meeting of the Special Political Committee, on 21 November, it was agreed that the Committee would examine simultaneously the three items on its agenda. It was further agreed, however, that draft resolutions should relate specifically to a single item, and would be voted upon separately. The Committee discussed the three items from the 417th to 429th meetings, held between 27 November and 16 December.

6. At the 421st meeting of the Committee, on 9 December, the representative of the United Arab Republic introduced a draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2), sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen and Yugoslavia. The joint draft resolution provided, in its operative part, that the General Assembly would (i) decide to amend rules 31 and 38 of its rules of procedure by increasing to sixteen the number of Vice-Presidents specified in each rule; (ii) decide that the sixteen Vice-Presidents and the seven Chairmen of the Main Committees should be elected as provided in the annex to the resolution; (iii) decide to cancel all previous resolutions and stipulations in connexion with the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly and to modify all related provisions in its rules of procedure. The following annex was attached to the draft resolution:

"1. The sixteen Vice-Presidents shall be elected according to the following pattern, subject to paragraph 2 below:

- (a) Seven from African and Asian States;
- (b) One from Eastern European States;
- (c) Two from Latin American and Caribbean States;
- (d) Two from Western European and other States;
- (e) Five from the permanent members of the Security Council.

"2. The region from which the President is elected will, however, reduce by one the number of Vice-Presidents allocated in paragraph 1 of the present annex.

"3. The seven Chairmen of the Main Committees shall be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) Three representatives from African and Asian States;
- (b) One representative from Eastern European States;

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- (d) One representative from Western European and other States;
- (e) The seventh Chairmanship shall rotate every alternate year among representatives of States mentioned in (c) and (d)."

7. At the same meeting, Canada submitted an amendment (A/SPC/L.106), co-sponsored by Australia, Canada and New Zealand, to the joint draft resolution, A/SPC/L.101. The amendment provided that in the annex to the joint draft resolution a paragraph 4 be added to read as follows:

"4. At least one of the Vice-Presidents in categories (a), (c) and (d) of paragraph 1 above, or the President, or one of the Chairmen of the Main Committees in categories (a), (c), (d) and (e) of paragraph 3 above, will be from a Commonwealth country, without altering the pattern of the geographical distribution of seats in the General Committee as defined in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 above."

8. On 10 December Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela submitted two joint draft resolutions (A/SFC/L.104 and A/SPC/L.105).

9. Under the operative part of the first draft resolution as revised on 11 December (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1) the General Assembly would (i) decide to adopt, in accordance with Article 108, the following amendments to the Charter and submit them for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

"(a) In Article 23 (1) of the Charter, the word 'eleven' in the first sentence shall be replaced by the word 'thirteen' and the word 'six' in the third sentence by the word 'eight'.

"(b) In Article 23, the second sentence of paragraph 2 shall read: 'However, (a) in the first election of the non-permanent members, three shall be chosen for a term of one year, and (b) in the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to thirteen, one of the two additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year.'

"(c) In Article 27 (2), the word 'seven' shall be replaced by the word 'eight'.

"(d) In Article 27 (3), the word 'seven' shall be replaced by the word 'eight'."

(ii) further decide that these amendments would be inoperative unless, within two years from the date of their adoption by the General Assembly, they were ratified as required by Article 108 of the Charter; and (iii) urge all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, with the least possible delay.

10. Under the operative part of the second draft resolution (A/SPC/L.105) the General Assembly would (i) decide to adopt, in accordance with Article 108, the following amendments to the Charter and submit them for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

"(a) Article 61 (1) shall read:

'1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-four members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly'.

"(b) Article 61 (2) shall read:

'2. Subject to the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4, eight members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-

"(c) In Article 61 the following new paragraph 4 shall be inserted:

'4. Of the six additional members of the Economic and Social Council first elected after the increase in the membership of the Council from eighteen to twenty-four becomes effective, two shall be replaced at each of the next three regular elections, in accordance with arrangements to be made by the General Assembly.'

"(d) The present paragraph 4 of Article 61 shall be renumbered 5.;"

(ii) further decide that these amendments would be inoperative unless within two years from the date of their adoption by the General Assembly, they were ratified as required by Article 108 of the Charter; and (iii) urge all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, with the least possible delay.

11. At the 425th meeting on 13 December, the representative of Czechoslovakia introduced amendments A/SPC/L.107, co-sponsored by Czechoslovakia and Poland, to the fifty-five-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2). The amendments provided for the insertion in operative paragraph 2, after the words "decides that" of the words "the President of the General Assembly"; secondly, to add in the annex attached to the fifty-five-Power draft resolution a new paragraph 1 to read as follows: "1. The Presidency of the General Assembly shall rotate every year among the following regions: (a) Africa (b) Asia (c) Eastern Europe (d) Latin American and Caribbean States (e) Middle East (f) Western Europe and other States"; and thirdly to renumber the remaining paragraphs of the annex accordingly.

12. On 13 December Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela submitted amendments (A/SPC/L.108) to the fifty-five-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2) to delete the words "and Caribbean States" in sub-paragraphs 1 (c) and 3 (c) of the annex and to replace the word "sixteen" in each of the four passages in which it occurred in that draft resolution by the word "seventeen" and replace the word "two" in sub-paragraph 1 (c) of the annex by the word "three".

13. On the same day Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Ivory Coast, Iberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic and Upper Volta submitted two draft resolutions (A/SPC/L.109 and A/SFC/L.110).

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14. Under the operative part of the first draft resolution A/SPC/L.109 the General Assembly would (i) decide to adopt in accordance with Article 108 the following amendments to the Charter and submit them for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

"(a) In Article 23 (1) of the Charter, the word 'eleven' in the first sentence shall be replaced by the word 'fifteen' and the word 'six' in the third sentence by the word 'ten'.

"(b) In Article 23, paragraph 2, the second sentence shall be reworded as follows: 'In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year'.

"(c) The former paragraph 3 shall be renumbered 4.

"(d) In Article 27 (2) of the Charter the word 'seven' shall be replaced by the word 'nine'.

"(e) In Article 27 (3) of the Charter the word 'seven' shall be replaced by the word 'nine'.";

(ii) call upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965 as required by Article 108 of the Charter; and (iii) further decide that the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council should be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) 5 from African and Asian States;
- (b) 1 from Eastern European States;
- (c) 2 from Latin American and Caribbean States;
- (d) 2 from Western European and other States.

15. Under the operative part of the second draft resolution (A/SPC/L.110), the General Assembly would (i) decide to adopt in accordance with Article 108 the following amendments to the Charter and submit them for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

"Article 61 shall read:

(a) The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

(b) Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

(c) At the first election following the increase in membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, fifteen members of the Council shall be chosen. The term of office of three members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

(d) Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative."

(ii) call upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965, as required by Article 108 of the Charter; and (iii) decide that eight of the nine additional members of the Economic and Social Council should be elected from among the African and Asian Members. The ninth member should be elected from each of the geographical regions by rotation.

16. At the 427th meeting, on 14 December, the representative of Nigeria suggested that the paragraph 2 of the amendment of Czechoslovakia and Poland (A/SPC/L.107) should be amended to read: "In the annex to the joint draft resolution add a new paragraph 1 to read as follows: 'In the election of the President of the General Assembly, regard shall be had for equitable geographical rotation of this office among the regions mentioned in paragraph 4 of the annex'." At the following meeting, the representative of Poland stated that the co-sponsors of the amendment would not press for a vote on their text if the wording as suggested by the representative of Nigeria was accepted by the co-sponsors of the fifty-five-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101).

17. Also at the 427th meeting Canada, on behalf of the sponsors of the amendments contained in document A/SPC/L.106, declared that they would not press their amendments to a vote.

18. At the 429th meeting, on 16 December, the representative of India introduced oral amendments to the twenty-one-Power draft resolutions (A/SPC/L.104 and Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105). These amendments were co-sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zanzibar.

The amendments to document A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 were as follows:

"1. Add the following as the first preambular paragraph:

Considering that the present composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced;

"2. In operative paragraph 1 (a) replace the word 'thirteen' by the word 'fifteen' and the word 'eight' by the word 'ten'.

"3. Replace operative paragraph 1 (b) by the following:

(b) In Article 23, paragraph 2, the second sentence should be reworded as follows: 'In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven

to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year'.

- "4. In operative paragraph 1 (c), replace the word 'eight' by the word 'nine'.
- "5. In operative paragraph 1 (d), replace the word 'eight' by the word 'nine'.
- "6. Replace operative paragraphs 2 and 3 by the following:

2. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965;

3. Further decides that the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) 5 from African and Asian States;
- (b) 1 from Eastern European States;
- (c) 2 from Latin American States;
- (d) 2 from Western European and other States."

The amendments to document A/SPC/L.105 were as follows:

"Replace the three operative paragraphs of the draft resolution by the following:

"1. Decides to adopt in accordance with Article 108 the following amendment to the Charter and submit it for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

Article 61 shall read:

'1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

'2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

'3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

'4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.'

"2. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965:

"3. Further decides that without prejudice to the present distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council, the nine additional members shall be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) 7 from African and Asian States;
- (b) 1 from Latin American States;
- (c) 1 from Western Europe and other States."

19. At the same meeting, the representative of El Salvador, on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1 and A/SPC/L.105, accepted the above amendments.

20. The Committee then proceeded to vote on the draft resolutions and the amendments before it. The sponsors of the fifty-five-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2) accepted the nineteen-Power amendment (A/SPC/L.108) to their draft.

The two-Power amendment (A/SPC/L.107), as modified, was adopted by a vote of 97 to 1, with 11 abstentions.

The fifty-five-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.101 and Add.1 and 2, as amended, was adopted by a vote of 109 to none, with no abstentions (see paragraph 21 below, draft resolution I).

The twenty-one-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.104/Rev.1), as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 96 to 11, with 4 abstentions (see paragraph 17 below, draft resolution II A). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zanzibar.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The twenty-one-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.105), as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 95 to 11, with 4 abstentions (see paragraph 17 below, draft resolution II B). The representative of China stated that he would not participate in the vote. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zanzibar.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

21. The Special Political Committee, therefore, recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

##### DRAFT RESOLUTION I

###### Question of the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly

The General Assembly,

Taking into account the considerable increase in the membership of the United Nations,

Taking also into account that the General Committee should be so constituted as to ensure its representative character on the basis of a balanced geographical distribution among its members,

Believing that for these reasons it is desirable to enlarge the composition of the General Committee,

Noting that the General Committee is composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the Main Committees,

1. Decides to amend rules 31 and 38 of its rules of procedure as follows:

"Rule 31

"The General Assembly shall elect a President and seventeen Vice-Presidents, who shall hold office until the close of the session at which they are elected. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected, after the election of the Chairmen of the seven Main Committees referred to in rule 101, on the basis of ensuring the representative character of the General Committee."

"Rule 38

"The General Committee shall comprise the President of the General Assembly, who shall preside, the seventeen Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the seven Main Committees. No two members of the General Committee shall be members of the same delegation, and it shall be so constituted as to ensure its representative character. Chairmen of other committees upon which all Members have the right to be represented and which are established by the General Assembly to meet during the session, shall be entitled to attend meetings of the General Committee and may participate without vote in the discussions.";

2. Decides that the President of the General Assembly, the seventeen Vice-Presidents and the seven Chairmen of the Main Committees shall be elected as provided in the annex to the present resolution;

3. Decides to cancel all previous resolutions and stipulations in connexion with the composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly and to modify all related provisions in its rules of procedure.

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ANNEX

1. In the election of the President of the General Assembly, regard shall be had for equitable geographical rotation of this office among the regions mentioned in paragraph 4 below.
2. The seventeen Vice-Presidents shall be elected according to the following pattern, subject to paragraph 3 below:
  - (a) Seven from African and Asian States;
  - (b) One from Eastern European States;
  - (c) Three from Latin American States;
  - (d) Two from Western European and other States;
  - (e) Five from the permanent members of the Security Council.
3. The region from which the President is elected will, however, reduce by one the number of Vice-Presidents allocated in paragraph 2 of the present annex.
4. The seven Chairmen of the Main Committees shall be elected according to the following pattern:
  - (a) Three representatives from African and Asian States;
  - (b) One representative from Eastern European States;
  - (c) One representative from Latin American States;
  - (d) One representative from Western European and other States;
  - (e) The seventh chairmanship shall rotate every alternate year among representatives of States mentioned in (c) and (d) above.

DRAFT RESOLUTION II

Question of Equitable Representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council

A

The General Assembly,

Considering that the present composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced,

Recognizing that the increase in the membership of the United Nations makes it necessary to enlarge the membership of the Security Council, thus providing for a more adequate geographical representation of non-permanent members and making it a more effective organ for carrying out its functions under the Charter of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter,<sup>1/</sup>

1. Decides to adopt, in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations the following amendments to the Charter and to submit them for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

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(a) In Article 23, paragraph 1, the word "eleven" in the first sentence shall be replaced by the word "fifteen" and the word "six" in the third sentence by the word "ten";

(b) In Article 23, paragraph 2, the second sentence should be reworded as follows:

"In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year.";

(c) In Article 27, paragraph 2, "seven" shall be replaced by the word "nine";

(d) In Article 27, paragraph 3, "seven" shall be replaced by the word "nine";

2. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965;

3. Further decides that the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

(a) Five from African and Asian States;

(b) One from Eastern European States;

(c) Two from Latin American States;

(d) Two from Western European and other States.

B

The General Assembly,

Recognizing that the increase in the membership of the United Nations makes it necessary to enlarge the membership of the Economic and Social Council, with a view to providing for a more adequate geographical representation therein, and making it a more effective organ for carrying out its function under Chapter IX and X of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling Economic and Social Council resolutions 974 C and D (XXXVI),

Bearing in mind the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter,<sup>2/</sup>

1. Decides to adopt, in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations, the following amendment to the Charter and to submit it for ratification by the Members of the United Nations:

"Article 61

"1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

"2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

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"3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.  
"4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative."

2. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to ratify the above amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by 1 September 1965;

3. Further decides that without prejudice to the present distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council, the nine additional members shall be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) Seven from African and Asian States;
- (b) One from Latin American States;
- (c) One from Western European and other States.

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## 1991 (XVIII). Question of equitable representation on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council

## A

*The General Assembly.*

Considering that the present composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced,

Recognizing that the increase in the membership of the United Nations makes it necessary to enlarge the membership of the Security Council, thus providing for a more adequate geographical representation of non-permanent members and making it a more effective organ for carrying out its functions under the Charter of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter,<sup>7</sup>

1. Decides to adopt, in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations, the following amendments to the Charter and to submit them for ratification by the States Members of the United Nations:

(a) In Article 23, paragraph 1, the word "eleven" in the first sentence shall be replaced by the word "fifteen", and the word "six" in the third sentence by the word "ten";

(b) In Article 23, paragraph 2, the second sentence shall then be reworded as follows:

"In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year";

(c) In Article 27, paragraph 2, the word "seven" shall be replaced by the word "nine";

(d) In Article 27, paragraph 3, the word "seven" shall be replaced by the word "nine";

2. Calls upon all Member States to ratify the above amendments, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, by 1 September 1965;

3. Further decides that the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) Five from African and Asian States;
- (b) One from Eastern European States;
- (c) Two from Latin American States;
- (d) Two from Western European and other States.

1285th plenary meeting,  
17 December 1963.

## B

*The General Assembly.*

Recognizing that the increase in the membership of the United Nations makes it necessary to enlarge the membership of the Economic and Social Council, with a view to providing for a more adequate geographical representation therein and making it a more effective organ for carrying out its functions under Chapters IX and X of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling Economic and Social Council resolutions 974 B and C (XXXVI) of 22 July 1963,

Bearing in mind the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter,<sup>7</sup>

1. Decides to adopt, in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations, the following amendment to the Charter and to submit it for ratification by the States Members of the United Nations:

*"Article 61*

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.;

2. Calls upon all Member States to ratify the above amendment, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, by 1 September 1965;

3. Further decides that, without prejudice to the present distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council, the nine additional members shall be elected according to the following pattern:

- (a) Seven from African and Asian States;
- (b) One from Latin American States;
- (c) One from Western European and other States.

1285th plenary meeting,  
17 December 1963.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now take up draft resolution II. This draft resolution consists of two parts, A and B. I shall put part A to the vote first and then part B. A roll-call vote has been requested for both parts.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Peru, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville).

*Against:* Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia.

*Abstaining:* Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Part A of draft resolution II was adopted by 97 votes to 11, with 4 abstentions.*

165. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on part B of draft resolution II.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Congo (Leopoldville), having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville).

*Against:* Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

*Abstaining:* Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, China.

*Part B of draft resolution II was adopted by 96 votes to 11, with 5 abstentions.*

166. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Indonesia, for an explanation of vote.

# 1963 | Charter amendment protocol



## DOCUMENT INFORMATION

FILE NAME : Ch\_I\_5a

VOLUME : VOL-1

CHAPTER : Chapter I. Charter of the United Nations and Statute  
of the International Court of Justice

TITLE : 1.5a Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter  
of the United Nations, adopted by the General Assembly of the  
United Nations in resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII) of

17 December 1963 New York, 17 December 1963





PROTOCOL OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES 23, 27 AND 61 OF  
THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
RESOLUTIONS 1991 A AND B (XVIII) OF 17 DECEMBER 1963

WHEREAS Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations provides as follows:

"Article 108

"Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.",

WHEREAS the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted on 17 December 1963, in accordance with the said Article 108, the amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter of the United Nations as set forth in resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII),

WHEREAS the requirements of the said Article 108 with respect to the ratification of the above-mentioned amendments were fulfilled by 31 August 1965, as shown in the Annex to this Protocol, and the said amendments entered into force on that day for all Members of the United Nations,

AND WHEREAS the text of Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter of the United Nations as amended reads as follows:

"Article 23

"1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, 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.

"2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

"3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.",

"Article 27

"1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

"2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.

"3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.".



"Article 61

"1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

"2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

"3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

"4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.",

NOW, THEREFORE, I, U THANT, Secretary-General of the United Nations, sign this Protocol in two original copies in the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, of which one shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the United Nations and the other transmitted to the Government of the United States of America as the depositary of the Charter of the United Nations. Copies of this Protocol shall be communicated to all Members of the United Nations.

DONE AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, this thirty-first day of August, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "U Thant", is written over a horizontal line. Below the signature, the title "Secretary-General" is printed in a smaller, sans-serif font.



A N N E X

TO THE PROTOCOL OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES 23, 27 AND 61  
OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
RESOLUTIONS 1991 A AND B (XVIII) OF 17 DECEMBER 1963

List of Members having deposited instruments of ratification of the above-mentioned amendments with the Secretary-General as at 31 August 1965:

| <u>Member</u>               | <u>Date of deposit</u> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| Jamaica                     | 12 March 1964          |
| Thailand                    | 23 March 1964          |
| Algeria                     | 26 March 1964          |
| Ghana                       | 4 May 1964             |
| Tunisia                     | 29 May 1964            |
| Cameroon                    | 25 June 1964           |
| Ethiopia                    | 22 July 1964           |
| Central African Republic    | 6 August 1964          |
| Jordan                      | 7 August 1964          |
| Gabon                       | 11 August 1964         |
| Upper Volta                 | 11 August 1964         |
| Trinidad and Tobago         | 18 August 1964         |
| Guinea                      | 19 August 1964         |
| Togo                        | 19 August 1964         |
| New Zealand                 | 26 August 1964         |
| Libya                       | 27 August 1964         |
| Niger                       | 3 September 1964       |
| Canada                      | 9 September 1964       |
| India                       | 10 September 1964      |
| Liberia                     | 21 September 1964      |
| Mali                        | 23 September 1964      |
| Ivory Coast                 | 2 October 1964         |
| Austria                     | 7 October 1964         |
| Costa Rica                  | 7 October 1964         |
| United Republic of Tanzania | 7 October 1964         |
| Ireland                     | 27 October 1964        |
| Kenya                       | 28 October 1964        |
| Chad                        | 2 November 1964        |
| Iceland                     | 6 November 1964        |
| Morocco                     | 9 November 1964        |
| Philippines                 | 9 November 1964        |
| Ceylon                      | 13 November 1964       |
| Rwanda                      | 17 November 1964       |
| Iraq                        | 25 November 1964       |
| El Salvador                 | 1 December 1964        |
| Nepal                       | 3 December 1964        |
| Nigeria                     | 5 December 1964        |
| Albania                     | 7 December 1964        |
| Yugoslavia                  | 9 December 1964        |
| Madagascar                  | 14 December 1964       |
| Netherlands                 | 14 December 1964       |
| United Arab Republic        | 16 December 1964       |
| Norway                      | 17 December 1964       |
| Sweden                      | 18 December 1964       |
| Cuba                        | 22 December 1964       |
| Brazil                      | 23 December 1964       |
| Kuwait                      | 28 December 1964       |



(Annex)

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| <u>Member</u>  | <u>Date of deposit</u> |
|--|------------------------|
| Poland   | 8 January 1965         |
| Denmark  | 12 January 1965        |
| Iran   | 12 January 1965        |
| Bulgaria   | 13 January 1965        |
| Finland  | 18 January 1965        |
| Czechoslovakia                                       | 19 January 1965        |
| Mauritania   | 29 January 1965        |
| Romania  | 5 February 1965        |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics                  | 10 February 1965       |
| Uganda   | 10 February 1965       |
| Hungary  | 23 February 1965       |
| Syrian Arab Republic                                 | 24 February 1965       |
| Afghanistan  | 25 February 1965       |
| Mongolia   | 10 March 1965          |
| Pakistan   | 25 March 1965          |
| Sierra Leone   | 25 March 1965          |
| Laos   | 20 April 1965          |
| Senegal  | 23 April 1965          |
| Zambia   | 28 April 1965          |
| Belgium  | 29 April 1965          |
| Mexico   | 5 May 1965             |
| Sudan  | 7 May 1965             |
| Israel   | 13 May 1965            |
| Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic                  | 17 May 1965            |
| Malaysia   | 26 May 1965            |
| Malawi   | 2 June 1965            |
| Burma  | 3 June 1965            |
| Japan  | 4 June 1965            |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | 4 June 1965            |
| Australia  | 9 June 1965            |
| Saudi Arabia   | 17 June 1965           |
| Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic               | 22 June 1965           |
| Malta  | 23 June 1965           |
| Turkey   | 1 July 1965            |
| Congo (Brazzaville)                                  | 7 July 1965            |
| Yemen  | 7 July 1965            |
| Panama   | 27 July 1965           |
| Greece   | 2 August 1965          |
| China  | 2 August 1965          |
| Spain  | 5 August 1965          |
| Paraguay   | 17 August 1965         |
| Guatemala  | 18 August 1965         |
| Burundi  | 23 August 1965         |
| France   | 24 August 1965         |
| Italy  | 25 August 1965         |
| Chile  | 31 August 1965         |
| Ecuador  | 31 August 1965         |
| United States of America                             | 31 August 1965         |



(Annex)

- 3 -

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| Total number of instruments deposited:   | 95             |
| Membership in the United Nations as at 31 August 1965:   | 114            |
| Number of ratifications required under Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations to bring the amendments into force (two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council): | 76             |
| The last of the instruments of ratification of the permanent members of the Security Council was deposited on:   | 31 August 1965 |
| Date of entry into force of the amendments for all the Members of the United Nations:  | 31 August 1965 |



## CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the attached document is a true copy of the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of the Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter of the United Nations adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in resolutions 1991 A and B (XVII) of 17 December 1963 in New York, the original of which is deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

## CERTIFICAT

Je certifie que le document ci-joint est une copie conforme des textes anglais, chinois, espagnol, français et russe des Amendements aux Articles 23, 27 et 61 de la Charte des Nations Unies adoptés par l'Assemblée général des Nations Unies dans les résolutions 1991 A et B (XVIII) du 17 décembre 1963 à New York, dont les textes originaux sont déposés auprès du Secrétaire général des Nations Unies.

Chief, Treaty Section,  
Office of Legal Affairs

Chef de la Section des Traités,  
Bureau des Affaires juridiques

Palitha T. B. Kohona

United Nations  
New York, June 2005

Organisation des Nations Unies  
New York, juin 2005

# 1979

Proposal made by countries for the issue of Security  
Council reform to be placed on agenda of the  
GA - A/34/246



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/34/246  
14 November 1979

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-fourth session

REQUEST FOR THE INCLUSION OF AN ADDITIONAL ITEM  
IN THE AGENDA OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE  
IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Letter dated 14 November 1979 from the Permanent Representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Guyana, India, Maldives, Nepal, Nigeria and Sri Lanka to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On behalf of our respective Governments, we have the honour to request the inclusion of the following additional item in the agenda of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly:

"Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council."

In conformity with rule 20 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, an explanatory memorandum is attached.

(Signed) Mohamed BEDJAoui (Algeria)

Enrique Jorge ROS (Argentina)

Khwaaja Mohammed KAISER (Bangladesh)

Dago TSHERING (Bhutan)

Noel C. SINCLAIR (Guyana)

Brajesh Chandra MISHRA (India)

Ahmed ZAKI (Maldives)

Uddhav Deo BHATT (Nepal)

B. Akporode CLARK (Nigeria)

Biyagamage Jayasena FERNANDO (Sri Lanka)

ANNEX

Explanatory memorandum

1. Since the amendment of the Charter of the United Nations in 1963, enlarging the membership of the Security Council from 11 to 15 members, the membership of the United Nations has increased from 113 to 152. This increase is mainly due to the emergence and admission to the United Nations of a large number of new States from Africa, Asia and Latin America.
2. However, this increase has not been reflected in the membership of the Security Council. Presently the global average of the number of countries represented by one non-permanent seat in the Security Council is 14.7. The number of Asian countries represented by one non-permanent seat is 18.5. The corresponding figure for African States is 16.3, for Latin American States, 14, for the West European and other States, 11 and for Eastern European States, 10. This state of affairs constitutes an under-representation of non-aligned and developing countries on one of the principal organs of the United Nations.
3. In order to strengthen the primary role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, it is necessary that the composition of the Security Council be reviewed with a view to providing for a more equitable and balanced representation that would reflect the increase in the membership of the United Nations.
4. Accordingly, the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session should be called upon to take measures to amend the Charter in this respect.

# 1992

Resolution A/RES/47/62 requesting the Secretary General to submit a report on SC reforms

United Nations

A/RES/47/62



## General Assembly

Distr. GENERAL

11 December 1992

ORIGINAL:  
ENGLISH

A/RES/47/62  
84th plenary meeting  
11 December 1992

Question of equitable representation on and increase in  
the membership of the Security Council

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the increasingly crucial role of the Security Council in  
maintaining international peace and security,

Recognizing also the changed international situation and the substantial  
increase in the membership of the United Nations, the total membership having  
reached one hundred and seventy-nine,

Acting in accordance with the principles and objectives of the Charter of  
the United Nations,

Reaffirming the principle of sovereign equality of all Members of the  
United Nations,

Mindful of Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Realizing the need to continue the process of revitalization and  
restructuring of certain organs of the United Nations,

Recalling the statements made on the subject at its forty-seventh  
session, as well as the statement on the same subject contained in the final  
documents of the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of  
Non-Aligned Countries, held at Jakarta from 1 to 6 September 1992,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit,  
not later than 39 June 1993, written comments on a possible review of the  
membership of the Security Council;

2. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General  
Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for its consideration, a report  
containing comments made by Member States on the subject;

3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth  
session the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and  
increase in the membership of the Security Council".

## II. Resolutions adopted without reference to a Main Committee

29

## 48/26. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council

*The General Assembly,**Recalling* its resolution 47/62 of 11 December 1992,*Noting with appreciation* the report of the Secretary-General which reflected the views of a number of Member States on the agenda item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council",<sup>41</sup>*Recalling also* the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, especially Article 23,*Recalling further* that the 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,*Recognizing* the need to review the membership of the Security Council and related matters in view of the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations, especially of developing countries, as well as the changes in international relations,*Bearing in mind* the need to continue to enhance the efficiency of the Security Council,*Reaffirming* the principle of the sovereign equality of all Members of the United Nations,*Acting* in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter,*Mindful* of the importance of reaching general agreement,1. *Decides* 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 Security Council;2. *Requests* the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly before the end of its forty-eighth session;3. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-ninth session an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters".*69th plenary meeting  
3 December 1993*

[Original: English]

[2 September 1994]

Report on the progress of the work of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council

1. The present report is prepared and submitted in pursuance of resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, by which 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 Security Council. The General Assembly also requested the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the Assembly before the end of its forty-eighth session.

2. The Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council held 22 meetings from 19 January to 2 September 1994. The President of the General Assembly, Mr. S. R. Insanally, served as Chairman of the Working Group.

3. At its 2nd meeting, on 16 February 1994, the Open-ended Working Group appointed Mr. Wilhelm Breitenstein (Finland) and Mr. Chew Tai Soo (Singapore) as Vice-Chairmen of the Working Group. At the same meeting, the Open-ended Working Group requested the Secretariat to prepare a background paper on the views expressed by Member States and regional groups, as well as by regional organizations or arrangements, in their written replies in response to General Assembly resolution 47/62 (A/48/264 and Add.1 and 2, Add.2/Corr.1 and Add.3-8). It was also to cover the views expressed during the general debate at the forty-eighth session of the Assembly, as well as the subsequent consideration of agenda items 10, 11 and 33. The background paper was issued on 28 February 1994 for the internal use of the Open-ended Working Group.

4. At its 3rd meeting, on 1 March 1994, the Open-ended Working Group discussed its organization of work and agreed on the programme of work listing matters for discussion.

5. At its 3rd to 17th meetings, from 1 March to 27 May 1994, the Open-ended Working Group held the first round of substantive discussions on six clusters of topics, namely, (a) Equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council; (b) Other matters related to the Security Council; (c) Effective and efficient functioning of the Security Council; (d) Decision-making in accordance with the provisions of the Charter; (e) Elections and terms of office; and (f) Modalities for bringing changes into effect and consideration of related Charter amendments.

6. At the end of the first round of discussions and after informal consultations conducted by the Bureau of the Open-ended Working Group, the Secretariat was asked to prepare a second background paper on the views expressed by Member States during the first round of discussions. The paper was issued on 27 May 1994. It was also thought to be useful for the President of the General Assembly to prepare a non-paper, reflecting his personal views, in an attempt to facilitate a systematic and constructive exchange in the second round of discussions. The non-paper by the President was issued on 20 May 1994. Both papers were distributed for the internal use of the Open-ended Working Group.

7. At its 18th to 21st meetings, from 8 to 29 June 1994, the Open-ended Working Group began the second round of discussions. The debate focused alternately on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council, as well as on other matters related to the Security Council.

8. The discussion on equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council addressed, *inter alia*, the question of size and composition of the possible increase in the Council membership. Although the debate was substantive and constructive, clarifying the positions of Member States, no conclusions were drawn. While there was a convergence of views that the membership of the Security Council should be enlarged, there was also agreement that the scope and nature of such enlargement require further discussion. On other matters related to the Security Council, it was noted that the Council had initiated a number of steps to enhance its working methods and procedures. There were also views expressed on possible further measures the Council may be invited to take in this regard.

9. The Open-ended Working Group, at its 22nd meeting, held on 2 September 1994, concluded its discussion for the current session of the General Assembly and decided to recommend that the discussion on this agenda item should continue during the forty-ninth session of the Assembly, building on the work done in the course of the forty-eighth session. To that end, the Open-ended Working Group recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft decision:

The General Assembly, having considered the report on the progress of the work of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council established pursuant to resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993: 1/

- (a) Takes note of the work of the Open-ended Working Group;
- (b) Decides that the Open-ended Working Group should continue its work, taking into account, *inter alia*, the views expressed at the forty-ninth session, and submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of that session.

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/48/47).

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**Decisions**

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**48/498. Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council**

At its 104th plenary meeting, on 14 September 1994, the General Assembly, having considered the report on the progress of the work of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council,<sup>24</sup> established pursuant to resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, took note of the work of the Open-ended Working Group and decided that the Open-ended Working Group should continue its work, taking into account, *inter alia*, the views expressed at the forty-ninth session, and submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of that session

A/49/965  
English  
Page 18

A/AC.247/2

9 January 1995

II. SUGGESTED LIST OF QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED BY THE  
OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUP ON THE QUESTION OF  
EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE  
MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The present non-paper has been prepared by the Permanent Representatives of Finland and Singapore, Vice-Chairmen of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council in 1994, in the light of informal consultations held on behalf of the President of the General Assembly, on 21 and 24 October and 15 November 1994.

Attached is a list of questions on the two main areas of discussions on this subject. The questions, which are not new, will need to be discussed in some detail. These questions are neither exclusive nor exhaustive. The order of the listing of the questions does not indicate any order of priority. The questions represent an attempt to facilitate a systematic and constructive exchange of views in the Working Group.

**SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR CLUSTER 1**

**1 Permanent membership**

- (a) Should the number of permanent members be increased? If so, by how many?
- (b) Which Member States should become new permanent members?
- (c) What is the basis for selecting new permanent members?
- (d) What would be their responsibilities, obligations and privileges?

**2 Non-permanent membership**

- (a) Should the number of non-permanent members be increased? If so, by how many?
- (b) Would the criteria in Article 23 (1) of the Charter of the United Nations suffice for selecting new non-permanent members?
- (c) What should be the ratio of non-permanent members to permanent members in the Security Council?

**3 Other categories of membership:**

**regional, semi-permanent and other types**

- (a) Is there a need to have other categories of membership in the Security Council? If so, what should these be?
- (b) What should be the basis for selecting members of such new categories?
- (c) What would be their responsibilities, obligations and privileges?

**4 Veto**

Should the veto power be retained, modified or limited? If so, how can this be achieved?

**5 Size of the Security Council**

- (a) The low twenties has been frequently cited as the size of an enlarged Security Council, would it be possible to agree on a narrower range or a specific figure within the low twenties?
- (b) How would the effective and efficient functioning, transparency and legitimacy of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council be affected by an enlargement?

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR CLUSTER 2

1. A number of steps have been taken by the Security Council to enhance the relationship between the Council and the general membership, as well as to improve the working methods and the procedures of the Council. They include:

- (i) briefings by the President of the Security Council to the President of the General Assembly and to the chairmen of regional groups;
- (ii) consultations and exchanges of information between the Council, troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat regarding different aspects of peace-keeping operations;
- (iii) consultations by the President of the Security Council with interested countries on issues the Council is considering;
- (iv) daily publications in the Journal of the provisional agenda of both formal and informal meetings of the Security Council;
- (v) monthly circulation of the Security Council's tentative forecast of its programme of work for the upcoming month, including a list of forthcoming reports by the Secretary-General as requested by the Council as well as the schedule of forthcoming reviews and renewals of mandates of peace-keeping operations and of sanctions regimes;
- (vi) availability of draft Security Council resolutions in their "blue", or provisional, form at the same time Council members receive them;
- (vii) removal of a number of items from the list of matters of which the Council is seized;
- (viii) orientation debates open to all Member States at the time when the Council is preparing to begin consideration of a new item or an important question.

2. Which steps listed above could be further streamlined, modified, expanded or possibly institutionalized?
3. Should the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council be retained, modified or finalized?
4. Could the present system of consultations in the Security Council be made more transparent without adversely affecting its decision-making process? If so, how could this be done?
5. Should regular briefings be given on the proceedings in the Security Council? If so, should these be given to the general membership directly by the President of the Security Council or by a member of the UN Secretariat (cf. rule 55: At the close of each private meeting the Security Council shall issue a communiqué through the Secretary-General.)? Or, should they be given indirectly through the chairmen of regional groups?
6. How could the mechanisms for the gathering and analysing of information on issues under consideration by the Security Council be enhanced?
7. If it is useful to have consultations with Member States in general and the parties to a conflict as well as other parties concerned in particular, how could this be done best?
8. How could the dialogue between the Security Council and the general membership be improved to ensure more effective and just implementation of different sanctions regimes?
9. How could the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly be developed?
10. What should be the format of the reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly?

**49/499. Report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of the Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council**

At its 108th plenary meeting, on 18 September 1995, the General Assembly, having considered the report on 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,<sup>29</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, took note of the report of the Working Group and decided that the Working Group

should continue its work, taking into account, *inter alia*, the progress achieved during the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sessions and the views expressed during the fiftieth session of the General Assembly, including its Special Commemorative Meeting on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of its fiftieth session, including any agreed recommendations.

# 1995

# Report of the OEWG A/49/47

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## General Assembly

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Forty-ninth session

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\*

55

1995

\* The present document is a mimeographed version of 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. The final report will be issued subsequently as Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/49/47).

[Original: English]

[15 September 1995]

Report on the progress of 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

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is prepared and submitted in pursuance of decision 48/498 of 14 September 1994, by which the General Assembly took note of the work of the Open-ended Working Group and decided that the Open-ended Working Group should continue its work, taking into account, *inter alia*, the views expressed at the forty-ninth session, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of that session.

2. 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 held 11 formal meetings from 16 January 1995 to 15 September 1995. The President of the General Assembly, Mr. Amara Essy, served as Chairman of the Working Group.

3. At its 1st meeting, on 16 January 1995, the Open-ended Working Group appointed Mr. Wilhelm Breitenstein (Finland) and Mr. Nitya Pibulsonggram (Thailand) as Vice-Chairmen of the Working Group. The meeting had before it the suggested list of questions to be addressed by the Open-ended Working Group, dated 9 January 1995, which was prepared by the two Vice-Chairmen of the Open-ended Working Group at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Breitenstein and Mr. Chew Tai Soo (Singapore). The suggested list is reproduced in document A/49/965. In addition, the Open-ended Working Group had before it a compilation of the views expressed during the general debate and the debate on agenda item 33 at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly prepared by the Secretariat and reproduced in document A/49/965. These non-papers were initially distributed for the internal use of the Open-ended Working Group only.

II. DISCUSSIONS AND PROPOSALS

4. The Open-ended Working Group also discussed at its 1st meeting the organization of its work and, in accordance with the suggested list of questions, agreed to address two clusters of items, namely, the equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council (cluster I) and other matters related to the Security Council (cluster II).

5. Between January and March 1995, the Open-ended Working Group held nine formal meetings to discuss the topics in cluster I and cluster II. Between March and September 1995 the Open-ended Working Group held 21 informal consultations on these two clusters, as well as on the structure and content of the report of the Open-ended Working Group.

6. Based on the discussions of the Open-ended Working Group between January and March 1995, and taking into account the views of Member States expressed in the general debate and in the debate on agenda item 33 at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the two Vice-Chairmen prepared two non-papers, the first on cluster I, dated 28 April 1995, and the second on cluster II, dated 15 May 1995. After a number of informal consultations of the Open-ended Working Group, the Vice-Chairmen revised the two non-papers. Updated non-papers entitled "Observations on cluster I", dated 12 July 1995, and "Observations on cluster II", dated 5 July 1995, were initially prepared for the internal use of the Open-ended Working Group only. They are reproduced in document A/49/965.

7. The non-papers on clusters I and II served as rolling documents of the Open-ended Working Group and were intended to facilitate a full exchange of views on the topics in the suggested list of questions. The Open-ended Working Group did not conclude its discussion on the non-papers during the forty-ninth session. Nevertheless, the exchange of views greatly helped to clarify the scope and content of issues addressed by the Open-ended Working Group. The richness and depth of the discussion during the course of the forty-ninth session should provide a good basis for, and facilitate, the future work of the Working Group.

8. The items discussed under cluster I included the following: guiding principles for the expansion of Security Council membership; size and composition of the permanent membership; size and composition of the non-permanent membership; new categories or new types of membership, and the qualifications of and modalities for the selection of members of each of these categories or types; the overall size of the expanded Security Council; voting procedure in the Security Council, including the question of the veto; and the question of periodic review.

9. The items discussed under cluster II included the following: measures taken and practices adopted by the Council to enhance its transparency and working methods and their streamlining, expansion or possible institutionalization; the retention, modification or finalization of the Council's provisional rules of procedure; the briefings by the Council Presidency; the enhancement of mechanisms for information-gathering and analysis; wider consultations with concerned or interested parties; increased consultations between the Council and troop-contributing States; the relationship of the Security Council to other United Nations organs, including the reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

10. Written proposals and submissions for the items discussed by the Open-ended Working Group, reproduced in document A/49/965, were made by the following

Member States and groups of Member States: Argentina, Australia, Belgium (on behalf of a number of countries), Belize, Cuba, Indonesia, Italy, Mexico, Singapore, Turkey, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Nordic countries. A number of proposals were also made in oral statements.

11. The observations and assessment of the two Vice-Chairmen, prepared in their personal capacity, on the progress of work of the Open-ended Working Group during the forty-ninth session are contained in document A/49/965. While expressing its appreciation for the work of the two Vice-Chairmen, the Open-ended Working Group stressed that this document has no legal status, that it does not constitute the position of the Open-ended Working Group, nor does it prejudice the position of any delegation. The Open-ended Working Group stressed that the observations and assessment of the two Vice-Chairmen should not form the sole input for the continuation of the work of the Open-ended Working Group.

12. The Open-ended Working Group further noted that a wide range of other views had been expressed, and various proposals made, during the forty-ninth session, including those contained in the Vice-Chairmen's non-papers referred to in paragraphs 3 and 6 of the present report. Therefore, the Open-ended Working Group should remain seized of the entire range of views and proposals by delegations.

### III. CONCLUSIONS

13. The Open-ended Working Group continued its review of the membership of the Security Council and other related matters in view of the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations, especially of developing countries, as well as the important changes in international relations. Discussions showed that there was agreement to expand the Security Council and to review its working methods and other matters related to its functioning in a way that further strengthens its capacity and effectiveness, enhances its representative character and improves its working efficiency.

14. It was recognized that the principles of the sovereign equality of all Members of the United Nations, equitable geographical distribution and contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as to the other purposes of the Organization, should guide the work on the reform of the Security Council. The concepts of transparency, legitimacy, effectiveness and efficiency should also be taken into account in this context as should, in the view of a large number of delegations, the concept of democracy.

15. Support was expressed for the proposals that the final agreement on items in clusters I and II should comprise a comprehensive package, that work in the two clusters be allowed to proceed concurrently and that progress in one cluster should not be impeded by lack of progress in the other. Some delegations noted that during the course of the work of the Open-ended Working Group, a number of measures had been implemented and practices developed to improve the transparency and working methods of the Security Council.

16. Discussions also showed that important differences continue to exist on key issues before the Open-ended Working Group, and, therefore, further in-depth consideration of these issues is still required.

### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

17. The Open-ended Working Group, at its 11th meeting, on 15 September 1995, concluded its work for the current session of the General Assembly and decided to recommend that the discussion on this agenda item continue during the fiftieth session of the Assembly, building on the work done in the course of the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sessions. To that end, the Open-ended Working Group recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft decision:

The General Assembly, having considered the report on 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, <sup>1/</sup> established pursuant to General Assembly resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993 and General Assembly decision 48/498 of 14 September 1994:

- (a) Takes note of the report of the Open-ended Working Group;
- (b) Decides that the Open-ended Working Group should continue its work, taking into account, *inter alia*, the progress achieved during the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sessions and the views expressed during the fiftieth session of the General Assembly, including the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, and submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of its fiftieth session, including any agreed recommendations.

#### Notes

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/49/47).

# 1996

Press Release SG/SM/5944 Secretary General's address  
at the Korea Conference on the UN held in Seoul.



UNITED NATIONS

## Press Release Secretary-General

Department of Public Information • News Coverage Service • New York

SG/SM/5944  
1 April 1996

SECRETARY-GENERAL SAYS SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM INTEGRAL TO WIDER REFORM EFFORT  
NEEDED TO BREAK CYCLE OF CRISES AFFECTING UNITED NATIONS

Following is the address given by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at the Korea Conference on the United Nations held in Seoul, Republic of Korea, on 1 April:

I am delighted to visit the Republic of Korea once again, and to speak to you, friends and supporters of the United Nations.

I deeply appreciate the initiative taken by the Korean Association of International Studies, the Ilmin International Relations Institute of Korea University, and the United Nations Association of Korea. The work you have done to arrange this important conference is a significant contribution, not only to the United Nations, but also to public understanding of today's world situation.

In the promotion of global peace in this post-cold war era, the international community has many different needs. Each country is unique, with the potential to make a distinct contribution to the international community. Individual Member States must decide for themselves how best to fulfil their international responsibilities.

The achievements of the Republic of Korea may stand as an inspiration to States and peoples everywhere. The Republic of Korea is achieving high rates of economic growth, rapidly reducing income inequalities and alleviating poverty. The Republic of Korea is not only a symbol of economic success, but also of great cultural vitality. The Republic of Korea is not only a positive force for international security, but also a model for the process of democratization.

Today, therefore, I should like to recognize and thank the Republic of Korea for its continued support of many aspects of United Nations work. The Republic of Korea's dedication to the principles and goals of the United Nations is greatly appreciated. The Republic of Korea's admission into United Nations membership in 1991 was a positive development, not only for the United Nations, but also for this region and for the world.

(more)

In his address to the special commemorative session of the General Assembly on the occasion of the Organization's fiftieth anniversary, last October, your President described the Republic of Korea as "one of the success stories of the United Nations". This is, clearly, a matter of legitimate pride, both for the Republic of Korea, and for the United Nations.

Since being admitted to the United Nations, the Republic of Korea has taken an active role in the Organization's peace-keeping and humanitarian efforts. During my visit to Africa last year, I was impressed by a team of doctors from the Republic of Korea providing humanitarian assistance in Western Sahara, and a team of the country's engineers building bridges and roads in Angola.

I would like to express my deep thanks to the Republic of Korea for its contributions to United Nations peace-keeping. And this year, the Republic of Korea's voluntary financial contributions to United Nations agencies have risen by over 65 per cent. Moreover, I congratulate the Republic of Korea on its membership in the Security Council, and express my appreciation for its active and effective participation during the current session. The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea, Ambassador Park Soo Gil, has, in the first few months of the Republic of Korea's membership in the Security Council, already contributed much wise advice and impressive knowledge of international law.

Finally, I pray that soon we will witness the reunification of the Korean Peninsula, and that peace will prevail in this region.

In this new global era, each of the principal organs of the United Nations must be seen in a new light. Change is desirable, inevitable and necessary. The General Assembly needs to enhance its role as the world's great representative body of States. The World Court can lead the way towards a revitalization of international law. The Economic and Social Council can become the coordinating body for development that it was meant to be, and can provide a point of contact for the new non-State players -- businesses, unions, and non-governmental organizations -- in world affairs.

Today, I would like to say a few words about the Security Council. It is not for a Secretary-General to evaluate, advocate, or in any way express a position on the serious and important proposals put forward on Security Council reform. Why, then, have I chosen to address this topic with you today? My purpose is to emphasize the importance of Security Council reform. To review briefly the character of the proposals under discussion. And to point out that Security Council reform is linked to the entire set of grave and urgent crises now facing the United Nations as an Organization.

Security Council reform is a critical issue of our time. It must be dealt with seriously, carefully, and responsibly. It can be at the heart of a United Nations transformed into a truly effective system for the maintenance of international peace and security, now and into the future.

Since the beginning of this decade, the Security Council has become a far more active and effective decision-making body than it was during the cold war period. The Council is an impressive example that structures and mechanisms available to us can adapt and evolve to meet new challenges. In crisis after crisis over the past few years, those who have sat on the Council have been part of a transforming and positive process of change.

In recent years, the Council has met on an almost continuous basis. It deals with situations as they arise. It monitors the many peace operations on the basis of my reports. It adopts resolution after resolution to respond to changing requirements. To illustrate, in 1987 the Council met 49 times, adopted 14 resolutions, and issued nine Presidential Statements. Last year, in 1995, the Council met 130 times, adopted 66 resolutions, and issued 63 Presidential Statements.

The Council has met to analyse threats to international peace and security, as in the case of Iraq. To call on antagonists to turn back from the threshold of violence, as in the case of Burundi. To take a range of actions to prevent, control and resolve conflicts, as in the case of preventive deployment in The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. To gather world support for its mandates, such as arms embargoes. It has undertaken fact-finding missions of its own, as in the case of Somalia. And it has established, as subsidiary organs, tribunals on war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda.

One of the Council's great recent achievements has been its careful and deliberate search for consensus within its own ranks. Council members have achieved a greater degree of harmony and cohesion in dealing with their agenda than was considered possible during the first four decades of the Council's existence.

The work has often been frustrating. There have been setbacks and there have been successes. Overall, the example of the Security Council's performance should be an inspiration to all who must face the agonizing decisions of this age of ambiguity and change.

But the same changes in the world scene that have led to increased and increasingly effective Security Council action also have given rise to new concerns about the Council. There is widespread agreement among Member States that the Council's present membership and composition do not reflect the realities of economic and political change, and are unrepresentative of the membership at large.

There are concerns that the Council has been exceeding its mandate. Most of the conflicts now dealt with are not international, but internal, as in Somalia or Haiti. This raises questions of interference. The positive creation of multi-functional peace-keeping operations to deal with such conflicts has generated a new set of non-military activities and budgetary questions related to peace-keeping, which many feel justify a greater role for the General Assembly.

Finally, there is concern that the unprecedented scale of peace operations -- which at one point, in December 1994, reached a total of 17 operations with nearly 70,000 troops deployed -- has drawn attention and resources away from the crucial demands of development.

Thus it was inevitable, and today is not only appropriate but desirable, that Member States are calling for change in the composition of the Council and in the way it will carry out its responsibilities. Security Council reform is essential in order to sustain the Council's authority, legitimacy and effectiveness. It is imperative if the United Nations is to deliver on its potential to apply an integrated approach -- covering political, security, economic and social dimensions -- to the complex challenges of this new era.

Article 23 of the United Nations Charter names the permanent members of the Security Council. That Article also empowers the General Assembly to elect non-permanent members of the Council. Article 27 outlines the rules for voting in the Council. Both Articles were amended by act of the General Assembly on 17 December 1963. The amendments came into force on 31 August 1965. The amendment to Article 23 enlarged the membership of the Council from 11 to 15. And the amendment to Article 27 raised the number of affirmative votes needed for a decision -- including the concurring votes of the five permanent members -- from seven to nine.

This precedent tells us that the Charter can be amended to fit changing circumstances and new needs. It also tells us that such amendment is a matter entirely within the hands of the Member States themselves, acting through the General Assembly. It is this precedent that provides inspiration and guidance to the General Assembly working group on Security Council reform.

As Secretary-General, I have responded to requests of the General Assembly to support this process. The Secretariat invited Member States to submit comments on possible reform of the Security Council. Based on the replies received, as well as debates of the General Assembly and the working group, three compilations were prepared, summarizing the views of Member States. In addition, the Secretariat has provided analytical papers, undertaken informal consultations, conducted seminars, and carried out background research in support of this process.

Today, I will not try to summarize each of the many proposals for reform made by individual Member States or groups of States. Let me, instead, try to outline for you the various issues involved and where they stand at present. There are four basic issues under consideration: to increase the permanent membership; to increase non-permanent membership only; to consider the number of affirmative votes needed for the Council to act -- the "action threshold"; and to enhance the working methods of the Security Council.

First, with regard to the permanent membership, there seems to be widespread recognition that enlargement is in order. Most assume that any new members would be drawn from the industrialized world. But today, the developing world is understandably reluctant to further increase the heavy imbalance of permanent members towards the industrialized world. Reaching agreement on candidates that have the capacity to contribute to international peace and security, and those that would improve the Council's geographical representation, is one of the principal challenges that reform proposals must overcome.

The debate over whether new permanent members should have the same rights as existing permanent members, including the veto, has been central. The creation of various new secondary classes of permanent membership have been proposed, but many countries have also taken the position that all permanent members -- new and old -- should have the same rights. While many proposals have argued for limiting or even abolishing veto rights for all permanent members, there remains no indication that any such proposals could obtain the necessary agreement of all of the existing permanent members.

The proposed solutions to this difficulty fall generally into broad categories, such as to add new permanent members from the developing world in order to address the existing imbalance, or to allocate additional new non-permanent seats to developing countries, together with other measures intended to give the non-permanent seats more significance. Such measures could include allowing non-permanent members to be immediately re-elected, or raising the action threshold for Council decisions.

Second are proposals that would increase the non-permanent membership only. One recent line of thinking has been that if agreement on permanent membership expansion cannot be reached now, expansion should take place in non-permanent seats only, for the time being.

Many proposals for non-permanent expansion involve some form of rotation system. Others would define a new set of regional groups: Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East and Maghreb, Africa, Central and South Asia, East Asia and Oceania, and the Americas.

Third is the issue of how many votes should be needed for the Council to act. The present action threshold for the Council stands at 60 per cent.

Decisions (except on procedural matters) require nine of 15 votes (and no negative votes by a permanent member). Raising the number of affirmative votes needed for the Council to act has been incorporated into some proposals as a means of enhancing the importance of the non-permanent seats. In this way, an effective "group veto" might be created for the developing world -- without placing that veto into the hands of any single State. By greatly enhancing the strength and importance of the new non-permanent members, raising the threshold for Council action is seen by some as a key element of a new framework, which balances the possible addition of permanent members from the industrialized world with measures to strengthen the voice of the developing world.

Fourth are measures taken to enhance the transparency and working methods of the Security Council. Such steps do not require Charter amendment, and many have already been taken. These include: briefings by the President of the Security Council for non-members; meetings between members of the Council, troop-contributing countries, and the secretariat on peace-keeping operations; more open meetings of the Council, especially in the early stage of considering an issue; daily publication of the Council agenda, including informal consultations; monthly circulation of the forecast of work of the Council, including forthcoming reports by the Secretary-General; availability of draft Council resolutions in their provisional form, at the same time Council members receive them; and steps towards greater transparency in the procedures relating to sanctions.

These, then, are the four basic issues: increasing permanent membership; increasing non-permanent membership; the "action threshold", and the Council's working methods. I have reviewed these issues to underline the continued importance of this effort at reform.

Without any doubt, the world has entered an unprecedented period in its history. Both peril and potential will mark the years ahead. Participation in the work of the United Nations will be essential. All Member States should take the most positive view towards the accepted principles of participation and equity in the universal Organization that is the United Nations. That commitment to participation can be realized through a reformed system of Security Council membership and increasingly open and participatory working methods of the Security Council.

This will lead to greater legitimization of the work of the United Nations. Reforms in Council membership and working methods will create ideas, foster communication, improve coordination, and gain wider acceptance for the decisions of the Organization. The immensely difficult tasks that lie ahead for the international community will require this wider and deeper foundation for common action.

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And, in turn, these improvements will further the democratization of the international system itself. States in every part of the world are now aware that issues they once considered internal and subject to their policy decisions alone now are affected by vast forces of globalization. In this recognition, States simply will not, and should not, accept a situation in which global issues are dealt with by representatives of only a few of the most powerful States, acting often behind closed doors.

Participation, legitimization, and democratization will be key to the common progress of the international community of States as we move into the next century. All three can be served by Security Council reform. And all three can be guiding principles in the wider reform effort, of which Security Council reform is one, integral element.

The United Nations Organization faces several major crises today. In addition to the structural problem of Security Council reform of which I have spoken, there is: the financial crisis caused by massive Member States' arrears; the reform of the scale of assessments for Member States' contributions; the budget crisis, in which the General Assembly requires me to cut \$154 million more from a budget I have already cut to less than zero growth in real terms; and the administrative challenge of Secretariat streamlining -- a problem which I have been addressing since my first day in office. Further effort will require decisions beyond those available to a Secretary-General alone -- decisions that only Member States can make.

All these crises are interrelated. For example, some Member States may accept an increased assessment if changes are made in the membership of the Security Council. So each crisis needs to be considered in the context of the others.

Somehow, the cycle of crisis now affecting the United Nations must be broken. It is important to work on all fronts. For this reason, the task of Security Council reform should not be allowed to lose momentum. After two years of serious effort, the problem of Council membership and voting procedures remains unsolved. It is imperative that Member States carry this effort forward.

The stakes are high. The outcome can be a United Nations prepared better than ever to work for its Member States towards building a better world.

The first 50 years of the United Nations must be a prologue to the most important and challenging phase ever in world history, and to a time of unparalleled success for all.

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**50/489. 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**

At its 126th plenary meeting, on 16 September 1996, the General Assembly, having considered the report on the work of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Mem-

bership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council,<sup>25</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, the mandate of which was extended by its decisions 48/498 of 14 September 1994 and 49/499 of 18 September 1995, took note of the report of the Working Group and decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth, forty-ninth and fiftieth sessions and the views to be expressed during the fifty-first session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of its fifty-first session, including any agreed recommendations.

## ANNEX I

Documentation of the Open-ended Working Group during  
the fiftieth session of the General Assembly

| <u>Date</u>      | <u>Title</u>  | <u>Symbol</u>                  |
|------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 15 December 1995 | Draft programme of work for the fiftieth session of the General Assembly  | A/AC.247/6 and Corr.1          |
| 11 January 1996  | Views expressed by Member States during the first part of the fiftieth session of the General Assembly  | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.1 and Corr.1 |
| 16 February 1996 | Draft programme of work for February and March 1996   | A/AC.247/7                     |
| 26 February 1996 | Summary of views expressed by Member States during the consideration of the report of the Security Council (A/50/2) at the fiftieth session of the General Assembly | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.2            |
| 29 March 1996    | Inventory of measures taken by the Security Council to enhance its working methods and procedures   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.3            |
| 16 April 1996    | Working methods and procedures of the Security Council: non-paper by the Bureau   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.4            |
| 22 April 1996    | Draft programme of work for April to June   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.5/Rev.2      |
| 25 April 1996    | United Nations reforms. African common position   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.6            |
| 13 May 1996      | Proposed amendments to the Charter of the United Nations. The question of the veto: working paper by Mexico   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.7            |
| 17 May 1996      | Working methods and procedures of the Security Council: working paper by Argentina and New Zealand  | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.8            |
| 20 May 1996      | Question of the veto: working paper by Egypt on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.9            |

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| 4 June 1996<br>and 28 June 1996  | Summary of ideas on a possible system of more frequent rotation in additional non-permanent seats in the Security Council: working paper by Spain   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.10<br>and Add.1  |
| 7 June 1996                      | A revised proposal for the enlargement of the Security Council: working paper by Italy  | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.11               |
| 12 June 1996                     | The case for a new interpretation of Article 31 of the Charter of the United Nations: working paper by the Czech Republic   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.13               |
| 17 June 1996                     | Proposals on rotation or shared seats including Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter: working paper by Monaco  | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.12               |
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| 3 July 1996                      | Reform of the Security Council: working paper by Norway   | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.19               |
| 11 July 1996<br>and 17 July 1996 | Composition and Size of the Security Council; Decision-making Process in the Council, including the veto; Working Methods and Procedures of the Security Council; Other Matters Related to the Security Council: working paper by Ukraine | A/AC.247/1996/CRP.20<br>and Corr.1 |

## Razali Reform Paper

20 March 1997

Paper by the Chairman  
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**

[Note that the paper takes the form of a draft resolution of the General Assembly]

\*\*\*\*\*

### **The General Assembly**

**Recalling** its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993,

**Recognizing** the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations,

**Recognizing** also the functions and powers of the General Assembly on matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security as contained in the Charter,

**Welcoming** closer cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly'

**Noting** that the effectiveness, credibility and legitimacy of the work of the Security Council depend on its representative character, on its ability to discharge its primary responsibility and in carrying out its duties on behalf of all members,

**Reasserting** the purposes and principles of the Charter and recalling that under Article 2(5) of the Charter, every Member State has pledged to "give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in "accordance with the present Charter".

**Stressing** that the permanent members of the Security Council bear a special responsibility both to uphold the principles of the United Nations' Charter and to give their full support to the Organisation's actions to maintain international peace and unity,

**Acknowledging** that there are many ways for Member States to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and underlining that members of the Security Council should be elected with due regard to their record of various contributions to this end, and also to equitable geographical distribution, as noted in Article 23(1) of the Charter, and for their demonstrated commitment to and observance of international norms,

**Recognizing** the ongoing Report of the Security Council to improve its working methods.

**Noting** with appreciation the efforts 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 began its work in January 1994.

**Seeking Article 15 (1) of the Charter and Recognizing the need for enhanced cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly.**

**1. Decides:**

a) to increase the membership of the Security Council from fifteen to twenty-four by adding five permanent and four non-permanent members;

b) that the five new permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

(i) One from the developing States of Africa;

(ii) One from the developing States of Asia;

(iii) One from the developing States of Latin America and the Caribbean;

(iv) Two from industrialised States;

c) that the four new non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

(i) One from African States;

(ii) One from Asian States;

(iii) One from Eastern European States;

(iv) One from Latin American and Caribbean States

**2. Invites** interested States to inform the members of the General Assembly that they are prepared to assume the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council;

**3. Decides** to proceed by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly by 28 February 1998, to the designation of the States that will be elected to exercise the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council, according to the pattern described in paragraph 1b, it being understood that if the number of States having obtained the required majority fall short of the number of seats allocated for permanent membership, new rounds of balloting will be conducted for the remaining category(ies), until five States obtain the required majority to occupy the five seats;

**4. Recognizing** that an overwhelming number of Member States consider the use of veto in the Security Council anachronistic and undemocratic, and have called for its elimination, decides

a) to discourage use of veto, by urging the original permanent members of the Security Council to limit the exercise of their veto power to actions taken under Chapter VII of the Charter;

b) that the new permanent members of the Security Council shall have no provision of the veto power;

**5. Decides** that for peacekeeping assessments, all new and original permanent members of the Security Council shall pay the same percentage rate of premium surcharge over and above their regular budget rate of assessment;

**6. Decides that**

- a) no later than one week after the designation of States elected to serve as new permanent members of the Security Council, a resolution adopting amendments to the Charter arising from decisions taken in paragraphs 1, 3, and 4b will be put to the vote in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations;
- b) the resolution will also include amendments to Article 27(2) and (3) of the Charter to require the affirmative vote of 15 of 24 members of the Security Council for a decision;
- c) the resolution will also include amendments to Article 53 of the Charter to delete reference to former enemies of its signatories, and to eliminate Article 107;

**7. Agrees** that the aforementioned amendments to the Charter in paragraph 6 a, b, and c shall come into force following ratification by State Members consistent with Article 108 of the Charter;

**8. Decides** that a review conference will be convened under Article 109 of the Charter of the United Nations, in ten years after the entry into force of the amendments described in the present resolution, in order to review the situation created by the entry into force of these amendments.

**9. Urges** the Security Council to undertake the following measures to enhance transparency and to strengthen the support and understanding of its decisions by the whole membership of the Organisation:

- a) Implement fully and effectively its presidential statement of 16 December 1994, calling for greater recourse to open meetings of the Council, in particular at an early stage in its consideration of a subject;
- b) Institutionalize regular monthly consultations between the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council, together with the Chairs of the Main Committees of the General Assembly and members of the Security Council;
- c) Conduct consultations between the President of the Security Council and the respective Chairs of the regional groups when necessary;
- d) Conduct regular and substantive briefings by the President of the Security Council on informal consultations of the Security Council for all Member States;
- e) Encourage consultations between members of the Security Council and the countries most affected by a decision of the Council;
- f) Invite non-members of the Security Council to participate in the informal consultations of the Security Council under Article 31 and Article 32 of the Charter;
- g) Institute provisions for the prompt convening of formal meetings of the Security Council no later than 48 hours after the request of a Member State of the United Nations;
- h) Institutionalize a system of consultations during the decision-making process on the establishment, conduct, and termination of peace-keeping operations in order to strengthen the measures outlined in the presidential statement of the Security Council dated 28 March 1996;
- i) Institutionalize the practice of giving opportunity to concerned states and organisations to present their views during closed meetings of the Sanctions Committees on issues arising from implementation of sanctions regimes imposed by the Security Council;
- j) Implement fully and effectively the provisions on sanctions and Sanctions Committees as recommended by the Subgroup on the Question of United Nations Imposed Sanctions

of the Informal Open-ended Working Group of the General Assembly on an Agenda for Peace;

k) Make available records of the Sanctions Committees to all Member States;

l) Operationalize Article 50 of the Charter, on the right of Member States to consult the Council with regard to a solution of their problems arising from implementation of preventive or enforcement measures imposed by the Council;

m) Hold frequent orientation debates before the Council takes a decision on a particular matter;

n) Encourage greater use of the "Arria formula" to facilitate consultations between members and non-members of the Council;

o) Clarify what constitutes a procedural matter as reflected in Article 27(2) of the Charter;

p) Invite the participation of all Member States in the deliberations of the applicable subsidiary organs of the Council established in pursuance of Article 29 of the Charter;

q) Make greater use of the International Court of Justice by seeking its advisory opinion consistent with Article 96 (1) of the Charter;

r) Consult with regional organisations, agencies and arrangements, at appropriate levels, on matters affecting the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter;

**10. Urges** the Security Council to issue its annual and special reports to the General Assembly taking into account General Assembly resolution 51/193 of 17 December 1996.

**51/476. 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**

At its 107th plenary meeting, on 15 September 1997, the General Assembly, having considered the report on the progress of 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,<sup>31</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993:

- (a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-first session of the General Assembly;
- (b) Decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth, forty-ninth, fiftieth and fifty-first sessions as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-second session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of its fifty-second session, including any agreed recommendations.

[Original: English]

[8 August 1997]

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# 1998

Resolution A/RES/53/30 on the majority required for decisions on reform of the Security Council

UNITED  
NATIONS

A



## General Assembly

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/RES/53/30  
1 December 1998

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Fifty-third session  
Agenda item 59

### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*[without reference to a Main Committee (A/53/L.46)]*

#### 53/30. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

*The General Assembly,*

*Mindful of Chapter XVIII of the Charter of the United Nations and of the importance of reaching general agreement as referred to in resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, determines not to adopt any resolution or decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters, without the affirmative vote of at least two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly.*

*66th plenary meeting  
23 November 1998*

75

8661

**52/490. 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**

At its 91st plenary meeting, on 24 August 1998, the General Assembly, 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,<sup>28</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993:

(a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-second session of the General Assembly;

(b) Decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth, forty-ninth, fiftieth, fifty-first and fifty-second sessions of the Assembly, as well as the views expressed during the fifty-third session, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of its fifty-third session, including any agreed recommendations.

[Original: English]  
[24 August 1998]

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**53/487. 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**

At its 107th plenary meeting, on 13 September 1999, the General Assembly, 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,<sup>31</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993:

(a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-third session of the General Assembly;

(b) Decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth, forty-ninth, fiftieth, fifty-first, fifty-second and fifty-third sessions, as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-fourth session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the fifty-fourth session, including any agreed recommendations.

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**I. Resolutions adopted without reference to a Main Committee****VII. Meeting the special needs of Africa**

27. We will support the consolidation of democracy in Africa and assist Africans in their struggle for lasting peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development, thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy.

28. We resolve therefore:

- To give full support to the political and institutional structures of emerging democracies in Africa.
- To encourage and sustain regional and subregional mechanisms for preventing conflict and promoting political stability, and to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent.
- To take special measures to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa, including debt cancellation, improved market access, enhanced Official Development Assistance and increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment, as well as transfers of technology.
- To help Africa build up its capacity to tackle the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases.

**VIII. Strengthening the United Nations**

29. We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common home.

30. We resolve therefore:

- To reaffirm the central position of the General Assembly as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations, and to enable it to play that role effectively.
- To intensify our efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects.
- To strengthen further the Economic and Social Council, building on its recent achievements, to help it fulfil the role ascribed to it in the Charter.
- To strengthen the International Court of Justice, in order to ensure justice and the rule of law in international affairs.

- To encourage regular consultations and coordination among the principal organs of the United Nations in pursuit of their functions.
- To ensure that the Organization is provided on a timely and predictable basis with the resources it needs to carry out its mandates.
- To urge the Secretariat to make the best use of those resources, in accordance with clear rules and procedures agreed by the General Assembly, in the interests of all Member States, by adopting the best management practices and technologies available and by concentrating on those tasks that reflect the agreed priorities of Member States.
- To promote adherence to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.<sup>16</sup>
- To ensure greater policy coherence and better cooperation between the United Nations, its agencies, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization, as well as other multilateral bodies, with a view to achieving a fully coordinated approach to the problems of peace and development.
- To strengthen further cooperation between the United Nations and national parliaments through their world organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in various fields, including peace and security, economic and social development, international law and human rights and democracy and gender issues.
- To give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization's goals and programmes.
- 31. We request the General Assembly to review on a regular basis the progress made in implementing the provisions of this Declaration, and ask the Secretary-General to issue periodic reports for consideration by the General Assembly and as a basis for further action.
- 32. We solemnly reaffirm, on this historic occasion, that the United Nations is the indispensable common house of the entire human family, through which we will seek to realize our universal aspirations for peace, cooperation and development. We therefore pledge our unstinting support for these common objectives and our determination to achieve them.

<sup>14</sup> Resolution 44/25, annex.

<sup>15</sup> Resolution 54/263, annexes I and II.

<sup>16</sup> Resolution 49/59, annex.

## IV. Decisions

**54/488. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 100th plenary meeting, on 5 September 2000, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, and 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,<sup>12</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993:

(a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-fourth session of the General Assembly;

(b) Welcomed the progress so far achieved in the consideration of the issues dealing with the working methods of the Security Council, as provisional agreement has been

recorded on a large number of issues, and urged the Working Group to continue exerting efforts during the fifty-fifth session to achieve progress in the consideration of all aspects of the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(c) Decided 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 fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly, and further decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth through fifty-fourth sessions, as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-fifth session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the fifty-fifth session, including any agreed recommendations.

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[25 July 2000]

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**55/503. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 112th plenary meeting, on 10 September 2001, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions and 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,<sup>27</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 5 December 1993, and mindful of the United Nations Millennium Declaration adopted by heads of State and Government on 8 September 2000,<sup>28</sup> in which they resolved, *inter alia*, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects:

(a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly;

(b) Welcomed the progress so far achieved in the consideration of the issues dealing with the working methods of the Security Council, as provisional agreement has been recorded on a large number of issues, but, noting that substantial differences of view remain on other issues, urged the Working Group to continue exerting efforts during the fifty-sixth session to achieve progress in the consideration of all aspects of the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(c) Decided 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 fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly, and further decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to fifty-fifth sessions, as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-sixth session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the fifty-sixth session, including any agreed recommendations.

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**V. Decisions****56/477. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 111th plenary meeting, on 6 September 2002, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, and 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,<sup>26</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, and mindful of the United Nations Millennium Declaration adopted by heads of State and Government on 8 September 2000,<sup>27</sup> in which they resolved, inter alia, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects:

- (a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly;
- (b) Welcomed the progress so far achieved in the consideration of the issues dealing with the working methods of the Security Council, as provisional agreement has been recorded on a large number of issues, but, noting that substantial differences of view remain on other issues, urged the Working Group to continue exerting efforts during the fifty-seventh session to achieve progress in the consideration of all aspects of the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(c) Decided 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 fifty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and further decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to fifty-sixth sessions, as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-seventh session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the fifty-seventh session, including any agreed recommendations.

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## V. Decisions

## B. Other decisions

1. *Decisions adopted without reference to a Main Committee***57/591. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 93rd plenary meeting, on 3 July 2003, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, and 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,<sup>28</sup> established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, and mindful of the United Nations Millennium Declaration, adopted by heads of State and Government on 8 September 2000,<sup>29</sup> in which they resolved, *inter alia*, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects:

(a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-seventh session of the General Assembly;

(b) Welcomed the progress so far achieved in the consideration of the issues dealing with the working methods of the Security Council, as provisional agreement has been recorded on a large number of issues, but, noting that substantial differences of view remain on other issues, urged the Working Group to continue exerting efforts during the fifty-eighth session to achieve progress in the consideration of all aspects of the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(c) Decided 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 fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and further decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth through fifty-seventh sessions, as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-eighth session of the Assembly, and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the fifty-eighth session, including any agreed recommendations.

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**IV. Decisions****58/572. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 95th plenary meeting, on 13 September 2004, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, and 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 fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly,<sup>24</sup> and bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000, adopted by heads of State and Government,<sup>25</sup> in which they resolved to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects:

- (a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly;
- (b) Noted with appreciation the Chairman's initiative to stimulate an active discussion on substantive topics relating to the comprehensive reform of the Security Council, and in that regard noted the six topics discussed in informal consultations of the Working Group;
- (c) Urged the Working Group to continue to exert efforts during the fifty-ninth 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 Council;
- (d) Decided that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council should be considered during the fifty-ninth session of the General Assembly;
- (e) Also decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to fifty-eighth sessions and drawing on the experience of the fifty-eighth session as well as the views to be expressed during the fifty-ninth session, and should submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of its fifty-ninth session, including any agreed recommendations.

# 2004

Relevant excerpts from the Report A/59/565 from the  
High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change by  
Secretary General Kofi Annan



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2004



United Nations

Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel  
on Threats, Challenges and Change

## XIV. The Security Council

244. The founders of the United Nations conferred primary responsibility on the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council was designed to enable the world body to act decisively to prevent and remove threats. It was created to be not just a representative but a responsible body, one that had the capacity for decisive action. The five permanent members were given veto rights but were also expected to shoulder an extra burden in promoting global security. Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations established that membership in the Council as a whole was explicitly linked not just to geographical balance but also to contributions to maintaining peace and security.

245. Since the Council was formed the threats and challenges to international peace and security have changed, as has the distribution of power among members. But the Security Council has been slow to change. Decisions cannot be implemented just by members of the Security Council but require extensive military, financial and political involvement by other States. Decisions taken and mandates given have often lacked the essential components of realism, adequate resources and the political determination to see them through. The Secretary-General is frequently holding out a begging bowl to implement Security Council decisions. Moreover, the paucity of representation from the broad membership diminishes support for Security Council decisions.

246. Since the end of the cold war, the effectiveness of the Council has improved, as has its willingness to act; but it has not always been equitable in its actions, nor has it acted consistently or effectively in the face of genocide or other atrocities. This has gravely damaged its credibility. The financial and military contributions to the United Nations of some of the five permanent members are modest compared to their special status, and often the Council's non-permanent members have been unable to make the necessary contribution to the work of the Organization envisaged by the Charter. Even outside the use of a formal veto, the ability of the five permanent members to keep critical issues of peace and security off the Security Council's agenda has further undermined confidence in the body's work.

247. Yet recent experience has also shown that the Security Council is the body in the United Nations most capable of organizing action and responding rapidly to new threats.

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248. Thus, the challenge for any reform is to increase both the effectiveness and the credibility of the Security Council and, most importantly, to enhance its capacity and willingness to act in the face of threats. This requires greater involvement in Security Council decision-making by those who contribute most; greater contributions from those with special decision-making authority; and greater consultation with those who must implement its decisions. It also requires a firm consensus on the nature of today's threats, on the obligations of broadened collective security, on the necessity of prevention, and on when and why the Council should authorize the use of force.

*... the challenge for any reform is to increase both the effectiveness and the credibility of the Security Council and, most importantly, to enhance its capacity and willingness to act in the face of threats*

249. We believe that reforms of the Security Council should meet the following principles:

- (a) They should, in honouring Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations, increase the involvement in decision-making of those who contribute most to the United Nations financially, militarily and diplomatically - specifically in terms of contributions to United Nations assessed budgets, participation in mandated peace operations, contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations in the areas of security and development, and diplomatic activities in support of United Nations objectives and mandates. Among developed countries, achieving or making substantial progress towards the internationally agreed level of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA should be considered an important criterion of contribution;
- (b) They should bring into the decision-making process countries more representative of the broader membership, especially of the developing world;
- (c) They should not impair the effectiveness of the Security Council;
- (d) They should increase the democratic and accountable nature of the body.

250. The Panel believes that a decision on the enlargement of the Council, satisfying these criteria, is now a necessity. The presentation of two clearly defined alternatives, of the kind described below as models A and B, should help to clarify - and perhaps bring to resolution - a debate which has made little progress in the last 12 years.

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251. Models A and B both involve a distribution of seats as between four major regional areas, which we identify respectively as "Africa", "Asia and Pacific", "Europe" and "Americas". We see these descriptions as helpful in making and implementing judgements about the composition of the Security Council, but make no recommendation about changing the composition of the current regional groups for general electoral and other United Nations purposes. Some members of the Panel, in particular our Latin American colleagues, expressed a preference for basing any distribution of seats on the current regional groups.

252. Model A provides for six new permanent seats, with no veto being created, and three new two-year term non-permanent seats, divided among the major regional areas as follows:

| Regional area         | Number of States | Permanent seats (continuing) | Proposed new permanent seats | Proposed two-year seats (non-renewable) | Total     |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---|-----------|
| Africa                | 53               | 0                            | 2                            | 4                                       | 6         |
| Asia and Pacific      | 56               | 1                            | 2                            | 3                                       | 6         |
| Europe                | 47               | 3                            | 1                            | 2                                       | 6         |
| Americas              | 35               | 1                            | 1                            | 4                                       | 6         |
| <b>Totals model A</b> | <b>191</b>       | <b>5</b>                     | <b>6</b>                     | <b>13</b>                               | <b>24</b> |

253. Model B provides for no new permanent seats but creates a new category of eight four-year renewable-term seats and one new two-year non-permanent (and non-renewable) seat, divided among the major regional areas as follows:

| Regional area         | Number of States | Permanent seats (continuing) | Proposed four-year renewable seats | Proposed two-year seats (non-renewable) | Total     |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-----------|
| Africa                | 53               | 0                            | 2                                  | 4                                       | 6         |
| Asia and Pacific      | 56               | 1                            | 2                                  | 3                                       | 6         |
| Europe                | 47               | 3                            | 2                                  | 1                                       | 6         |
| Americas              | 35               | 1                            | 2                                  | 3                                       | 6         |
| <b>Totals model B</b> | <b>191</b>       | <b>5</b>                     | <b>8</b>                           | <b>11</b>                               | <b>24</b> |

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254. In both models, having regard to Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations, a method of encouraging Member States to contribute more to international peace and security would be for the General Assembly, taking into account established practices of regional consultation, to elect Security Council members by giving preference for permanent or longer-term seats to those States that are among the top three financial contributors in their relevant regional area to the regular budget, or the top three voluntary contributors from their regional area, or the top three troop contributors from their regional area to United Nations peace-keeping missions.
255. The Panel was strongly of the view that no change to the composition of the Security Council should itself be regarded as permanent or unchallengeable in the future. Therefore, there should be a review of the composition of the Security Council in 2020, including, in this context, a review of the contribution (as defined in para. 249 above) of permanent and non-permanent members from the point of view of the Council's effectiveness in taking collective action to prevent and remove new and old threats to international peace and security.
256. Neither model involves any expansion of the veto or any Charter modification of the Security Council's existing powers. We recognize that the veto had an important function in reassuring the United Nations most powerful members that their interests would be safeguarded. We see no practical way of changing the existing members' veto powers. Yet, as a whole the institution of the veto has an anachronistic character that is unsuitable for the institution in an increasingly democratic age and we would urge that its use be limited to matters where vital interests are genuinely at stake. We also ask the permanent members, in their individual capacities, to pledge themselves to refrain from the use of the veto in cases of genocide and large-scale human rights abuses. We recommend that under any reform proposal, there should be no expansion of the veto.
257. We propose the introduction of a system of "indicative voting", whereby members of the Security Council could call for a public indication of positions on a proposed action. Under this indicative vote, "no" votes would not have a veto effect, nor would the final tally of the vote have any legal force. The second formal vote on any resolution would take place under the current procedures of the Council. This would, we believe, increase the accountability of the veto function.
258. In recent years, many informal improvements have been made to the transparency and accountability of the Security Council's deliberative and decision-making procedures. We also remind the Security Council that troop contribu-

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tors have rights under Article 44 of the Charter to be fully consulted concerning the deployment of troops to Council-mandated operations. We recommend that processes to improve transparency and accountability be incorporated and formalized in the Council's rules of procedure.

259. Many delegations on the Security Council lack access to professional military advice. Yet they are frequently called upon to take decisions with far-ranging military implications. We recommend therefore that the Secretary General's Military Adviser and the members of his staff be available on demand by the Security Council to offer technical and professional advice on military options.
260. We welcome greater civil society engagement in the work of the Security Council.

## XV. A Peacebuilding Commission

261. Our analysis has identified a key institutional gap: there is no place in the United Nations system explicitly designed to avoid State collapse and the slide to war or to assist countries in their transition from war to peace. That this was not included in the Charter of the United Nations is no surprise since the work of the United Nations in largely internal conflicts is fairly recent. But today, in an era when dozens of States are under stress or recovering from conflict, there is a clear international obligation to assist States in developing their capacity to perform their sovereign functions effectively and responsibly.
262. The United Nations unique role in this area arises from its international legitimacy; the impartiality of its personnel; its ability to draw on personnel with broad cultural understanding and experience of a wide range of administrative systems, including in the developing world; and its recent experience in organizing transitional administration and transitional authority operations.
263. Strengthening the United Nations capacity for peacebuilding in the widest sense must be a priority for the organization. The United Nations needs to be able to act in a coherent and effective way throughout a whole continuum that runs from early warning through preventive action to post-conflict peacebuilding. We recommend that the Security Council, acting under Article 29 of the Charter of the United Nations and after consultation with the Economic and Social Council, establish a Peacebuilding Commission.
264. The core functions of the Peacebuilding Commission should be to identify countries which are under stress and risk sliding towards State collapse; to organize, in partnership with the national Government, proactive assistance in preventing that process from developing further; to assist in the planning for transitions between conflict and post-conflict

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**AFRICAN UNION**

الاتحاد الأفريقي



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Addis Ababa, ETHIOPIA      P. O. Box 3243      Telephone 517 700      Fax : 517844

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**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**  
**7<sup>TH</sup> Extraordinary Session**  
**7- 8 March 2005**  
**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

Ext/EX.CL/2 (VII)

**THE COMMON AFRICAN POSITION ON THE PROPOSED  
REFORM OF THE UNITED NATIONS:**

**“THE EZULWINI CONSENSUS”**

already universal Third Committee which also deals with human rights.

- The status quo on the composition and location of the CHR should be maintained.
- The annual report of the Commissioner for Human Rights should be referred to the General Assembly and should not be to the Security Council, except where so requested or in cases of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.
- Efforts should be made to address the selective nature of the funding of the CHR programmes to ensure effectiveness. Measures should be taken to address the selective nature and politicisation of the agenda of the CHR.
- The Commission must pay equal attention to economic, social and cultural rights as, it does to civil and political rights.

**e) The Security Council**

**On the Security Council, the African Union:**

**Recalling** that, in 1945, when the UN was being formed, most of Africa was not represented and that in 1963, when the first reform took place, Africa was represented but was not in a particularly strong position;

**Convinced** that Africa is now in a position to influence the proposed UN reforms by maintaining her unity of purpose;

**Conscious** of the fact that the Harare Declaration has made significant impact on the world community and has thus been fairly reflected in the proposed UN Security Council Reforms, adopted the following position:

1. Africa's goal is to be fully represented in all the decision-making organs of the UN, particularly in the Security Council, which is the principal decision-making organ of the UN in matters relating to international peace and security.
2. Full representation of Africa in the Security Council means:
  - i. not less than two permanent seats with all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership including the right of veto;
  - ii. five non-permanent seats.
3. In that regard, even though Africa is opposed in principle to the veto, it is of the view that so long as it exists, and as a matter of common justice, it should be made available to all permanent members of the Security Council.
4. The African Union should be responsible for the selection of Africa's representatives in the Security Council.
5. The question of the criteria for the selection of African members of the Security Council should be a matter for the AU to determine, taking into consideration the representative nature and capacity of those chosen.

United Nations

A/59/2005



## General Assembly

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**Fifty-ninth session**  
Agenda items 45 and 55

**Integrated and coordinated implementation of and follow-up to the outcomes of the major United Nations conferences and summits in the economic, social and related fields**

**Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit**

### **In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General**

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166. I believe we need to restore the balance, with three Councils covering respectively, (a) international peace and security, (b) economic and social issues, and (c) human rights, the promotion of which has been one of the purposes of the Organization from its beginnings but now clearly requires more effective operational structures. These Councils together should have the task of driving forward the agenda that emerges from summit and other conferences of Member States, and should be the global forums in which the issues of security, development and justice can be properly addressed. The first two Councils, of course, already exist but need to be strengthened. The third requires a far-reaching overhaul and upgrading of our existing human rights machinery.

### Security Council

167. By adhering to the Charter of the United Nations, all Member States recognize that the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and agree to be bound by its decisions. It is therefore of vital importance, not only to the Organization but to the world, that the Council should be equipped to carry out this responsibility and that its decisions should command worldwide respect.

168. In the Millennium Declaration, all States resolved to intensify their efforts "to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects" (see General Assembly resolution 55/2, para. 30). This reflected the view, long held by the majority, that a change in the Council's composition is needed to make it more broadly representative of the international community as a whole, as well as of the geopolitical realities of today, and thereby more legitimate in the eyes of the world. Its working methods also need to be made more efficient and transparent. The Council must be not only more representative but also more able and willing to take action when action is needed. Reconciling these two imperatives is the hard test that any reform proposal must pass.

169. Two years ago, I declared that in my view no reform of the United Nations would be complete without reform of the Security Council. That is still my belief. The Security Council must be broadly representative of the realities of power in today's world. I therefore support the position set out in the report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (A/59/565) concerning the reforms of the Security Council, namely:

(a) They should, in honouring Article 23 of the Charter, increase the involvement in decision-making of those who contribute most to the United Nations financially, militarily and diplomatically, specifically in terms of contributions to United Nations assessed budgets, participation in mandated peace operations, contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations in the areas of security and development, and diplomatic activities in support of United Nations objectives and mandates. Among developed countries, achieving or making substantial progress towards the internationally agreed level of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA should be considered an important criterion of contribution;

(b) They should bring into the decision-making process countries more representative of the broader membership, especially of the developing world;

(c) They should not impair the effectiveness of the Security Council;

(d) They should increase the democratic and accountable nature of the body.

170. I urge Member States to consider the two options, models A and B, proposed in that report (see box 5), or any other viable proposals in terms of size and balance that have emerged on the basis of either model. Member States should agree to take a decision on this important issue before the summit in September 2005. It would be very preferable for Member States to take this vital decision by consensus, but if they are unable to reach consensus this must not become an excuse for postponing action.

**Box 5**
**Security Council reform: models A and B**

Model A provides for six new permanent seats, with no veto being created, and three new two-year term non-permanent seats, divided among the major regional areas as follows:

| Regional area         | No. of States | Permanent seats (continuing) | Proposed new permanent seats | Proposed two-year seats (non-renewable) | Total     |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---|-----------|
| Africa                | 53            | 0                            | 2                            | 4                                       | 6         |
| Asia and Pacific      | 56            | 1                            | 2                            | 3                                       | 6         |
| Europe                | 47            | 3                            | 1                            | 2                                       | 6         |
| Americas              | 35            | 1                            | 1                            | 4                                       | 6         |
| <b>Totals model A</b> | <b>191</b>    | <b>5</b>                     | <b>6</b>                     | <b>13</b>                               | <b>24</b> |

Model B provides for no new permanent seats but creates a new category of eight four-year renewable-term seats and one new two-year non-permanent (and non-renewable) seat, divided among the major regional areas as follows:

| Regional area         | No. of States | Permanent seats (continuing) | Proposed four-year renewable seats | Proposed two-year seats (non-renewable) | Total     |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-----------|
| Africa                | 53            | 0                            | 2                                  | 4                                       | 6         |
| Asia and Pacific      | 56            | 1                            | 2                                  | 3                                       | 6         |
| Europe                | 47            | 3                            | 2                                  | 1                                       | 6         |
| Americas              | 35            | 1                            | 2                                  | 3                                       | 6         |
| <b>Totals model B</b> | <b>191</b>    | <b>5</b>                     | <b>8</b>                           | <b>11</b>                               | <b>24</b> |

**Economic and Social Council**

171. The Charter of the United Nations gives the Economic and Social Council a range of important functions that involve coordination, policy review and policy

United Nations

A/59/L.64



## General Assembly

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### Fifty-ninth session

Agenda item 53

Question of equitable representation on and increase in the  
membership of the Security Council and related matters

Afghanistan, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Czech Republic, Denmark, Fiji, France,  
Georgia, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Japan, Kiribati,  
Latvia, Maldives, Nauru, Palau, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Solomon Islands,  
Tuvalu and Ukraine: draft resolution

### Security Council reform

*The General Assembly,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 48/26 of 3 December 1993 and 53/30 of 1 December  
1998,

*Recognizing* the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the  
maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United  
Nations,

*Recognizing also* the functions and powers of the General Assembly on  
matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security as  
contained in the Charter,

*Recalling* Article 15 (1) of the Charter, and recognizing the need for closer  
cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly,

*Noting* that the effectiveness, credibility and legitimacy of the work of the  
Security Council will be enhanced by its improved representative character, its  
better ability to discharge its primary responsibility and to carry out its duties on  
behalf of all members,

*Reasserting* the purposes and principles of the Charter, and recalling that,  
under Article 2 (5) of the Charter, every Member State has pledged to "give the  
United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present  
Charter",

*Stressing* that the permanent members of the Security Council bear a special  
responsibility both to uphold the principles of the Charter and to give their full  
support to the Organization's actions to maintain international peace and security,

*Recalling*, in this regard, its resolutions 55/235 and 55/236 of 23 December 2000, as updated by resolution 58/256 of 23 December 2003, on the scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations peacekeeping operations,

*Acknowledging* that there are many ways for Member States to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and underlining that members of the Security Council should be elected with due regard to their record of various contributions to this end and also to equitable geographical distribution, as noted in Article 23 (1) of the Charter, as well as for their demonstrated commitment to and observance of international norms,

*Acknowledging also* that security and development are intertwined and mutually reinforcing and that development is an indispensable foundation of collective security,

*Aiming* at the expansion of the membership of the Security Council to better reflect contemporary world realities, thereby shaping a balance of forces capable of enhancing the Council's responsiveness to the views and needs of all Member States, in particular developing countries, and ensuring the adoption of improved working methods,

*Recognizing* the ongoing efforts of the Security Council to improve its working methods,

*Noting with appreciation* the efforts 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 began its work in January 1994,

*Seeking in particular* to enhance the transparency of the Security Council and the participation of non-members of the Council in its work,

*Bearing in mind* the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000 adopted by Heads of State and Government,<sup>1</sup> 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,

*Taking into account* the relevant recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all",<sup>2</sup> in particular the recommendation to take a decision on Security Council reform before the summit of the General Assembly to be held in September 2005,

## Size and composition

### 1. *Decides:*

(a) That the membership of the Security Council shall be increased from fifteen to twenty-five by adding six permanent and four non-permanent members;

(b) That the six new permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:

<sup>1</sup> Resolution 55/2 of 8 September 2000.

<sup>2</sup> A/59/2005.

- (i) Two from African States;
- (ii) Two from Asian States;
- (iii) One from Latin American and Caribbean States;
- (iv) One from Western European and Other States;
- (c) That the four new non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:
  - (i) One from African States;
  - (ii) One from Asian States;
  - (iii) One from Eastern European States;
  - (iv) One from Latin American and Caribbean States;

#### **Election procedure for new permanent members**

2. *Invites* interested States to inform the members of the General Assembly that they are prepared to assume the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council and to submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly within one week of the adoption of the present resolution;

##### **3. *Decides:***

(a) To proceed, as soon as possible but in any case no later than twelve weeks after the adoption of the present resolution, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot, to the designation of the States that will be elected to exercise the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council, according to the pattern described in paragraph 1 (b) above, it being understood that if the number of States having obtained the required majority falls short of the number of seats allocated for permanent membership new rounds of balloting will be conducted for the remaining seats until six States obtain the required majority to occupy the six seats;

(b) That only candidates registered in accordance with paragraph 2 above shall be eligible;

(c) That the date for the election of the new permanent members according to subparagraph 3 (a) above shall be determined by the President of the General Assembly;

4. *Decides*, without prejudice to paragraph 3 above, to apply the rules of procedure of the General Assembly to the election of the new permanent members of the Security Council;

#### **Veto**

##### **5. *Decides:***

(a) That the new permanent members should have the same responsibilities and obligations as the current permanent members;

(b) That the new permanent members shall not exercise the right of veto until the question of the extension of the right of veto to new permanent members

has been decided upon in the framework of the review mandated under paragraph 7 below;

#### **Amendment of the Charter of the United Nations and review**

##### **6. *Decides:***

(a) That, no later than two weeks after the designation of States elected to serve as new permanent members of the Security Council, a resolution containing amendments to the Charter of the United Nations arising from the decisions taken in paragraphs 1 and 3 above will be submitted in order to be adopted at the earliest possible time, in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter;

(b) That the resolution will include amendments to Articles 27 (2) and (3), 108, and 109 (1) and (2) of the Charter to require the affirmative vote of 14 of 25 members of the Security Council for a decision, and to reflect, consistent with paragraph 5 (b) above, the fact that the extension of the right of veto to the new permanent members has not been decided;

7. *Decides also* to review the situation created by the amendments referred to in paragraph 6 above fifteen years after their entry into force;

#### **Working methods**

8. *Urges* the Security Council to undertake the following measures to enhance the transparency, inclusiveness and legitimacy of its work to strengthen the support and understanding of its decisions by the membership of the Organization, thereby increasing the Council's effectiveness, namely, to:

(a) As a general rule, meet in a public forum open to all Member States of the United Nations. Exceptionally, the Security Council may decide to meet in private;

(b) Implement Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter by consulting with non-Security Council members on a regular basis, especially members with a special interest in the substantive matter under consideration by the Council;

(c) Grant non-members access to subsidiary organs of the Council, including the right to participate, as appropriate;

(d) Make available to non-members of the Council draft resolutions and presidential statements, as well as other draft documents that are tabled at informal consultations of the whole of the Council for action on its agenda items, as soon as such documents are tabled, or earlier, if so authorized by the author of the draft;

(e) Hold frequent, timely and qualitative briefings for non-members on the matters discussed in the Security Council and its subsidiary organs, including briefings on its ad hoc missions, their terms of reference and the findings of such missions;

(f) Hold regular and timely consultations with troop-contributing countries and countries that contribute financial resources, as well as other countries that are directly concerned or affected by a peacekeeping operation, as appropriate, before and during the decision-making process for the establishment, conduct, review and termination of peacekeeping operations, including the extension and change of mandates, as well as for specific operational issues;

- (g) Hold regular consultations with the Presidents of the General Assembly and Economic and Social Council;
- (h) Submit an annual report to the General Assembly providing a detailed substantive and comprehensive evaluation of the work of the Council pursuant to Articles 15 (1) and 24 (3) of the Charter;
- (i) Submit, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter, for the consideration of the Assembly in accordance with Article 15 (1) of the Charter.

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July 8, 2005

Excellency,

In view of the debate that will take place next week in the General Assembly on the issue of the Security Council Reform, as asked for by several "Uniting for Consensus" Missions during the recent consultations on the outcome document (June 21 – July 1), I enclose the text of the Draft resolution based on the "Elements for a decision on the SC Reform", addressed to the membership with letter on May 27, 2005.

The "Uniting for Consensus" Draft resolution aims at:

- increasing the chances of all UN Member States to serve in the Security Council. Our model is fair, based on the principle of sovereign equality and does not discriminate among the membership;
- strengthening the multilateralism through the union of the UN Member States. It is based on a democratic vision of the United Nations;
- accommodating the interests of all Member States and the concern of all groups and political constituencies. The proposed model is flexible.
- enhancing accountability. It contributes to restore the central role of the General Assembly;
- reforming the Security Council in a simple, efficient and non divisive way.

I hope that circulating this Draft before the discussion in the General Assembly will contribute to an interactive, more focused and fruitful debate.

At this stage, "Uniting for Consensus" reaffirms the necessity of a constructive, inclusive and bottom-up approach and invites all Member States to come forward with comments and improvements to the attached Draft, in order to find a non divisive solution based on the broadest possible agreement.

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

Marcello Spatàfora

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM

*The General Assembly,*

- i) Recalling its resolution 1991 A (XVIII), by which it decided to amend the Charter of the United Nations to increase the number of the non-permanent members of the Security Council from six to ten, on the basis of the increase of the membership since 1945;
- ii) Recalling the various reports 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," established by its resolution 48/26;
- iii) Stressing the urgent need to improve the working methods of the Security Council in accordance with the various issues discussed within the same Open-Ended Working Group, in particular the question of transparency in decision making; accountability; fairer opportunities of participation of members States; better access to information by all member States and restrictions to the veto power with a view towards its eventual elimination;
- iv) Recalling the "Millennium Declaration" of 2000 and taking note of the Report of the Secretary-General, "In Larger Freedom" (A/59/2005) in particular its assessment of the interlocking nature of security and development and human rights;
- v) Mindful of primary responsibility conferred by the Charter of the United Nations to the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security and that in carrying out its duties the Security Council acts on behalf of the members of the United Nations;
- vi) Mindful also of the importance of strengthening the institutional balance and interrelationship among the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council within the scope of the comprehensive reform of the United Nations;
- vii) Considering that joint efforts by the General Assembly, Security Council and the Economic and social Council are needed in order to attain solutions to global problems and threats in an integrative and constructive manner;
- viii) Considering that the present composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced;
- ix) Noting with concern the lack of adequate participation of developing countries in the maintenance of international peace and security;

- x) Recognizing that contemporary world realities, in particular the substantial increase in membership of developing countries since 1963, requires an expansion of the Security Council, in the non-permanent category, in order to ensure fairer opportunities of participation for all member States;
- xi) Reaffirming that any expansion of the Security Council should make it more democratic, more equitably representative, more transparent, more effective and more accountable;
- xii) Convinced that periodic elections and reelections are the strongest means to promote real accountability, allow for frequent rotation and fair and equitable representation of its member States in the Security Council;
- xiii) Recognizing the importance of general agreement on these questions, and reaffirming in this regard its resolution 53/30;
- xiv) Recalling article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations;

#### Amendments to Article 23

1. Decides that the Security Council shall consist, in addition to the five permanent Members as determined by art. 23.1 of the Charter, of twenty elected Members of the United Nations serving on the Security Council for a two-year term, according to the provisions of OP. 3 and OP. 5.
2. Decides, in view of the above, to adopt the following amendments to the Charter and to submit them for ratification by the member States of the United Nations.
3. Decides that Article 23, paragraphs 1, 2, and new 3 of the Charter of the United Nations will read as follows (*amendments underlined*):

“1. The Security Council shall consist of twenty-five members of the United Nations. France, the People's Republic of China the Russian Federation the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect twenty other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, 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.

2. The non permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from fifteen to twenty-five, 5 of the retiring members shall continue for one more year.

3. Non-permanent members may be eligible for immediate re-election, subject to the decision of their respective geographical groups.

Distribution of Seats

4. Decides that, in order to implement paragraph two of the present resolution, the twenty non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern: six from African States; five from Asian States; four from Latin American and Caribbean States; three from Western Europe and Other States; two from Eastern European States.

Limits to reelection and role of geographical groups

5. Recommends that each of the five existing geographical groups, as identified above in OP.4, shall decide on arrangements among its members for re-election or rotation of its members on the seats allotted to the Group. These arrangements shall also address, as appropriate, a fair sub-regional representation.

Majority required for Security Council decisions

6. Decides to amend also Article 27 paragraphs 2 and 3 and Article 109, paragraph 1, of the Charter to require the affirmative vote of 15 of the 25 members of the Security Council.\*

Working methods

7. Calls for the consideration of the Security Council's working methods, in a transparent, inclusive and accountable manner, including in particular:

- Restraint on the use of veto.
- Procedures to guarantee transparency in decision making, accountability in performance and access to information including open briefings and interaction with all interested parties.
- Consultation, cooperation and adequate exchange of information with the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.
- Access and better participation of non-Member States of the Security Council in the work of the Security Council.
- Adoption and circulation of formal rules of procedure.

In addition, further provisions should be elaborated through consultations among Member States.

8. Urges its "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," to promptly finalize its recommendations on working methods of the Security Council.

**Ratification of Charter Amendments**

9. Calls upon member States to ratify the above amendments, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, by September, 2007.

10. Requests the Secretary-General to submit it a report on the status of the process of entry into force of these amendments to the Charter, at its Sixtieth regular session.

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\*Regarding paragraph 3 of article 27, the requirement of the concurring votes of the permanent members is not amended.

# 2005 | Proposed Draft Resolution A/59/L.67 by the African group, built on the Ezulwini Consensus

United Nations

A/59/L.67\*



## General Assembly

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Fifty-ninth session  
Agenda item 53

### Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, São Tome and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe: draft resolution

### Reform of the Security Council

*The General Assembly,*

*Reaffirming the aims and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations,*

*Recognizing that the international community has welcomed proposals for the reform of the United Nations as contained in the report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change entitled "A more secure world: our shared responsibility"<sup>1</sup> and the report of the Secretary-General entitled "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all",<sup>2</sup>*

*Aware of the positive reactions of various regions, groups and individual countries to the proposals contained in the two reports, as reflected in the draft outcome document for the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly to be held in September 2005, released by the President of the Assembly in June 2005,<sup>3</sup>*

*Noting the common African position on the proposed reform of the United Nations as contained in the Ezulwini Consensus,*

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<sup>\*</sup> Reissued for technical reasons.

<sup>1</sup> See A/59/565.

<sup>2</sup> A/59/2005 and Add.1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> Available from [http://www.un.org/ga/president/59/draft\\_outcome.htm](http://www.un.org/ga/president/59/draft_outcome.htm).

*Convinced* that the three categories of freedom, namely, freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity, are essential for both developed and developing societies and indispensable for the peace and stability of the world,

*Conscious* that these freedoms can be upheld and protected by the world community only through an effective management of the current United Nations system,

*Taking into account* the need to strengthen United Nations institutions in order to enhance the efficiency of the organization, especially its principal organs and, in particular, the General Assembly and the Security Council,

*Emphasizing* the need to strengthen the General Assembly which should be made to function effectively as the main deliberative and representative organ of the United Nations,

*Cognizant* of the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations,

*Stressing* the need to consider the views of all Member States on this all-important issue of the reform of the Security Council with a view to bringing to fruition ideas that have been the subject of several debates over the years,

*Acknowledging* the need for the Security Council to reflect present world realities and be more responsive to the aspirations of all States Members of the United Nations, bearing in mind the undeniable fact that in the year 1945, when the United Nations was being formed, most of Africa was not represented and that, as a result, Africa remains to this day the only continent without a permanent seat in the Council, which is the primary organ of the United Nations addressing matters of international peace and security,

*Mindful* of the need to ensure Africa, like all the other regions of the world, effective representation in the Security Council,

*Realizing* the need to engage fully all regions of the world in the work of the United Nations and to enlist their support for the progress of humanity,

*Resolves* to:

(a) Enlarge the Security Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories and improve on its working methods;

(b) Accord the new permanent members the same prerogatives and privileges as those of the current permanent members, including the right of veto;

(c) Grant Africa two permanent and five non-permanent seats in the Security Council and increase its membership from fifteen to twenty-six with the eleven additional seats to be distributed as follows:

- (i) Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States;
- (ii) Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asian States;
- (iii) One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States;
- (iv) One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and Caribbean States;
- (v) One permanent seat for Western European and other States;

(d) Amend the Charter of the United Nations accordingly.



## General Assembly

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### Fifty-ninth session

Agenda item 53

**Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

Argentina, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Italy, Malta, Mexico, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, San Marino, Spain and Turkey: draft resolution

### Reform of the Security Council

*The General Assembly,*

*Recalling* its resolution 1991 A (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, by which it decided to amend the Charter of the United Nations to increase the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council from six to ten, on the basis of the increase in the membership of the United Nations since 1945,

*Recalling* the various reports 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, established by its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993,

*Stressing* the urgent need to improve the working methods of the Security Council in accordance with the various issues discussed within the Open-ended Working Group, in particular the question of transparency in decision-making; accountability; fairer opportunities of participation of Member States; better access to information by all Member States and restrictions on the veto power with a view to its eventual elimination,

*Recalling* the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 2000<sup>1</sup> and taking note of the report of the Secretary-General entitled "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all",<sup>2</sup> in particular its assessment of the interlocking nature of security, development and human rights, and reaffirming that the internationally agreed development goals, including those contained in the Millennium Declaration, can only be achieved through the full implementation of the mandates contained in the Monterrey Consensus of the International Conference

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<sup>1</sup> See resolution 55/2.

<sup>2</sup> A/59/2005.



on Financing for Development<sup>3</sup> and the Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development ("Johannesburg Plan of Implementation"),<sup>4</sup> among other development commitments,

*Mindful* of primary responsibility conferred by the Charter of the United Nations on the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security and that in carrying out its duties the Security Council acts on behalf of the Members of the United Nations,

*Mindful also* of the importance of strengthening the institutional balance and interrelationship among the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council within the scope of the comprehensive reform of the United Nations,

*Considering* that joint efforts by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are needed in order to attain solutions to global problems and threats in an integrated and constructive manner,

*Considering* that the present composition of the Security Council is inequitable and unbalanced,

*Recognizing* that contemporary world realities, in particular the substantial increase in membership of developing countries since 1963, requires an expansion of the Security Council, in the non-permanent category, in order to ensure fairer opportunities of participation for all Member States,

*Reaffirming* that any expansion of the Security Council should make it more democratic, more equitably representative, more transparent, more effective and more accountable,

*Convinced* that periodic elections and re-elections are the strongest means to promote real accountability, allow for frequent rotation and fair and equitable representation of the Member States in the Security Council,

*Recalling* its resolution 53/30 of 23 November 1998,

*Recognizing* the importance of reaching the broadest possible agreement on all major issues, including Security Council reform, as decided in resolution 59/291 of 15 April 2005,

*Recalling* Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations,

#### **Amendments to Article 23**

1. *Decides* that the Security Council shall consist, in addition to the five permanent members as determined by Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations, of twenty elected Members of the United Nations serving on the Security Council for a two-year term, according to the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 5 below;

<sup>3</sup> See *Report of the International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.02.II.A.7), chap. I, resolution 1, annex.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 August-4 September 2002* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.03.II.A.1 and corrigendum), chap. I, resolution 2, annex.

2. *Decides*, in view of the above, to adopt the following amendments to the Charter and to submit them for ratification by the States Members of the United Nations;

3. *Decides* that Article 23, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Charter of the United Nations will read as follows:

“1. The Security Council shall consist of twenty-five Members of the United Nations. France, the People’s Republic of China, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect twenty other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, 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.

“2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from fifteen to twenty-five, five of the retiring members shall continue for one more year. Non-permanent members may be eligible for immediate re-election, subject to the decision of their respective geographical groups.”

#### **Distribution of seats**

4. *Decides* that, in order to implement paragraph 3 above, the twenty non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern: six from African States; five from Asian States; four from Latin American and Caribbean States; three from Western European and other States; two from Eastern European States;

#### **Limits to re-election and role of geographical groups**

5. *Recommends* that each of the five existing geographical groups, as identified in paragraph 4 above, shall decide on arrangements among its members for re-election or rotation of its members on the seats allotted to the Group; those arrangements shall also address, as appropriate, a fair subregional representation;

#### **Majority required for Security Council decisions**

6. *Decides* to amend also Article 27, paragraphs 2 and 3, and Article 109, paragraph 1, of the Charter to require the affirmative vote of fifteen of the twenty-five members of the Security Council;<sup>5</sup>

#### **Working methods**

7. *Calls* for improving the working methods of the Security Council in a transparent, inclusive and accountable manner, including in particular:

(a) Restraint on the use of the veto;

<sup>5</sup> Regarding paragraph 3 of Article 27, the requirement of the concurring votes of the permanent members is not amended.

- (b) Procedures to guarantee transparency in decision-making, accountability in performance and access to information, including open briefings and interaction with all interested parties;
- (c) Consultation, cooperation and adequate exchange of information with the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council;
- (d) Access and better participation of non-member States of the Security Council in the work of the Security Council;
- (e) Adoption and circulation of formal rules of procedure;

8. *Underlines*, in addition to the provisions of paragraph 7 above, the need to elaborate further provisions through consultations among Member States;

9. *Urges* its 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 to promptly finalize its recommendations on the working methods of the Security Council;

#### **Ratification of amendments to the Charter**

10. *Calls upon* Member States to ratify the amendments set out above, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, by September 2007;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its sixty-first regular session a report on the status of the process of entry into force of these amendments to the Charter.

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## V. Decisions

**59/566. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 117th plenary meeting, on 12 September 2005, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, 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 fifty-ninth session of the General Assembly,<sup>26</sup> and bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000, adopted by Heads of State and Government,<sup>27</sup> in which they resolved to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects:

- (a) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the fifty-ninth session of the General Assembly;
- (b) Noted with appreciation the Chairman's initiative to stimulate an active discussion on substantive topics relating to the comprehensive reform of the Security Council, and in that regard noted the six topics discussed by the Working Group;
- (c) Urged the Working Group to continue to exert efforts during the sixtieth 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 Council;
- (d) Decided that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council should be considered during the sixtieth session of the General Assembly;
- (e) Also decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to fifty-ninth sessions and drawing on the experience of the fifty-ninth session as well as the views to be expressed during the sixtieth session, and should submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of its sixtieth session, including any agreed recommendations.



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Sixtieth session  
Agenda items 46 and 120

## Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 16 September 2005

*[without reference to a Main Committee (A/60/L.1)]*

### 60/1. 2005 World Summit Outcome

*The General Assembly*

*Adopts* the following 2005 World Summit Outcome:

#### 2005 World Summit Outcome

##### I. Values and principles

1. We, Heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 14 to 16 September 2005.
2. We reaffirm our faith in the United Nations and our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, which are indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world, and reiterate our determination to foster strict respect for them.
3. We reaffirm the United Nations Millennium Declaration,<sup>1</sup> which we adopted at the dawn of the twenty-first century. We recognize the valuable role of the major United Nations conferences and summits in the economic, social and related fields, including the Millennium Summit, in mobilizing the international community at the local, national, regional and global levels and in guiding the work of the United Nations.
4. We reaffirm that our common fundamental values, including freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for all human rights, respect for nature and shared responsibility, are essential to international relations.
5. We are determined to establish a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect their territorial integrity and political independence, to refrain in our international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to uphold resolution of disputes by

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<sup>1</sup> See resolution 55/2.

147. We stress that, in order to efficiently perform their respective mandates as provided under the Charter, United Nations bodies should develop good cooperation and coordination in the common endeavour of building a more effective United Nations.

148. We emphasize the need to provide the United Nations with adequate and timely resources with a view to enabling it to carry out its mandates. A reformed United Nations must be responsive to the entire membership, faithful to its founding principles and adapted to carrying out its mandate.

### **General Assembly**

149. We reaffirm the central position of the General Assembly as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations, as well as the role of the Assembly in the process of standard-setting and the codification of international law.

150. We welcome the measures adopted by the General Assembly with a view to strengthening its role and authority and the role and leadership of the President of the Assembly and, to that end, we call for their full and speedy implementation.

151. We call for strengthening the relationship between the General Assembly and the other principal organs to ensure better coordination on topical issues that require coordinated action by the United Nations, in accordance with their respective mandates.

### **Security Council**

152. We reaffirm that Member States have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, acting on their behalf, as provided for by the Charter.

153. We support early reform of the Security Council - an essential element of our overall effort to reform the United Nations - in order to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions. We commit ourselves to continuing our efforts to achieve a decision to this end and request the General Assembly to review progress on the reform set out above by the end of 2005.

154. We recommend that the Security Council continue to adapt its working methods so as to increase the involvement of States not members of the Council in its work, as appropriate, enhance its accountability to the membership and increase the transparency of its work.

### **Economic and Social Council**

155. We reaffirm the role that the Charter and the General Assembly have vested in the Economic and Social Council and recognize the need for a more effective Economic and Social Council as a principal body for coordination, policy review, policy dialogue and recommendations on issues of economic and social development, as well as for implementation of the international development goals agreed at the major United Nations conferences and summits, including the Millennium Development Goals. To achieve these objectives, the Council should:

(a) Promote global dialogue and partnership on global policies and trends in the economic, social, environmental and humanitarian fields. For this purpose, the Council should serve as a quality platform for high-level engagement among

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United Nations

A/60/L.49



## General Assembly

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**Sixtieth session**  
Agenda item 120  
Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit

**Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland: draft resolution**

### **Improving the working methods of the Security Council**

*The General Assembly,*

*Reaffirming* that the States Members of the United Nations have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, acting on their behalf, as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations,

*Recalling* the provisions relating to the powers and functions of the General Assembly in matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular Article 11, Article 12, paragraph 1, Article 15, paragraph 1 and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter,

*Recalling* its authority under Article 10 of the Charter to discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations and to make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations and to the Security Council thereon,

*Stressing* the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter and to give their full support to the actions of the Organization aimed at maintaining international peace and security,

*Noting with appreciation* the work carried out by 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,

*Acknowledging* the significant steps taken by the Security Council to enhance inclusiveness and the representation of the general membership,

*Emphasizing* the need for further measures to ensure the accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness of the work of the Security Council, with a view to further enhancing its legitimacy and effectiveness,

*Reaffirming its support for early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of the overall effort to reform the United Nations, as stated in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document,<sup>1</sup>*

*Acknowledging that efforts to improve the working methods of the Security Council promote a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, including the increase in its membership,*

1. *Invites the Security Council to consider the measures contained in the annex to the present resolution in order to further enhance the accountability, transparency and inclusiveness of its work, with a view to strengthening its legitimacy and effectiveness;*
2. *Further invites the Security Council to report to the General Assembly, by the end of its sixtieth session, on action it has taken pursuant to its consideration of the present resolution.*

## Annex

### Measures on working methods suggested for consideration by the Security Council

#### Relationship with the General Assembly and other principal organs

1. The members of the Security Council should engage in an informal, interactive discussion on the annual report of the Council when it is considered by the General Assembly.
2. The Security Council should submit, in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, special subject-oriented reports to the General Assembly for its consideration on issues of current international concern, including reports on topics such as termination of peacekeeping operations, imposition of sanctions and other enforcement measures, as well as other matters of relevance to the membership as a whole.
3. More substantive exchanges of views among the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council should be held on a frequent basis and as a standard operating procedure. The procedures governing this interaction should be disseminated to the larger membership.
4. Regular and timely consultations between members and non-members of the Security Council should be established as part of the standard operating procedures of the Council.
5. The Security Council's tentative forecast of its programme of work for the coming month should be made available to Member States as soon as it is available to members of the Council. The incoming President of the Security Council should hold a briefing on the monthly forecast open to the larger membership of the United Nations.
6. Where decisions of the Security Council require implementation by all Member States, the Council should seek the views of the Member States and ensure that their ability to implement decisions is taken into account in the decision-making process.

#### Implementation of decisions

7. The Security Council should explore ways to assess the extent to which its decisions have been implemented. To this end, the Council should establish lessons learned groups to carry out the following tasks:
  - (a) Assessing whether Security Council decisions have been implemented;
  - (b) Analysing obstacles to implementation and reasons for non-implementation;
  - (c) Suggesting mechanisms or measures on the basis of best practices aimed at enhancing implementation.

#### Subsidiary bodies

8. The subsidiary bodies of the Security Council should include in their work, on a case-by-case basis, non-members with strong interest and relevant expertise.

Furthermore, Member States particularly affected by sanctions should, at their request, be given the possibility of participating in the meetings of the relevant sanctions committee.

9. The President of the Security Council and the Chairpersons of its subsidiary bodies should offer informal opportunities for Member States to provide substantive input to their work.

10. The Security Council should take steps to improve the quality and frequency of formal and informal reports on the work of all its subsidiary bodies. The Council should in particular explore ways to increase the transparency of the work of its sanctions committees, *inter alia* by announcing the meetings and agenda in the *Journal of the United Nations*, giving substantive briefings to non-members of the Council after the meeting, and making summary records more widely and promptly available.

11. The Security Council should give States confronted with special economic problems arising from preventive or enforcement measures imposed by the Council the opportunity to consult with the relevant sanctions committee on a timely, efficient and substantive basis, in accordance with Article 50 of the Charter.

12. Where sanctions involve lists of individuals or entities, sanctions committees should establish procedures, reflecting standards of due process, to review the cases of those claiming to have been incorrectly placed or retained on such lists.

#### **Use of the veto**

13. A permanent member of the Security Council using its veto should explain the reason for doing so at the time the relevant draft resolution is rejected in the Council and a copy of the explanation should be circulated as a Security Council document to all Members of the Organization.

14. No permanent member should cast a non-concurring vote in the sense of Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter in the event of genocide, crimes against humanity and serious violations of international humanitarian law.

#### **Operations mandated or carried out by the Security Council**

15. The Security Council should ensure that all Member States are fully and promptly informed of all developments regarding its missions, including their budgetary aspects.

16. The Security Council should enhance consultations with troop-contributing countries and other States that are especially engaged in United Nations field operations, in particular when they involve risks for the personnel deployed.

#### **Relationship with regional arrangements and agencies**

17. The Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, should enhance its cooperation and consultations on matters affecting the maintenance of international peace and security with the relevant regional arrangements and agencies, as appropriate.

### **Integration of new Members of the Security Council**

18. The Security Council Affairs Division of the Department of Political Affairs of the Secretariat should be assigned the task of identifying best practices employed by members of the Security Council to consult with non-members with a view to incorporating those practices into the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council and into briefings given to candidates for election to the Council as well as to newly elected members of the Council.

19. In order to facilitate the integration of newly elected members of the Security Council, the Secretariat should prepare and disseminate a detailed briefing packet on the procedures, practices and work of the Council.

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**60/568. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 101st plenary meeting, on 11 September 2006, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, 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 sixtieth session of the General Assembly,<sup>40</sup> bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000, adopted by Heads of State and Government,<sup>41</sup> in which they resolved to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Council in all its aspects, and recalling the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005,<sup>42</sup> 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) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the sixtieth session of the General Assembly;<sup>40</sup>

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

(c) Urged the Working Group to continue to exert efforts during the sixty-first 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 Council;

(d) Decided that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council should be considered during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly;

(e) Also decided that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to sixtieth sessions of the General Assembly and drawing on the experience of the sixtieth session, as well as the views to be expressed during the sixty-first session, taking into account paragraph 15 of the report,<sup>40</sup> and also taking into consideration the discussion on the process of implementation of the 2005 World Summit Outcome;

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

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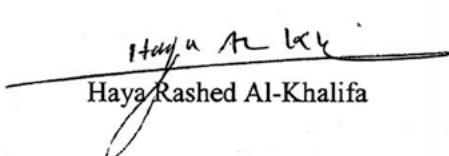
THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

16 February 2007

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

**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)

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

### **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

United Nations

A/61/L.69/Rev.1



## General Assembly

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### Sixty-first session

Agenda item 111

### Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Burundi, Cape Verde, Fiji, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, India, Jamaica, Liberia, Mauritius, Nauru, Nigeria, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Tuvalu and Vanuatu: draft resolution

### Security Council reform process

*The General Assembly,*

*Reaffirming the aims and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations,*

*Bearing in mind* the United Nations Millennium Declaration<sup>1</sup> of 8 September 2000 adopted by heads of State and Government, in which they resolved to, inter alia, intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects,

*Recalling* the resolve of world leaders, reflected in the 2005 World Summit Outcome,<sup>2</sup> to support early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of overall efforts to reform the United Nations in order to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and legitimacy and implementation of its decisions,

*Noting with appreciation* the efforts 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 began its work in January 1994,

*Aiming* to expand the membership of the Security Council to better reflect contemporary world realities, thereby enhancing the Council's responsiveness to the views and needs of all Member States, in particular developing countries, including island and small States, and ensuring the adoption of improved working methods,

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<sup>1</sup> See resolution 55/2.

<sup>2</sup> See resolution 60/1.



*Commending the President of the sixty-first session of the General Assembly for her efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council,*

*Urge*s the President-elect of the sixty-second session of the General Assembly to take immediate steps to facilitate results-oriented intergovernmental negotiations, taking into account all options and elements, including, in particular, the following elements for a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, so as to adopt an outcome, preferably before the end of 2007:

- Expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories
- Greater representation of the developing countries, including island and small States
- Representation of the developed countries and those with transition economies reflective of contemporary world realities
- Comprehensive improvement in the working methods of the Security Council
- Equitable geographical distribution
- Provision for a review.

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**61/561. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 109th plenary meeting, on 17 September 2007, the General Assembly, recalling its previous relevant resolutions and decisions, 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 Assembly,<sup>23</sup> bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000, adopted by Heads of State and Government,<sup>24</sup> in which they resolved to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects, and recalling the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005,<sup>25</sup> 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) Took note of the report of the Working Group on its work during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly;<sup>23</sup>
- (b) Noted 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) Urged the Working Group to exert efforts during the sixty-second session, aimed at achieving general agreement among Member States 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 Council;
- (d) Decided that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council should be considered during the sixty-second session of the General Assembly so that further concrete results may be achieved, including through intergovernmental negotiations, building on the progress achieved so far, particularly at the sixty-first session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States;
- (e) Also decided 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;<sup>25</sup>
- (f) Further decided that the Working Group should submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of its sixty-second session, including any agreed recommendations.

7/2018

UN General Assembly - President of the 62nd session

**P R E S I D E N T   O F   T H E   6 2 N D   S E S S I O N  
U N I T E D   N A T I O N S   G E N E R A L   A S S E M B L Y**

E

**AT THE JOINT DEBATE ON AGENDA ITEM 9 “REPORT OF  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL” AND AGENDA ITEM 122 ON  
“QUESTION OF THE EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON  
AND THE INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL AND RELATED MATTERS”**

United Nations Headquarters  
New York, 14 November 2007

Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,

Allow me, first of all, to avail myself of the opportunity to thank the Permanent Representative of Indonesia, Ambassador Marty Natalegawa, for the introduction of the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly for the period of August 1st 2006, to July 31 2007, in his capacity as President of the SC for the month of November.

During the discussion of agenda item 9, “Report of the Security Council”, Member States expressed their appreciation for Indonesia’s role as the current President of the Security Council. However, some serious concerns were expressed regarding the report, in particular the lack of comprehensive evaluations of the various deliberations of the Council.

In order to preserve the balance between the main organs of this Organization, and to improve transparency and strengthen cooperation between the General Assembly and the Security Council many participants in the debate stressed the importance that in future the report should be more analytical and substantive.

This is why we have to pursue a course of revitalizing the General Assembly and reforming the Security Council simultaneously!

Excellencies,

I am particularly pleased to be able to state that we have had a very profound, above all comprehensive and fruitful discussion on the Security Council reform under agenda item 122.

It was a frank and effective dialogue, which provided valuable inputs for further deliberations of the General Assembly on this very important aspect of the United Nations overall reform agenda. It fully endorsed the notion that the reform of the United Nations system is one of the priority issues for the 62nd session of the General Assembly.

May I also dare to say, that the debate demonstrated the clear commitment of Member States to embark upon a new stage that offers the prospect of achieving the ultimate goal of comprehensive reform of the

17/2018

UN General Assembly - President of the 62nd session

Security Council.

You have paved the way towards the objective of developing a framework to identify and reach agreement on the various negotiable elements which would then allow us to arrive at the point to begin intergovernmental negotiations.

In other words, the bridge between the results achieved during the 61st session and the way forward during the 62nd session needs to be constructed!

The pillars of the edifice called 'intergovernmental negotiations' must be set up as you have defined them during the debate that we are now concluding.

First, we must bear in mind that Security Council Reform is an integral part of strengthening the UN. It must therefore go hand in hand with the transformation of the wider United Nations system;

Second, prudent and principle oriented guidance by the President of the General Assembly is required, though it must be based on a joint venture with Member States in good faith and mutual respect.

Third, the way forward ought to be accomplished through an objective and transparent process to first identify the negotiables in order to then move to intergovernmental negotiations.

Fourth, the Open-ended Working Group should carry out consultations on the framework and the modalities for intergovernmental negotiations;

Fifth, further steps must contain components and notions that will allow the Membership to reach a general agreement on all aspects of Security Council reform, in particular on both the composition of the Council, and its working methods;

Sixth, the reform of the Security Council must accommodate the interests and concerns of all sides, especially those who are currently underrepresented; and,

Seventh, Member States should refrain from steps which could serve to undermine the current momentum and consensus to continue a process with the intention of achieving result oriented solutions.

Excellencies,

Let me briefly refer to some sparks which have characterized the debate over the last two and a half days.

Member States pleaded for a clear common sense that we all have a shared responsibility to achieve results. And, one can not agree more.

However, this will require our combined efforts based on pragmatism, political courage, mutual faith and respect, as well as flexibility and the political will to reach broadest possible agreement.

There were also requests to speed up the rhythm of the process. This again requires us to avoid the danger of doing things too hastily.

The speed at which we proceed should not be conditioned solely by the authority of the leadership, but rather by the political will of Member States.

On the way forward we should bear in mind that all the achievements so far are a result of our collective actions. Therefore, we cannot afford to undermine this collective political momentum by calculating to imbibe it with hesitation in order to derail or disrupt the process.

In concluding, I would like to stress that I will count very much on your support and cooperation in conducting the process during the forthcoming period.

UN General Assembly - President of the 62nd session

We should all continue to work together in a spirit of constructive cooperation and tackle all the issues and tasks set up by the General Assembly in its decision 61/561 adopted on 17 September 2007, in order to faithfully fulfill its recommendations.

With this in mind, I will shortly communicate to Member States the outline of the follow-up process.

Thank you.

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[14 September 2007]

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# **INTERGOVERNMENTAL NEGOTIATIONS**



# INTERGOVERNMENTAL NEGOTIATIONS

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During the 61st session of the General Assembly, negotiations on the draft year-end progress report of the Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG) revealed a strong preference for more explicit wording, as well as a clear expression of the membership's interest in a results-oriented process. Consequently, the OEWG report adopted in September 2007, successfully introduced the idea of an intergovernmental negotiation process as a means of achieving further concrete results on the question of Security Council reform. In September 2008, the General Assembly adopted Decision 62/557, by which the Membership agreed "to commence intergovernmental negotiations [IGN] in informal plenary of the General Assembly during the sixty-third session but not later than 28 February 2009". Decision 62/557 also laid out the parameters of the IGN and defined the five (5) key issues to be considered, namely:

1. Categories of Membership to the Council
2. Question of the veto
3. Regional representation
4. Size of an enlarged Council and working methods
5. Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

Though the five (5) issues identified above have all been discussed to varying degrees, real give-and-take negotiations have not yet begun in earnest.

The Decision also stipulated that the basis of the negotiations would be the positions and proposals of Member States, regional groups and other groupings of Member States. The inaugural round of the IGN was held on 19 February 2009 after more than a decade and a half of discussions in the OEWG.

The President of the 62nd session of the General Assembly, Sheikha Haya Rashed Al-Khalifa, highlighted this lack of progress when she stated, in July 2007, that "Looking back at the years since the General Assembly started actively discussing Security Council reform, in the framework of the OEWG, we have to acknowledge that much remains to be done." She then quoted from a section of a report on the reform process, which she had asked to be prepared " prepared by the Permanent Representative of Chile, Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz, and the Permanent Representative of Liechtenstein, Ambassador Christian Wenaweser. The report noted that "Delegations expressed the view that instead of further consultations, the next stage should consist of negotiations." In-

deed, this is what the IGN was expected to usher in. By September 2008, towards the end of her presidential term of office, Sheikha Haya reverted to this central point regarding the importance of commencing negotiations when she noted, in addressing the OEWG, that “Only the negotiation process itself will define the optimal solution. The only alternative to negotiation is no reform.”

Since the beginning of the IGN process, no further meetings of the OEWG have been convened, neither have there been any discussions on its reactivation. It is apt to note, however, that subsequent to the adoption of Decision 62/557, all General Assembly Decisions on the question of Security Council Reform have provided for the convening of the OEWG “if Member States so decide”.

In December, 2009, months after the start of the IGN, and concerned that there would be no measurable progress without a negotiating document, one hundred and twenty-nine (129) Member States signed a letter addressed to the IGN Chair, H.E. Zahir Tanin of Afghanistan (who served as IGN chair from 63rd till 68th session), requesting him to present a text with options to serve as a basis for negotiations. In response to this request, the Chair put forward a compilation which was revised on two occasions. The latter two revisions came to be known as Rev2 (2010) and Rev3 (2010). These Revisions were produced after intense consultations with Member States, but none of them garnered the support of all Member States.

After the commencement of the 68th

Session of the General Assembly, President John Ashe invited six (6) Permanent Representative to serve as an Advisory Group, the Permanent Representatives were from: Belgium, Brazil, Liechtenstein, Papua New Guinea, San Marino and Sierra Leone. The mandate issued was to “produce a basis for the start of the Intergovernmental Negotiations” that reflected, “the ideas put forward in the negotiations so far”. The group produced a Non-Paper that Ashe specified was not itself a negotiating text. Like Tanin’s Rev 2 and Rev 3, this text also did not garner the support of all the Member States. Further, one of the six members of the Advisory Group, the Permanent Representative of San Marino, dissented and a memo explaining his stance was circulated along with the Non-Paper on December 10, 2013.

Under the Presidency of the Ugandan Foreign Minister Sam Kutesa in the 69th session of the General Assembly, the Permanent Representative of Jamaica, Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, was appointed Chair of the IGN. The Chair presented a “Framework Document” outlining the pillars of the reform and invited Member States to populate the document with their positions and proposals on the reform of the Security Council. Approximately one hundred and twenty (120) Member States participated in this exercise and the Chair subsequently presented a compilation of all the submissions. Some Member States, objected to the format of this exercise, however, and decided not to populate the Framework Document. They opted to send their positions and proposals separately to the Chair and these were annexed to the Framework

document. The Framework Document and its Annex subsequently became part of the documentation of the IGN process following the adoption of Decision 70/559.

In the 70th Session, under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Sylvie Lucas of Luxembourg, another document was added to the IGN documentation. “The Elements of Convergences Paper” outlined in very broad terms the consensus elements on two (2) of the five (5) pillars, namely “relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly and the size of the Council and working methods.” An overwhelming number of Member States lamented what they considered to be the limited nature of the Paper and felt that it was also possible to identify convergences under the remaining three (3) pillars.

In the 71st Session, the Permanent Representatives of Tunisia and Romania, Ambassadors Ion Jinga and Mohamed Khiari, were appointed Co-Chairs of the IGN. At the beginning of that round of the IGN, the L69 Group wrote to the Co-Chairs providing a compilation of the request made by one hundred and sixty-four (164) Member States over the years for a text to serve as the basis for the deliberations in the IGN. These stakeholders were of the view that

a text remained critical for the normalization of the process. At the end of the meetings during the 71st Session, another document titled “Elements of Commonalities and Issues for Further Consideration” was added to the IGN documentation. This document provides a background to the reform process and identifies some convergences and divergences under the five (5) key issues.

The Elements of Commonalities and Issues for Further Consideration was re-opened in the 72nd Session, for further revision, under the co-chairmanship of Ambassador Lana Nusseibeh of the UAE and Ambassador Kaha Imnadze of Georgia, and Member States continued to engage on the substance of the Paper at the time of writing.

Over the years, concerns have been raised about several issues at the procedural level in the IGN by the member states, particularly the lack of any type of institutional memory in the proceedings. This challenge has no doubt influenced the compilation of the documents in this book.

Notable documents considered over the ten-year period of the IGN will be outlined in this section.

**62/557. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 122nd plenary meeting, on 15 September 2008, 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 Council, mindful of Chapter XVIII of the Charter of the United Nations and of the importance of reaching general agreement as referred to in its resolutions 48/26 of 3 December 1993 and 53/30 of 23 November 1998 and in its decision 61/561 of 17 September 2007 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council, as well as the ratification process of any amendment to the Charter as stipulated in its Article 108, and taking note of the seven principles presented by the President of the General Assembly to serve as guiding principles for the advancement of the Security Council reform.<sup>22</sup>

(a) Took note of 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 on its work during the sixty-second session of the General Assembly;<sup>23</sup>

(b) Noted with appreciation the Chairperson's initiative and efforts in the process of a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, as well as the work done by the Vice-Chairpersons;

(c) Decided, building on the progress achieved thus far, in particular during its sixty-first and sixty-second sessions, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, to continue immediately to address, within the Open-ended Working Group, the framework and modalities in order to prepare and facilitate intergovernmental negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council. The Chairperson of the Open-ended Working Group would present the results of those consultations to an informal plenary session of the General Assembly, no later than 1 February 2009;

(d) Also decided, taking into consideration the results achieved so far in the Open-ended Working Group, and building on the progress achieved thus far, in particular during its sixty-first and sixty-second sessions, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, to commence intergovernmental negotiations in informal plenary of the General Assembly during its sixty-third session, 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;

(e) Further decided that the basis for the intergovernmental negotiations would be as follows:

(i) The positions and proposals of Member States, regional groups and other groupings of Member States;

(ii) The 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;

(iii) The following documents: report of the Open-ended Working Group on its work during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly;<sup>24</sup> Assembly decision 61/561; and the report of the Open-ended Working Group on its work during the sixty-second session of the Assembly;<sup>25</sup>

(f) Decided that the Open-ended Working Group should continue to exert efforts during the sixty-third session of the General Assembly aimed at achieving general agreement among Member States 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 Council, taking into account the progress achieved during the forty-eighth to sixty-second sessions of the Assembly;

(g) Also decided that the Open-ended Working Group should submit a report to the General Assembly before the end of its sixty-third session, including any agreed recommendations.

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THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

21 November 2008

Excellency,

I have the honor to recall decision 62/557 adopted on 15 September 2008 by the sixty-second session of the General Assembly under its agenda item 122 on "Question of equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters," and in particular its paragraph c, which states:

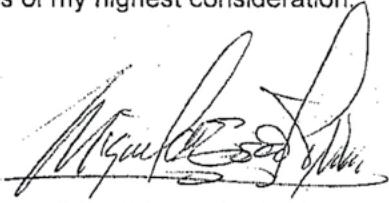
"Decided, building on the progress achieved thus far, in particular during its sixty-first and sixty-second sessions, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States to continue immediately to address, within the Open-ended Working Group, the framework and modalities in order to prepare and facilitate intergovernmental negotiations on the question of equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council. The Chairperson of the Open-ended Working Group would present the results of these consultations to an informal plenary session of the General Assembly, no later than February 1, 2009."

I am encouraged to note, that with the first two meetings of the Open-ended Working Group on 11 and 17 November 2008 the implementation of this decision is now well under way in a constructive and productive manner. In order to further facilitate the implementation of this mandate, I am herewith, as I already announced in the General Assembly on 18 November 2008 at the outset of our debate under agenda item 111, outlining the work plan of the Open-ended Working Group for the near future. While Member States are free to express their views on any matter they deem relevant, through this work plan I am inviting Member States to focus on specific parts of our mandate, so as to maximize the chances of achieving results. Let me in general once again remind Member States of the urgency of our task to move forward in our efforts on Security Council reform.

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

| Date:                                     | Forum:              | Agenda:  |
|---|---------------------|--|
| 5 December 2008                           | OEWG                | Framework  |
| January 2009                              | OEWG                | Modalities   |
| January 2009                              | OEWG                | Discussion on the results of the consultations   |
| January 2009,<br>no later than 1 February | GA informal plenary | OEWG Chairman to present the results of its consultations to an informal plenary of the General Assembly |

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



Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann

## Paper on Principles and Procedures for Intergovernmental Negotiations by United for Consensus (UfC)

December 2008

### Security Council reform process

#### Procedures and principles

Pursuant to decision 62/557 of the General Assembly, the Open-Ended Working Group has been mandated to address the framework and modalities in order to prepare and facilitate the intergovernmental negotiations.

This preparatory phase is crucial for launching successful negotiations that will finally advance Security Council reform, as part of the wider UN reform process, aimed at achieving a strengthened and more effective United Nations. With a view to the above and based on the consultations to be held in the OEWG, we expect the OEWG to evolve a framework which lays down the objectives, guiding principles and the terms under which the intergovernmental negotiations will be conducted in the informal plenary of the General Assembly.

The Chairman of the Working Group will present the results of these consultations to an informal plenary session of the General Assembly, no later than February 1, 2009, for endorsement before commencement of inter-governmental negotiations not later than February 28, 2009.

#### Objectives and Guiding Principles

The objective is a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects that results in a more democratic, inclusive, equitably representative, transparent, effective and accountable Council.

The objective of decision 62/557 is to achieve a negotiated solution for Security Council reform.

The guiding principles include, *inter alia*:

- Respect for the sovereign equality of Member States;
- Ensuring equitable geographical distribution;
- Strengthening the democratic underpinnings of the Council to enhance its accountability to the membership; Strengthening the ownership in the reform through the accommodation of interests of all Member States and regional and other groupings, particularly those which have been traditionally under-represented;
- Increasing opportunity for Member States to serve on the Security Council, particularly for groups which have been traditionally under-represented, such as small and medium States, and Africa;

#### Terms of Negotiations

In order to ensure the legitimacy and success of this reform in the long term, the terms of intergovernmental negotiations process should be based *inter alia* on the following:

- An open, inclusive and transparent process guided by objectivity and impartiality in full trust of the entire membership;
- Clear rules and procedures to guarantee a fair and level playing field for all;
- All discussions are open to all Member States;
- Rules based on the general practice in the informal plenary of the General Assembly: i) no record of the meetings; ii) no formal decision is taken; iii) no vote; will be applicable;
- Setting of the agenda for the negotiations, in particular sequencing;
- All aspects of Security Council reform are open for negotiations;
- The principle that "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed";
- No artificial deadlines;
- The commitment of good faith and mutual respect by all sides, who shall refrain from: i) unilateral or pre-emptive moves including tabling of draft resolutions; and ii) calls for vote, at any stage of the negotiations process;
- The negotiated solution has to elicit widest possible political acceptance by member states, well above the two-third majority;
- Mechanism for formalizing any conclusions, results or the status of the negotiations, in order to ensure continuity of the process. Utilize in this context, the relationship and interaction between the processes in the Open-Ended Working Group and the informal plenary of the General Assembly, taking into account the provisions of Decision 62/557.



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

18 February 2009

Excellency,

I have the honor to recall Decision 62/557 adopted on 15 September 2008 by the sixty-second session of the UN General Assembly under its agenda item 122 on "Question of equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters," and in particular its paragraphs d and e, which state:

- "(d) Also decided, taking into consideration the results achieved so far in the Open-ended Working Group, and building on the progress achieved thus far, in particular during its sixty-first and sixty-second sessions, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, to commence intergovernmental negotiations in informal plenary of the General Assembly during the sixty-third session of the General Assembly, but not later than February 28, 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 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;
- (e) Further decided that the following formed the basis for the intergovernmental negotiations:
  - (i) *The positions and proposals of Member States, regional groups and other Member States groupings;*
  - (ii) *The five key issues: categories of membership, the question of the veto, regional representation, size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Security Council, and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly;*

(iii) *The following documents:* report of the Open-ended Working Group on its work during the sixty-first session of the General Assembly;<sup>1</sup> General Assembly decision 61/561 and the report of the Open-ended Working Group on its work during the sixty-second session of the General Assembly;<sup>2</sup>

In undertaking my responsibility as President of the General Assembly to take the implementation of General Assembly Decision 62/557 forward, my sole concern rests with the integrity of the process and the attainment of decisive progress. Accordingly, I am herewith, ahead of the next meeting of the informal plenary on 19 February 2009, outlining the work plan as already announced during our successful first meeting of the informal plenary on 29 January 2009. As also announced to Member States on that occasion, the first round of the intergovernmental negotiations will consist of meetings on the five key issues, in strict conformity with subparagraph ii of paragraph e of Decision 62/557. While Member States are free to express their views on any matter they deem relevant, through this work plan I am inviting Member States to in a comprehensive fashion focus on specific parts of our mandate, so as to maximize the chances of success. Also in strict conformity with paragraph e of Decision 62/557, subparagraphs i and iii will constitute the substantive underpinning of the meetings. Let me remind Member States that document A/62/47, designated in subparagraph iii as part of the basis for the intergovernmental negotiations, contains, in summary format, the options presented by regional groups and major interest groups, as well as new inputs and reaffirmed views. The meetings as scheduled below, following the exact order as found in Decision 62/557, will provide Member States with the opportunity to flesh out the substantive underpinning and show the necessary flexibility. H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations, who will chair the Intergovernmental Negotiations on my behalf, will use all means at his disposal, including oral statements and letters concerning the individual meetings, to guide Member States along this path. Also, if Member States so wish, in the absence of an official record, he will provide an overview under my auspices. When the time comes to take action, we will move to a formal meeting of the General Assembly, whereupon the rules of procedure of the General Assembly will take effect. I strongly urge Member States to use the current window of opportunity to make decisive progress, through intergovernmental negotiations "in good faith, with mutual respect and in an open, inclusive and transparent manner [...] seeking a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States," towards achieving the objective set by our leaders in paragraph 153 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome<sup>3</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixty-first Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/61/47).

<sup>2</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixty-second Session, Supplement No. 47 (A/62/47).

<sup>3</sup> A/RES/60/1.

"We support early reform of the Security Council - an essential element of our overall effort to reform the United Nations - in order to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions."

| Date:        | Agenda:   |
|--------------|---|
| 4 March 2009 | Categories of membership  |
| March 2009   | The question of the veto  |
| March 2009   | Regional representation   |
| April 2009   | Size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Security Council |
| April 2009   | The relationship between the Council and the General Assembly           |
| May 2009     | Second round  |

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



Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann

23 December 2009

Excellency,

The General Assembly decided in its decision 63/565 to immediately continue the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at the 64<sup>th</sup> session, building on the progress achieved during the 63rd session as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States. The General Assembly resumed the intergovernmental negotiations on 8 December 2009.

We would like to request you, in your capacity as Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, to present to Member States, before the second exchange of the 4<sup>th</sup> round, a text with options to serve as a basis for negotiations, reflecting the progress achieved in the intergovernmental negotiations at the informal plenary during the 63<sup>rd</sup> session, as manifested in the Note by the President of the General Assembly A/63/960, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States.

This would enable the informal plenary of the General Assembly to immediately embark upon negotiations on the basis of such a text, in order to identify areas of convergence and to find a solution that can garner the widest possible support among Member States.

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

H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin  
Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations  
on the question of equitable representation on  
and increase in the membership of the Security Council  
and other matters related to the Security Council

cc: H.E. Dr. Ali Abdussalam Treki  
President of the 64th session  
of the United Nations General Assembly

This letter has been signed by the following Member States. Additional signatures may be forthcoming.

As of 04 January 2010

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Andorra                               | Fiji                                      |
| Angola                                | Finland                                   |
| Antigua and Barbuda                   | France                                    |
| Australia                             | Gabon                                     |
| Bahamas                               | Gambia                                    |
| Bahrain                               | Georgia                                   |
| Bangladesh                            | Germany                                   |
| Barbados                              | Ghana                                     |
| Belgium                               | Greece                                    |
| Belize                                | Grenada                                   |
| Benin                                 | Guatemala                                 |
| Bhutan                                | Guinea                                    |
| Bolivia                               | Guinea-Bissau                             |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina                | Guyana                                    |
| Botswana                              | Haiti                                     |
| Brazil                                | Honduras                                  |
| Brunei Darussalam                     | Hungary                                   |
| Bulgaria                              | Iceland                                   |
| Burundi                               | India                                     |
| Cambodia                              | Indonesia                                 |
| Cape Verde                            | Iran                                      |
| Central African Republic              | Iraq                                      |
| Chile                                 | Ireland                                   |
| Comoros                               | Jamaica                                   |
| Côte d'Ivoire                         | Japan                                     |
| Croatia                               | Jordan                                    |
| Cuba                                  | Kazakhstan                                |
| Cyprus                                | Kuwait                                    |
| Czech Republic                        | Kyrgyzstan                                |
| Democratic People's Republic of Korea | Lao People's Democratic Republic          |
| Denmark                               | Latvia                                    |
| Dominica                              | Lesotho                                   |
| Dominican Republic                    | Liberia                                   |
| El Salvador                           | Liechtenstein                             |
| Ecuador                               | Lithuania                                 |
| Estonia                               | Luxembourg                                |
| Ethiopia                              | The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia |

As of 04 January 2010

|                                  |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Madagascar                       | South Africa                |
| Malawi                           | Sri Lanka                   |
| Malaysia                         | Sudan                       |
| Maldives                         | Suriname                    |
| Marshall Islands                 | Swaziland                   |
| Mauritania                       | Switzerland                 |
| Mauritius                        | Tajikistan                  |
| Micronesia                       | Thailand                    |
| Monaco                           | Timor-Leste                 |
| Mongolia                         | Togo                        |
| Mozambique                       | Tonga                       |
| Myanmar                          | Trinidad and Tobago         |
| Nauru                            | Tunisia                     |
| Nepal                            | Turkmenistan                |
| Nicaragua                        | Tuvalu                      |
| Nigeria                          | Uganda                      |
| Norway                           | Ukraine                     |
| Oman                             | United Arab Emirates        |
| Palau                            | United Kingdom              |
| Papua New Guinea                 | United Republic of Tanzania |
| Peru                             | Uruguay                     |
| Philippines                      | Uzbekistan                  |
| Poland                           | Vanuatu                     |
| Portugal                         | Venezuela                   |
| Romania                          | Viet Nam                    |
| Rwanda                           | Zambia                      |
| Saint Kitts and Nevis            | Zimbabwe                    |
| Saint Lucia                      |                             |
| Saint Vincent and the Grenadines |                             |
| Samoa                            |                             |
| Saudi Arabia                     |                             |
| Seychelles                       |                             |
| Singapore                        |                             |
| Slovakia                         |                             |
| Slovenia                         |                             |
| Solomon Islands                  |                             |
| Somalia                          |                             |

**63/565. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters****A**

At its 105th plenary meeting, on 14 September 2009, 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 Council, in particular its decision 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 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-third session of the General Assembly,<sup>41</sup> bearing in mind the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000, adopted by Heads of State and Government,<sup>42</sup> 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 also the 2005 World Summit Outcome of 16 September 2005,<sup>43</sup> 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) Took note of 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 on its work during the sixty-third session of the General Assembly;<sup>41</sup>
- (b) Noted with appreciation the Chairperson's initiative to stimulate an active discussion relating to the comprehensive reform of the Security Council by the Working Group, as well as the work done by the Vice-Chairperson;
- (c) Decided to convene the Working Group during the sixty-fourth session of the General Assembly if Member States so decide;
- (d) Decided to include in the agenda of the sixty-fourth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council".

**B**

At its 105th plenary meeting, on 14 September 2009, the General Assembly decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its sixty-fourth session as mandated by General Assembly decision 62/557 of 15 September 2008, building on the progress achieved during its sixty-third session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, while noting with appreciation the initiative and efforts of the President of the General Assembly and the Chairperson 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 process of a comprehensive reform of the Security Council.

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[11 September 2009]

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**64/568. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 121st plenary meeting, on 13 September 2010, 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 Council, in particular its decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008 and 63/565 B of 14 September 2009:

(a) Decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its sixty-fifth session as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 and 63/565 B, building on the progress achieved during its sixty-fourth session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, while noting with appreciation the initiatives and efforts of the President of the General Assembly and the Chair, including the preparation of the text reflecting the positions of and proposals submitted by Member States, with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Council;

(b) Also decided to convene 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 during the sixty-fifth session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;

(c) Further decided to include in the agenda of the sixty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council”.

Agenda item 115

**Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit**

**Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland**

**Improving the working methods of the Security Council**

*The General Assembly,*

*Reaffirming* that the Member States of the United Nations have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, acting on their behalf, as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations,

*Recalling* the provisions relating to the powers and functions of the General Assembly in matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular Article 11, Article 12, paragraph 1, Article 15, paragraph 1 and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter,

*Recalling* its authority under Article 10 of the Charter to discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations and to make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations and to the Security Council thereon,

*Stressing* the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter and to give their full support to the actions of the Organization aimed at maintaining international peace and security,

*Noting with appreciation* the work carried out by 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,

*Reaffirming* its support for the on-going Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform,

*Acknowledging* the significant steps taken by the Security Council to enhance inclusiveness and the representation of the general membership,

*Noting with appreciation* the adoption of Presidential Note 2010/507 by the Security Council, and *noting* the updated information it contains regarding the current working methods of the Council,

*Noting with appreciation also* the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1904, creating an Office of the Ombudsperson for the Committee established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1267,

*Emphasizing* the need for further measures to ensure the accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness of the work of the Security Council, with a view to further enhancing its legitimacy and effectiveness,

*Reaffirming* its support for early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of the overall effort to reform the United Nations, as stated in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document,<sup>1</sup>

*Acknowledging* that efforts to improve the working methods of the Security Council will help to promote a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, including the increase in its membership,

1. *Invites* the Security Council to enhance and report on the implementation of the measures contained in its Presidential Note 2010/507;
2. *Also invites* the Security Council to consider the measures contained in the annex to the present resolution in order to further enhance the accountability, transparency and inclusiveness of its work, with a view to strengthening its legitimacy and effectiveness;
3. *Further invites* the Security Council to report to the General Assembly, by the end of its sixty-fifth session, on action it has taken pursuant to its consideration of the present resolution.

## Annex

### Measures on working methods suggested for consideration by the Security Council

*The following measures are suggested for consideration by the Security Council:*

#### **Relationship with the General Assembly and other principal organs**

1. Improving the transparency in the preparation of the annual report by engaging in an informal, interactive discussion on the annual report of the Council both at the time of its drafting and when it is considered by the General Assembly.
2. Submitting, including upon request from the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, special subject-oriented and timely reports to the Assembly for its consideration on issues of current international concern, including reports on topics such as termination of peacekeeping operations, imposition of sanctions and other enforcement measures, as well as other matters of relevance to the membership as a whole.
3. Making the Security Council's tentative program of work for the coming month available to Member States as soon as it is available to members of the Council and holding monthly information briefings for the larger membership by the outgoing and incoming Presidencies of the Council.
4. Issuing a standing invitation to the chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Peacebuilding Commission to participate in relevant debates and, in an appropriate format, in informal discussions. In this regard, peacebuilding considerations should be included at all stages of the Council's work, especially in preparing, monitoring and terminating mission mandates.
5. Seeking the views of Member States and ensuring that their ability to implement decisions is taken into account in the decision-making process where decisions of the Security Council require implementation by all Member States.

#### **Effectiveness of decisions**

6. Exploring ways to assess the extent to which its decisions have been implemented effectively, including by establishing a working group on lessons learned in order to analyse reasons for non-implementation or lack of effectiveness and suggest mechanisms aimed at enhancing implementation.

#### **Subsidiary bodies**

7. Establishing a new process, involving all Council members at the outset for distributing chairmanships of subsidiary bodies among all members of the Council in a manner that would promote the best possible outcome of their work.
8. Offering informal opportunities for Member States to provide substantive input, including to the work of its subsidiary bodies.
9. Increasing the transparency of the work of its subsidiary bodies, including by improving the quality and frequency of their formal and informal reports, giving substantive briefings to non-members of the Council and making summary records more widely and promptly available.

10. Continuing to improve procedures, reflecting standards of due process, regarding requests for de-listing from sanctions lists.

### **Operations mandated and missions carried out by the Security Council**

11. Informing Member States, fully and promptly, of all developments regarding its operations and missions, including their budgetary aspects.
12. Clarifying the goals and purposes of any new operation mandated or authorized by the Council and reviewing progress on the basis of established criteria and clear reporting requirements.
13. Enhancing participation of troop and police contributing countries and other states with particular engagement in United Nations operations, so as to allow regular participation, in an appropriate format, in particular in informal discussions with Council members and with regard to situations involving risks for the personnel deployed.

### **Governance and accountability**

14. Ensuring the uniform implementation of its working methods including by adopting Rules of Procedure and including an analytical section in its annual report on the implementation of its working methods, in particular on the basis of Presidential Note 2010/507.
15. Integrating key provisions of thematic resolutions into country-specific resolutions, where applicable.
16. Considering the use of all mechanisms available under international law to ensure accountability for the most serious crimes.

### **Appointment of the Secretary-General**

17. Consulting with the wider membership, well in advance of the expiration of the term of the incumbent, on the appointment of the next Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 51/241.

### **Use of the Veto**

*The following measures are suggested for consideration by the permanent members of the Security Council:*

18. Explaining the reasons when resorting to a veto or declaring its intention to do so, in particular its consistency with the Charter of the United Nations and international law. A copy of the explanation should be circulated as a Security Council document to all Members of the Organisation.
19. Refraining from using a veto to block Council action in situations involving serious allegations of genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of international humanitarian law.
20. Establishing a practice, in appropriate cases, of declaring, when casting a negative vote on a draft resolution before the Council that such a negative vote shall not constitute a veto in the sense of Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Charter.

**65/554. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership  
of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 118th plenary meeting, on 12 September 2011, the General Assembly:

(a) Decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its sixty-sixth session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009 and 64/568 of 13 September 2010, building on the progress achieved during its sixty-fifth session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, while noting with appreciation the initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly and the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, including the preparation of the text reflecting the positions of and proposals submitted by Member States, with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Council;

(b) Also decided to convene 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 during the sixty-sixth session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;

(c) Further decided to include in the agenda of the sixty-sixth session of the General Assembly an item entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council”.

# 2012

Proposed Draft Resolution A/66/L.42/Rev.2 'Enhancing the accountability, transparency and effectiveness of the Security Council' put forward by the S-5

United Nations

A/66/L.42/Rev.2



## General Assembly

Distr: Limited  
15 May 2012

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Sixty-sixth session

Agenda item 117

Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit

**Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland: revised draft resolution**

**Enhancing the accountability, transparency and effectiveness of the Security Council**

*The General Assembly,*

*Reaffirming* that the States Members of the United Nations have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, acting on their behalf, as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations,

*Recalling* the provisions relating to the powers and functions of the General Assembly in matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular Article 11, Article 12, paragraph 1, Article 15, paragraph 1, and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter,

*Recalling* its authority under Article 10 of the Charter to discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations and to make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations and to the Security Council thereon,

*Stressing* the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter and to give their full support to the actions of the Organization aimed at maintaining international peace and security,

*Acknowledging* the significant steps taken by the Security Council to enhance inclusiveness and the representation of the general membership,

*Noting with appreciation* the adoption of the note by the President of the Security Council,<sup>1</sup> and noting the updated information it contains regarding the current working methods of the Council,

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<sup>1</sup> S/2010/507.



*Noting with appreciation also the adoption of Security Council resolution 1904 (2009) of 17 December 2009, by which the Council created an Office of the Ombudsperson for the Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1267 (1999),*

*Emphasizing the need for further measures to ensure the accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness of the work of the Security Council, with a view to strengthening its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions,*

*Noting with appreciation the work carried out by 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,*

*Reaffirming its support for early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of the overall effort to reform the United Nations, as stated in the 2005 World Summit Outcome,<sup>2</sup>*

*Reiterating its support for the ongoing intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform,*

*Acknowledging that efforts to improve the working methods of the Security Council will help to promote a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, including the increase in its membership,*

*Noting that the measures recommended in the present resolution do not require amendments to the Charter of the United Nations and that they are part of an ongoing and dynamic process,*

1. *Invites the Security Council to enhance and report on the implementation of the measures contained in the note by its President;<sup>1</sup>*

2. *Also invites the Security Council to consider the measures contained in the annex to the present resolution, in order to further enhance the accountability, transparency and inclusiveness of its work, with a view to strengthening its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions;*

3. *Further invites the Security Council to report to the General Assembly, by the end of 2012, on action it has taken pursuant to its consideration of the present resolution;*

4. *Stresses that the present resolution is without prejudice to decisions on comprehensive Security Council reform.*

## Annex

### Recommendations to the Security Council

*The following measures are recommended for consideration by the Security Council in order to institutionalize and/or improve current practices:*

#### **Relationship with the General Assembly and other principal organs**

1. Seeking the views of Member States, in an appropriate format, and ensuring that their ability to implement decisions is taken into account in the decision-making process of the Security Council, in particular in the context of the renewal of measures taken by the Council, and without prejudice to the need for timely action.
2. Issuing a standing invitation to the Chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Peacebuilding Commission to participate in relevant debates and, in an appropriate format, in informal discussions. In this regard, peacebuilding considerations should be included at all stages of the Council's work, especially in preparing, monitoring and terminating mission mandates.
3. Continuing the practice of making the Security Council's tentative programme of work for the coming month available to Member States as soon as it is available to members of the Council, and holding monthly information briefings for the larger membership by both the incoming and outgoing Presidencies of the Council, to present the new programme and brief Member States on the outcome of the previous one, respectively.
4. Continuing to improve the transparency in the preparation of the annual report by engaging in an informal, interactive discussion on the annual report of the Council both at the time of its drafting and when it is considered by the General Assembly.
5. Making more frequent use of its competence under Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations to submit special subject-oriented and timely reports to the General Assembly for its consideration on issues of relevance to the membership as a whole, including upon request from the latter.

#### **Effectiveness of decisions**

6. Exploring ways to assess the extent to which its decisions have been implemented effectively, including by establishing a working group on lessons learned in order to analyse reasons for non-implementation or lack of effectiveness and suggest mechanisms aimed at enhancing implementation.

#### **Subsidiary bodies**

7. Continuing to increase the transparency of the work of its subsidiary bodies, including by improving the quality and frequency of their formal and informal reports, giving substantive interactive briefings to non-members of the Council and making summary records more widely and promptly available.
8. Offering more frequent informal opportunities for Member States to provide substantive input to the work of its subsidiary bodies.

9. Continuing to improve procedures, reflecting standards of due process, regarding requests for delisting from sanctions lists.
10. Involving all Council members in the distribution of chairmanships of subsidiary bodies, with a view to distributing them in a manner that would promote the best possible outcomes of their work.
11. Striving to ensure that the country-specific and thematic lead roles are appropriately distributed among all Council members.

#### **Operations mandated and on-site missions carried out by the Security Council**

12. Informing Member States more fully about relevant developments regarding the planning, preparation, conduct and termination of operations, special political missions mandated and on-site missions carried out by the Council, including through providing early information on estimated budgetary implications.
13. Continuing to improve the drafting of mandates, including through the articulation of clear goals and purposes, for new operations and special political missions established or authorized by the Council, and reviewing progress on the basis of clear criteria and reporting requirements.
14. Enhancing participation of troop- and police-contributing countries and other States with particular engagement in United Nations operations, so as to allow regular participation, in an appropriate format, in particular in informal discussions with Council members, especially with regard to situations involving heightened risks for the personnel deployed.

#### **Governance and accountability**

15. Ensuring the consistent implementation of its agreed working methods including by adopting rules of procedure and including an analytical section in its annual report on the implementation of its working methods, in particular on the basis of the note by the President.<sup>1</sup>
16. Building on and enhancing progress achieved in thematic areas by applying key provisions and concepts of thematic resolutions to country-specific activities, where appropriate.
17. Enhancing the systematic use of all mechanisms available under international law to ensure accountability for the most serious crimes.

#### **Appointment of the Secretary-General**

18. Contributing to the implementation of the measures regarding the appointment of the Secretary-General contained in General Assembly resolution 51/241 of 31 July 1997, including by taking into account the results of consultations that may be held by the President of the General Assembly.

#### **Use of the veto**

*The following measures are recommended for consideration by the permanent members of the Security Council:*

19. Explaining the reasons for resorting to a veto or declaring its intention to do so, in particular with regard to its consistency with the purposes and principles of

په ملګرو ملتوکی  
د افغانستان اسلامي جمهوریت  
دایمی نمایندگی - نیویارک



نماینده گی دایمی  
جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان  
در ملل متحد - نیویارک

Permanent Mission of the Islamic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the  
United Nations

Excellency,

11 June 2012

As explained in detail in my letter dated 29 December 2011, this spring I convened a series of five exchanges as part of the eighth round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, so that there could be an exhaustive exchange of views about each of the Member State initiatives circulated in my letter dated 9 September 2011 and re-circulated on 29 December. As the series of five meetings is now completed, I wish to thank you, the Member States, for your active participation. I was pleased with the increased level of engagement and interaction which emerged from this series of meetings.

As a logical and straightforward follow-up to this, I am pleased to announce a meeting on 2 July aimed at collectively drawing conclusions from our exchanges about the initiatives and, based on this, charting the path forward for these membership-driven intergovernmental negotiations. At the start of this meeting, I will give the authors of each of the five initiatives an opportunity to share what they have learned from the series of meetings, and if and how they intend to operationalize their own initiative. I encourage the wider membership to also share with all delegations their conclusions regarding the viability of the different initiatives as well as, based on this, their ideas regarding the way forward.

As Chair, I am certain that with the continued support of the President of the General Assembly, H.E. Nassir Al-Nasser, for which I am very grateful, and with your active participation, we will continue to move forward in line with decision 62/557 toward a solution which garners the widest possible political acceptance. I remain impartial to any position, yet partial to progress.

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

Zahir Tanin  
Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations

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



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Friday, 27 July 2012

Excellency,

As you are aware, "UN Reform and Revitalization" is one of my key priorities of action as President of the General Assembly. I firmly believe that reform is crucial if the UN is to respond to the challenges and realities of the 21st Century.

At the heart of the larger reform process lies our collective endeavours to achieve equitable representation and increase the representation of the Security Council.

In this regard, and in accordance with the Member State driven nature of this process, I have the pleasure to enclose herewith a letter addressed to Member States from Ambassador Zaheer Tanin, Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, who is thankfully chairing the intergovernmental process on Security Council reform on my behalf, and under my vigilant guidance. In his letter, Ambassador Tanin reflects on the current state of affairs related to this critical exercise.

As we move towards the conclusion of the 66th session, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Ambassador Tanin, you and your delegations for your excellent cooperation and sincere partnership on the issue of Security Council reform. Primary responsibility for realizing our aspirations to reform the Council lies with the Member States. moving forward, the chances of our success will depend on our collective will and how well Member States are able to put to good use the points on which agreement was reached, and could be built upon, during the intergovernmental negotiations.

Let us act to crystallize the areas of convergence and the points of agreement. I trust that, moving ahead, you will continue to extend your full cooperation to this process.

As President of the United Nations General Assembly, I believe that reforming the Security Council is pivotal to realistically achieving UN reform and revitalization. I am certain that we all share this common vision.

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

Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser



Permanent Mission of the Islamic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the  
United Nations

25 July 2012

H.E. Mr. Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser  
President of the General Assembly  
United Nations

Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter in my capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters. I should be grateful if the attached letter could be circulated to all Member States.

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



Zahir Tanin

Ambassador and Permanent Representative

Chair of the of the Intergovernmental  
Negotiations on the question of equitable  
representation on and increase in the  
membership of the Security Council and  
related matters

په ملګرو ملتوكی  
د افغانستان اسلامي جمهوریت  
دایمی نمایندگی- نیویارک



نماینده گی دایمی  
جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان  
در ملن متحد - نیویارک

Permanent Mission of the Islamic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the  
United Nations

25 July 2012

**Letter of the Chair of the of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of  
equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and  
related matters**

Excellency,

The need for early reform of the Security Council was universally agreed upon by world leaders during the Millennium Summit and yet the principles and practicalities of reform are still the subject of intense debate. Although Security Council reform has remained a central theme of the General Assembly's work, efforts so far have not led to a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance. Nevertheless, there is a common hope that reform of the Council will be achieved as soon as possible, as envisioned by the global community in 2005.

The United Nations and the Security Council enjoy a legitimacy which is unparalleled in the international arena. However, new threats are challenging the peace and security of Member States. In recent years the Council has approved record numbers of peacekeeping missions and been deeply engaged in a range of issues pertaining to peace and security. At a time when the Security Council is so active, it is crucial that Member States recognize their stake in its decision-making and have confidence in the ability of the United Nations to adapt to new challenges.

In recent years, calls from Member States to reform the Council to better reflect contemporary realities have been numerous. Discussions have also intensified about alternative forums to the Security Council and the growing prevalence of regional organizations on the world stage. In this context, Security Council reform has taken on a new urgency.

Resolutions and initiatives have been tested and ongoing support has been lent by successive Presidents of the General Assembly and Secretaries-General. Highlighting the urgent need for reform, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon has encouraged Member States "to bring forward and finalize inter-governmental discussions on Security Council reform."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "Delivering Justice: A programme of action to strengthen the rule of law at the national and international levels" A/66/749. Section A. Strengthening the rule of law at the international level. Subsection (i)(a) Strengthening compliance in the context of the United Nations.

While comprehensive reform remains just out of reach, through the Intergovernmental Negotiations, the resounding aspiration for reform of the Security Council is evident. During the eighth round of Intergovernmental Negotiations, Member States, representing a range of different positions on Security Council reform, have increasingly called for the Chair to set out the state of negotiations to forge a way forward towards a solution which will garner the widest possible political support.

The current President of the General Assembly, Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser, continues to support the Security Council reform process, prioritising it as one of his four pillars of work for his Presidency. Under the leadership of the President of the General Assembly, and based on calls from Member States, this letter gives an indication of the state of the Intergovernmental Negotiations process, with an emphasis on the most recent developments as well as suggestions on ways to move forward.

Member States have highlighted the importance of reform during the eighth round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, a round that has been marked by progress in regards to deepened interaction and dialogue among Member States. Reflecting on previous reform efforts provides guidance for building on the momentum the process has gathered over eight rounds.

## **How the current state of play emerged**

Discussions about reforming the Security Council started almost as soon as the Council itself was formed. Such discussions led to the only expansion of the Council, in 1965 with the addition of four non-permanent members. Since then, discussions about reform have continued, but it was not until the decision to undertake reform of the Security Council through the Intergovernmental Negotiations that a new process for reform was established. Since their inception the Intergovernmental Negotiations have seen several significant achievements:

### **Smooth transition to intergovernmental negotiations**

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 preceded the Intergovernmental Negotiations. It was established during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, through Resolution 48/26 and began its deliberations in January of 1994.

During the sixty-second session of the General Assembly, a consensus decision established the Intergovernmental Negotiations. The General Assembly decision that facilitated this shift was decision 62/557 adopted on 15 September 2008 under agenda item 122, entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council.” Member States continued to work in the Open-ended Working Group in order to prepare and facilitate a shift to intergovernmental negotiations in

informal plenary sessions of the General Assembly. The decision to shift the discussions to the Intergovernmental Negotiations reinvigorated the Security Council reform process.

During the sixty-third session of the General Assembly, I was appointed by the President of the General Assembly to serve as Vice-Chair of the Open-ended Working Group, and Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform.

In a letter to Member States, the President of the sixty-third session of the General Assembly, Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, outlined that the Chair:

[W]ill use all means at his disposal, including oral statements and letters concerning individual meetings, to guide Member States along this path. Also, if Member States so wish, in the absence of an official record, he will provide an overview under my auspices.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Intergovernmental negotiations commence**

The first meeting of the Intergovernmental Negotiations was held on 19 February 2009. During that first session Member States, along with the Chair, were able to establish a clear modus operandi and address all of the procedural questions surrounding the new forum to allow a smooth beginning to the process of substantive negotiations.

The sixty-third and sixty-fourth sessions of the General Assembly saw four rounds of negotiations during which Member States examined the five key issues.<sup>3</sup> Separate meetings were devoted to each of the five key issues outlined in 62/557.<sup>4</sup> This provided a means for Member States to bring their positions to the table in an open and transparent atmosphere. At the outset of the second round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on 10 September 2009, the Chair produced an overview of the first round which aimed to serve as a point of departure and reference for subsequent rounds of negotiations.

#### **Member States rally around a text**

Seeking to build upon the progress made during the first four rounds, Member States united behind a call for a text-based fifth round. In order to have the most up-to-date proposals on which to base this text, the Chair circulated a letter on 5 February 2010 requesting that Member States submit their positions and proposals in writing.

Based on these submissions, some thirty in all, the Chair circulated a text-based negotiating document to Member States on 10 May 2010 which encompassed all proposals

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<sup>2</sup> In a letter circulated on 18 February 2009, contained within document A/63/960.

<sup>3</sup> As outlined in 62/557 "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."

<sup>4</sup> And reaffirmed in later decisions, 63/565 together with Supplement No. 49 (A/63/49), Decision 64/568 and Decision 65/554

submitted by the membership to the Chair in the form of the negotiation text. After the release of the text, and with subsequent changes or amendments from Member States for the sake of accuracy of positions, the first revision of the negotiation text (Rev1) was shared with Member States at the first meeting of the fifth round on 2 June 2010. The text consisted of all the positions submitted by Member States and was structured according to the five key issues of reform. The text also included an annex which features the proposals submitted by Member States in their entirety. After years of deliberations there was finally a text on the table.

The fifth round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform was characterised by text-based negotiations. These negotiations gave rise to a subsequent second revision of the text (Rev2) which was presented to Member States along with the organisational add-on text on 27 August 2010. There was membership-wide agreement that the text is inclusive and representative, and that it could serve as a basis for further negotiations.

Discussions continued around Rev2 of the text into the sixth round of negotiations, beginning on 14 December 2010. During the exchanges of the sixth round Member States gave feedback on the text, with the goal of making the document more operational. Based on this feedback and the Chair's consultations, a third revision of the negotiation text (Rev3) was released on 23 February 2011 along with a shorter document which aimed to serve as a 'user-friendly guide' to Rev3.

The discussions surrounding Rev3 continued into the exchange of 2 March 2011 during the seventh round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. Also during the seventh round, a number of Member States began to test the waters through increased communication with, and outreach to, the wider membership about their various initiatives and proposals on Security Council reform outside of the intergovernmental exchanges.

In the interest of transparency and progress within the Intergovernmental Negotiations the Chair circulated a letter to all Member States on 18 August 2011 requesting that they submit any documents outlining any initiatives and their results, for distribution to the wider membership. The letters submitted became the basis of the eighth round of negotiations.

### **Member State initiative based eighth round**

With the negotiation text reflecting all Member State positions in place, and in keeping with the Member State driven nature of the process, the eighth round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations focused on the five initiatives submitted by the membership at the request of the Chair and circulated in the letter of 9 September 2011. This included (in chronological order) letters from: the Permanent Representatives of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan, the Permanent Representative of Italy as the "Uniting for Consensus" (UfC) Focal Point, the Permanent Representatives of India and Jamaica on behalf of the L69 group, the Permanent Representative

of Sierra Leone on behalf of the Committee of Ten African Permanent Representatives (C-10), and the Permanent Representatives of Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland, the Small Five (S-5) group. A separate exchange within the eighth round was dedicated to each of these five Member State initiatives. The initiatives were discussed in the order in which they were received by the Chair.

At each exchange, a representative from the initiative under discussion was given an opportunity to introduce the group's proposal and indicate how their initiative could be made more operational. The wider membership was then invited to respond to the details of the initiative and pose questions, under the guidance of the Chair to bear in mind decision 62/557 and evaluate each initiative in the context of the five key issues in addition to their interconnectedness. The initiative's representative and other members of the presenting group were then given a chance to respond to Member States' interventions and questions at the end of each exchange.

The five exchanges based on Member State initiatives were book-ended by the first and last exchanges of the eighth round. An outline of the seven exchanges of the eighth round is as follows:

The initial exchange of the eighth round was held on 28 November 2011, it reaffirmed the membership's interest in moving negotiations on Security Council reform forward within the forum of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. There were 37 Member States on the speakers list. There were then a further three interventions.

On 16 January 2012, the Permanent Representative of Brazil presented the G4 initiative on behalf of the group. There were 54 Member States on the speakers list including the authors of the initiative. There were then a further six interventions consisting of questions and responses about the initiative.

On 21 February 2012, the Permanent Representative of Italy presented the UfC initiative on behalf of the group. There were 44 Member States on the speakers list including the authors of the initiative. There were then a further six interventions consisting of questions and responses about the initiative.

On 13 March 2012, the Permanent Representative of Jamaica presented the L69's initiative on behalf of the group. There were 50 Member States on the speakers list including the authors of the initiative. There were then a further nine interventions consisting of questions and responses about the initiative.

On 19 April 2012, the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone presented the African Group's position on behalf of the C-10. There were 49 Member States on the speakers list

including the authors of the initiative. There were then a further four interventions consisting of questions and responses about the initiative.

On 2 May 2012, the Permanent Representative of Switzerland presented the S5 initiative on behalf of the group. There were 52 Member States on the speakers list including the authors of the initiative. There was then a further intervention from the Permanent Representative of Switzerland on behalf of the group.

The final meeting of the eighth round, held on 2 July 2012, aimed to collectively draw conclusions from the previous exchanges and, based on this, chart the path forward. At the beginning of this meeting, the authors of each of the five initiatives were given the opportunity to reflect on the series of meetings and outline plans to operationalise their initiatives. The wider membership was also encouraged to share their conclusions regarding the viability of different initiatives, and their views on the way forward. There were 28 Member States on the speakers list. There were then a further two interventions consisting of questions and responses about the initiative.

There was also an opportunity to discuss Security Council reform at an informal retreat organised by the President of the General Assembly on 30-31 March 2012, aimed to promote a constructive dialogue in a more open, informal setting outside of the United Nations.

#### **Reflections from the eighth round**

In their statements and in consultations with the Chair over the course of the eighth round, Member States acknowledged an increased level of candour, interaction, and engagement with regard to the substance of the initiatives in the Intergovernmental Negotiations. Numerous Member States noted a building momentum in the process due to the shift from the previous practice of delegations stating their national and group positions to emphasising convergences, and offering reactions. The membership viewed the emerging dialogue as a sign of progress in the reform process. Member States also expressed strong support for the Chair's work plan for focusing discussions on the five initiatives.

Member States engaged with one another on the five key issues throughout the exchanges of the eighth round. The membership highlighted the urgent need for reform, and the majority supported decisive action in order to make the Council more representative and effective. While this was a common area of agreement considerable differences in the substance of negotiations still remained.

As of yet, no solution has been attained that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States, the bar set by 62/557. During negotiations a majority of delegations taking the floor have voiced support for an expansion in both categories, although delegations subscribe to different versions of this concept. While this trend is worth noting, it is

necessary to keep in mind that the level of support for a particular proposal can ultimately only be determined at the moment of action in the General Assembly.

The eighth round also saw discussions on the need to address aspects of the reform process, such as Security Council working methods; others focused on the topic of regional representation on an expanded Council, particularly with regards to representation for Africa. Concern was also expressed about potential piecemeal approaches to the reform process. Additionally, some Member States urged an accelerated pace of reform and others cautioned against artificial deadlines or rushing the process. Many delegations have noted that the lack of a widely accepted solution underlines the continuing need for flexibility and compromise.

The focus on the five Member States' initiatives in the eighth round has meant that there has not been an opportunity to explore all interim or intermediate solutions to Security Council reform in detail. A number of Member States have indicated that it would be productive to address these options.

During the exchanges of the eighth round and through other consultations, Member States put forward a range of requests to the Chair intended to move the Security Council reform process forward. Many requests involved a more pro-active role of the Chair, including focusing on particular reform options or producing a shorter text. However, no widespread agreement has emerged on specific requests.

Not all of the requests were mutually compatible, and their diversity reflects the different Member State perspectives on the reform process. However, Member State engagement on elements of the process signals the Membership's readiness to build upon the momentum of the eighth round.

## **Observations**

Intergovernmental Negotiations have been an inclusive and Member State driven process. The meetings continue to be well attended and at a high level. Many Member States, particularly in the eighth round, have underlined that it is the only legitimate forum for the discussions on Security Council reform. The focus of the eighth round on five Member State reform initiatives has narrowed the scope of discussions which shows some potential to open up new avenues for progress.

The Chair's consultations have shown that Member States' positions are not as entrenched as they may seem. However, further progress will not be possible unless steps are taken to enhance the current negotiation process. Serious and substantial steps need to be taken to ensure progress is not lost.

Trust and political will for reform cannot be fostered overnight; thus, the intergovernmental process has no imposed timeline. There is a widespread reluctance against "artificial deadlines" but there is an equally widespread demand for concrete results. It is important to recognize the Intergovernmental Negotiations cannot become an open-ended process. Many Member States have requested that the Chair use his position to reflect upon the process, with some even calling for the Chair to chart a way forward. Member States have indicated a willingness to undertake substantive negotiations, should a more conducive framework for the Intergovernmental Negotiations be found. It is in this context that I make the following recommendations:

## **Recommendations**

- 1) The membership has united behind the Intergovernmental Negotiations forum, its founding General Assembly decision 62/557 and the Member State driven nature of the process. During the eighth round of negotiations and in consultations, Member States have articulated requests to move the process forward. It is time to recognize the limits of what can further be achieved within the current framework of the Intergovernmental Negotiations without a deepened Member State commitment to undertaking robust negotiations, involving an active give and take. The transition to the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly offers an opportunity for Member States to signal their commitment, and to inject additional energy and ideas into the process. Member States could, for example, use this opportunity to explore a variety of reform models including expansion in both categories, interim and intermediate options within the framework of General Assembly decision 62/557.
- 2) There is a clear demand from Member States for the Intergovernmental Negotiations to move to the next stage. The logical next step, after no less than four General Assembly sessions and eight rounds, would be genuine give and take based on a concise working document. The logical drafter for this document would, in the best United Nations tradition, be the Chair. The document would naturally be drafted in keeping with the Membership-driven character of the process, the principles of General Assembly decision 62/557 in general and the recent progress in negotiations. Member States could, through the annual General Assembly decision on Security Council reform task the Chair with drafting said document.
- 3) Finally, it is necessary to recognize that the Intergovernmental Negotiations do not take place in a political vacuum. There are many other debates, formal and informal, about the future of the United Nations and the international system. It is important that capitals are fully engaged in the Intergovernmental Negotiations. It is also important to reinforce the political links to capitals.

I, as Chair, encourage Member States to further discuss the implications of reform in a manner complimentary to the Intergovernmental Negotiations. Should the Chair see sufficient evidence of progress in the Intergovernmental Negotiations during the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly, a high-level meeting on Security Council reform could be held, to assess the state of play and propose ways to keep the process moving forward.

These recommendations aim to outline how Member States can build upon the progress made in the last four General Assembly sessions. In my view, they are the most effective ways to encourage an atmosphere in which Member States can find a solution, but the hard work of negotiations, of real give and take on the substance of reform, remains in the hands of the drivers of this process, the Member States.



Zahir Tanin

Ambassador and Permanent Representative

Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

**66/566. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership  
of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 129th plenary meeting, on 13 September 2012, the General Assembly:

- (a) Decided to reaffirm the central role of the General Assembly on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;
- (b) Also decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its sixty-seventh session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009, 64/568 of 13 September 2010 and 65/554 of 12 September 2011, building on the progress achieved during its sixty-sixth session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, while welcoming the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, including the selection of “United Nations reform” as one of the main areas of focus for the sixty-sixth session of the Assembly, taking note of the proposals of the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, and noting with appreciation his active role and concrete efforts, including the preparation of the text reflecting the positions of and proposals submitted by Member States, with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Council;
- (c) Further decided to convene 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 during the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;
- (d) Decided to include in the agenda of the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly an item entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council”.

نمايندگي دايمى جمهورى اسلامي افغانستان  
در سازمان ملل متحده - نيويارك



به ملکرو ملتوكى دا Afghanistan دا اسلامي  
جمهوریت دايمى نمايندگي - نيويارك

*Permanent Mission of the Islamic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the  
United Nations - New York*

17 January 2013

Excellency,

I have the honour to write to you in reference of my letter dated 4 December 2012. Within this letter, I offered Member States the opportunity to review their positions contained within revision three of the negotiation text and to send any revisions in their reflected positions.

I am pleased to inform Member States that I received six letters and herewith, I circulate to the entire membership these communications. It is my belief that these documents will help inform the process going forward, and their circulation is essential for maintaining an open, transparent, inclusive, and comprehensive process.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Zahir Tanin'.

Zahir Tanin

Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council

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



New York, 9<sup>th</sup> January 2013

Excellency,

We are writing in response to your letter of 4 December 2012 inviting interested groups of delegations to come forward with their suggestions on the way forward in the intergovernmental negotiations.

As you are aware, the L69 Group comprises a diverse group of developing countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, who are united by a common cause – to achieve, lasting and comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council. The Group is cemented in its firm conviction that expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of membership of the Security Council is needed to better reflect contemporary world realities, and achieve a more accountable, representative and transparent Security Council.

We would like to utilize this opportunity to share with you the perceptions of the L69 Group on the important matter of Security Council reform. To this end and with a view to assist you in having a clear understanding of the L69 Group's positions on the five key issues, we are enclosing the statement delivered by the Spokesperson of the Group at the formal plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly held on 15 November 2012.

Our Group has been active in trying to engage other like-minded delegations and groups with a view to building further convergences and thereby facilitating the IGN process. Notable in this regard is our on-going outreach to the C-10 of the African Group.

We would like to specifically highlight paragraph 153 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome document in which Leaders further resolved to support early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of overall efforts to reform the United Nations in order to make it more broadly representative, efficient and

transparent and thus further enhance its effectiveness and legitimacy and implementation of its decisions.

The L69 Group has endorsed the call for a rotating non-permanent seat for small island developing states in an expanded Security Council.

In so far as the 'question of the veto' is concerned, on numerous occasions our Group has expressed support for African aspirations for permanent membership with the veto. As mentioned in our statement at the formal plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly held on 15 November 2012, the L69 is of the view that new permanent members should have the same prerogatives and privileges as those of the current permanent members, including the veto.

The L69 Group is committed to playing its part in ensuring that this comprehensive reform is not left to future generations. We hope that you will adequately factor in our views and the position of the L69 Group in your future plans for the 9<sup>th</sup> round of intergovernmental negotiations.

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



Hardeep Singh Puri,  
Ambassador Extraordinary and  
Plenipotentiary,  
Permanent Representative of  
India to the United Nations



Camillo Gonsalves  
Ambassador Extraordinary and  
Plenipotentiary,  
Permanent Representative of  
Saint Vincent  
and the Grenadines to the United  
Nations

To:

**H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin,  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,  
Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations &  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the equitable  
representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and  
other matters related to the Council.**

Cc: Office of the President of the General Assembly

**L.69 Statement by Ambassador Raymond Wolfe, Permanent Representative of Jamaica at the joint debate of the 67<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly on agenda item 117: "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters" and agenda item 30: "Report of the Security Council" (15 November 2012)**

Mr. President,

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the L69 Group of countries. The L69 Group comprises a diverse group of developing countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, who are united by a common cause – to achieve, lasting and comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council.

The Group is cemented in its firm conviction that expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of membership of the Security Council is needed to better reflect contemporary world realities, and achieve a more accountable, representative and transparent Security Council.

We were instrumental in starting the intergovernmental negotiations. We remain engaged in these negotiations on the understanding that the UN Charter, the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly as well as relevant GA resolutions requires support from two-thirds majority of the UN membership for any decision in this regard.

At the outset, I would like to place on record the Group's appreciation for the work of Ambassador Zahir Tanin of Afghanistan during the last GA session. He has been an integral and invaluable part of the intergovernmental negotiations since 2009. We are therefore happy to welcome his re-appointment as Chair of the IGN for this session as well.

Mr. President,

During the eighth round of intergovernmental negotiations held during the previous General Assembly session it was clear that the UN membership desires early reform that comprises expansion in both the existing permanent and non-permanent categories and improvements in the Council's working methods.

Secondly, the membership acknowledges the positive and constructive role that has been and continues to be played by the L69 Group. Indeed, the fact that ours is the only Group which has increased in membership over the years testifies to the Group's influential role. In keeping with our tradition of active support for the reform process, we have also put forward a number of proposals for transforming our interactions and deliberations into real negotiations.

Thirdly, our Group has also been able to enhance convergences with other like-minded groups, in particular the African Group.

The L69 and the C10 of the African Group have been collaborating closely for convergence between them that embraces comprehensive reform.

Let me reiterate today that the L69 acknowledges the African common position. We are of one mind in stressing that the reform we envisage is far-reaching and intended to ensure that the

Council's structure and its way of doing business is fundamentally changed to make it reflective of current geopolitical realities.

Mr. President,

On each of the five key issues of Security Council reform there exist clear convergences. To the L69 Group, these convergences are the following.

First, the Security Council must be enlarged in both the permanent and non-permanent categories.

Second, the new permanent members should have the same prerogatives and privileges as those of the current permanent members, including the veto.

Third, additional seats in an expanded Council should include permanent members from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean region, as well as from the Western European and other States. There should also be additional non-permanent seats from Africa, Asia, Eastern European Group, Latin America and the Caribbean region as well as one non-permanent seat for small island developing states across all regions. Further, regional groups should coordinate to ensure that there is regular representation for small developing states in the non-permanent category.

Fourth, the Council should be expanded to the mid-twenties and it should adapt its working methods so as to increase the involvement of States not members of the Council in its work, as appropriate, enhance its accountability to the membership and increase the transparency of its work.

Fifth, the General Assembly's role as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the UN must be respected in both letter and spirit.

It is the considered view of the L69 Group that intergovernmental negotiations should be immediately started with the aim of formalizing the convergences that I have just articulated.

Mr. President,

In closing allow me to recall paragraph 30 of the Millennium Summit Declaration in which World Leaders *inter alia* resolved to intensify efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects.

I would also like to specifically highlight paragraph 153 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome document in which Leaders further resolved to support early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of overall efforts to reform the United Nations in order to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus further enhance its effectiveness and legitimacy and implementation of its decisions.

The L69 Group is committed to playing its part in ensuring that this comprehensive reform is not left to future generations.

Thank you.

**FAX**

**Date:** 1/10/2013

**Pages including cover sheet:** 3

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| <b>To:</b>        | +12129721216 |
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|                   |              |
| <b>Phone</b>      |              |
| <b>Fax Number</b> | +12129721216 |

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|-------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>      | German Mission to the UN |
|                   | German Mission to the UN |
|                   | 871 UN Plaza             |
|                   | New York                 |
|                   | NY 10017                 |
|                   |                          |
| <b>Phone</b>      | (888) 416-7972           |
| <b>Fax Number</b> |                          |

**NOTE:**

Letter for Ambassador Zahir Tanin - cc: Office of the President of the 67th General Assembly

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2013

New York, 10 January 2013

Excellency,

We wish you a happy New Year and congratulate you on your reappointment as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. We look forward to working closely with you and reform-oriented Member States and have no doubt that you will continue to guide Member States in this 9<sup>th</sup> round of Negotiations in a progress-oriented manner.

We also appreciate your announcement of an early resumption of the Negotiations. In keeping with established practice, the Negotiations should further build on the momentum generated during the 66<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly.

The G4 countries have spared no effort in seeking to achieve tangible progress on Security Council reform. Rather than safeguarding the status quo, we continue to aim at moving the reform process forward. In so doing, we have received strong support from a large, cross-regional group of Member States from small and large, developing and developed countries alike. The strong support for a reform model anchored in an expansion in both categories of membership was yet again registered during the 8<sup>th</sup> round of Negotiations. The membership also expressed frustration with the negligible progress achieved on this important agenda item.

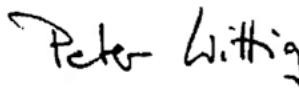
We share the view of the overwhelming majority of Member States that we have to move to real negotiations on comprehensive Security Council reform at the earliest. We have repeatedly placed on record our determination to work toward this goal in close cooperation with Member States and in a spirit of flexibility.

It is in this context that we welcome the recommendations made in your letter of 25 July 2012, which was unanimously acknowledged in General Assembly decision 66/556 of 13 September 2012. In our outreach with other reform-oriented Member States we have seen strong support for your reflections from the 8<sup>th</sup> round of negotiations, which could provide useful guiding principles to finally move from words to action. The drafting of a "concise working document" could prove instrumental in focusing Member State efforts on finding common ground. Reflecting the discussions held during the Negotiations and the essence of your revised negotiation text (Rev. 3), such a document would help Member States to engage in real give-and-take negotiations. We also appreciate the idea of holding a high-level meeting on Security Council reform since it could inject greater political momentum into the reform process. We would, therefore, like to explore this idea with you. We stand ready to actively contribute to the overall reform process, including the working document, during the 9<sup>th</sup> round of Intergovernmental Negotiations.

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



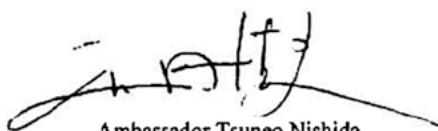
Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti  
Permanent Representative of Brazil  
to the United Nations



Ambassador Peter Wittig  
Permanent Representative of Germany  
to the United Nations



Ambassador H.S. Puri  
Permanent Representative of India  
to the United Nations



Ambassador Tsuneo Nishida  
Permanent Representative of Japan  
to the United Nations



*Office of the Ambassador*

PERMANENT MISSION OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

TEL: (212) 688-1656

FAX: (212) 688-4924

UN/SC/601/64

245 EAST 49TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

January 11 2012

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 4 December 2012, drawing the attention of delegations to their positions as they appear in revision three of the negotiation text circulated in your letter of 23 February 2011, and in the spirit of the 8<sup>th</sup> round of negotiations, inviting delegations that wish to amend their position to do so against 11 January 2013.

The Committee of Ten of African Union on UN reforms wishes to refer to letter dated 14 February 2011 as well as our statements made at the intergovernmental negotiations on revision three of the negotiations text, in particular the statement delivered by Sierra Leone as Coordinator of the African Union Committee of Ten on UN reforms on 2 March 2011, and to reiterate its stance against any streamlining of positions or merging language in the text without first achieving agreement on the principles and criteria vis-à-vis the negotiable clusters in the intergovernmental negotiations.

Consequently, in the spirit of the membership driven process and in accordance with decision 62/557, we reaffirm that our position as reflected in the second revision of the negotiations text should remain intact as we continue to engage in the intergovernmental negotiations towards building alliances and consensus as well as narrowing down divergences between us and other interest groups and member states.

We wish to assure your Excellency that we will continue to engage in the intergovernmental negotiations in good faith and with mutual trust, and in the interest of moving the process forward and in accordance with consensus decisions 62/557, 63/565 and 64/568, wish to express our sincere thanks and appreciation for your commitment to remain impartial to positions yet partial to progress.

Please accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Shekou M. Touray  
Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
Coordinator of the Committee of Ten on Security Council Reform

H.E. Ambassador Zahir Tanin  
Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Afghanistan  
Chair of the Inter-governmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform

c.c. Office of the President of the General Assembly

Постоянный представитель  
Российской Федерации  
при Организации  
Объединенных Наций

Phone: (212) 861 4900  
Fax: (212) 628 0252



Permanent Representative  
of the Russian Federation  
to the United Nations

136 East 67<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, NY 10065

№ 701 /n

New York, « 11 » January 2013

Excellency,

With reference to your letter dated 4 December 2012, in which you invited Member States to notify you of any amendments to their respective positions on the Security Council reform as they appear in revision three of the paper reflecting positions and proposals of Member States, I would like to inform you that the Russian position on this issue has not been altered.

Furthermore, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate our position, as it was expressed in my letter to you dated 14 February 2011, that the Rev.3 is, as any possible future version of such a paper must continue to be, a compendium listing approaches of Member States to the Security Council reform. It may serve as a useful reference paper facilitating the participation of Member States in the intergovernmental negotiations, but not the basis for the negotiations.

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2013  
H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin  
Permanent Representative  
of Afghanistan to the United Nations

Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations  
on the question of equitable representation  
and increase in the membership of the Security Council  
and other matters related to the Council

New York

Russia consistently stands for continuing the meticulous work on bridging Member States' positions in the framework of the intergovernmental negotiations, which must remain exclusively the Member States driven process.

Let me express once again my country's continuous support to you as the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations and our readiness to cooperate with you to ensure their success.

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



Vitaly Churkin



THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ITALY  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

885 Second Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Tel. (212) 486 9191  
Fax (212) 486 1036

FAX N. 162

New York, 11 January 2013

U R G E N T

FROM: Ambassador Cesare Maria Ragaglini  
Permanent Representative  
Permanent Mission of Italy to the United Nations

TO: H.E. Ambassador Zahir Tanin  
Chairman of the intergovernmental negotiations  
On Security Council reform  
The United Nations  
New York

c.c.: H.E. Mr. Vuk Jeremic  
President of the Sixty-seventh General Assembly  
The United Nations  
New York

SUBJECT: Security Council reform

No. of pages: cover + 6

***"Uniting for Consensus"***  
***Focal Point***

New York, January 11, 2013

on behalf of UfC I thank you for your letter dated December 4, 2012.

UfC is convinced of the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in order to make it more representative of the current UN membership and increase its accountability, transparency and effectiveness. However, as the intergovernmental negotiations process has shown, the reform of the Security Council is one of the most sensitive and divisive topics at the UN, since it touches on the strategic interests of all 193 Member States. We are also convinced that transparency and predictability are needed to build confidence among Member States. For these reasons, we believe that the role of the Chair and the PGA are crucial in maintaining a level playing field among Member States. Through consultations or informal meetings, they should encourage the political will to start real negotiations.

Furthermore, UfC continues to consider that an elected Security Council and a reform based on GA decision 62/557 (i.e. encompassing all five issues in a comprehensive way on the basis of positions and proposals by Members States) are the best ways to make the Council more accountable and representative. The privileges of permanent membership are simply anachronistic and the creation of new permanent members would only perpetuate the defects that make reform necessary today. Along these lines, we are ready to engage in a new round of negotiations and show a further degree of flexibility on the basis of reciprocity with other Groups or Member States in the genuine search of a true compromise solution.

Finally, with reference to your letter and in particular to Rev 3 of the document, I wish to remind that UfC - through its letters of February 14 and September 6, 2011 (attached) - engaged in a constructive way by highlighting some concerns and requests of clarifications. Some issues had been resolved, others need to be addressed yet. For this reason, we note that only rev 2 reflects all positions and proposals as put forward by Members States up to this stage.

On these premises, Mr. Chair, you can count on our commitment to the process during the current session of the General Assembly.

*UR*  
Yours Sincerely,  
The Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations  
Cesare Maria Ragaglini

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2013  
H.E. Ambassador Zahir Tanin  
Chairman of the intergovernmental negotiations  
on Security Council reform  
The United Nations  
New York

c. c  
H.E. Vuk Jeremic  
President of the 67<sup>th</sup> General Assembly

***"Uniting for Consensus"***  
***Focal Point***

SEP - 6 2011

On behalf of UFC, I thank you for your letter dated August 18 and have the following appreciations to make:

On rev 3 - the first point of your communication - let me start by reminding you that UFC engaged in a constructive way on your proposal. Our letter dated February 14, 2011 highlighted some concerns and requested some clarifications. Some issues have been resolved, others need to be addressed yet. Underlining once again that ownership of the Member States remains the paramount guideline for any advancement in the reform process, we note that only rev 2 reflects all positions and proposals as put forward by Member States up to this stage.

On the second point of your letter, regarding the initiatives taken by Members States during the current session, I would like to recall the ones promoted by Italy, Mexico and their UFC partners: the Ministerial level conference on Global Governance and Security Council Reform held in Rome on May 16 and the Vice Ministerial level meeting on Identifying a Compromise Solution on Security Council Reform held in Mexico City on July 18.

Whereas the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) - and your ability to chair them - were *de facto* put on hold as a result of a divisive initiative taken by some Member States, spirit of dialogue and compromise, transparency and inclusiveness were at the basis of the meetings in Rome and Mexico.

As a consequence, the Rome conference was attended by 123 delegations (list attached), all groups, the PGA as well as yourself. The meeting in Mexico included 27 delegations, representative of the main regional groups and informal groupings within the SC reform process, as well as the PGA and representatives of the incoming Presidency of the General Assembly.

On both occasions, a large number of Member States sent a clear signal on the parameters to achieve a much needed reform of the Security Council: the reform must be consensual and comprehensive to be effective, to serve the goal of strengthening the United Nations and to reflect the core UN values of inclusiveness, democracy, flexibility and accountability.

H.E. Ambassador Zahir Tanin  
Chairman of the intergovernmental negotiations  
on Security Council reform  
The United Nations  
New York

The outcome and principles that emerged in the Rome conference are summarized in the oral conclusions (attached) pronounced by the Italian Foreign Minister, H.E. Franco Frattini, which I request to be circulated to the membership through the Chair. The same spirit and eagerness for compromise inspired the meeting in Mexico, with the aim of achieving a much needed compromise solution that could garner the widest possible political acceptance. Both meetings were held with the objective of supporting the Intergovernmental Negotiations and they actually called for a prompt resumption of them, which unfortunately did not happen.

Mr. Chairman, UFC will continue to exert constructive efforts to push forward a reform that makes the Council more accountable and democratic. As proved by this session, divisive initiatives based on a piecemeal approach stall the process and jeopardize the goal of an early and comprehensive reform of the Security Council. Finally, such initiatives are detrimental to the role of the Chair.

Henceforth we call upon Member States to bridge differences within the intergovernmental negotiations framework in compliance with resolution 62/557 which was adopted by consensus as the basis of the process.

On these premises, you can count on our commitment to the process during the upcoming 66<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.



Yours Sincerely,

The Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations  
Cesare Maria Ragaglini

*"Uniting for Consensus"  
Focal Point*

FEB 14 2013

On behalf of UFC, I thank you for your letter of January 31 transmitting a third revision of the text and its index.

We appreciate your efforts and, by taking note of this third version of the working document, we want to underline - once again - some of the key principles of the negotiating process. First, ownership of the Members States remains the paramount guideline for any advancement in the reform process. This means that any modification, regrouping or merging of positions must always be membership driven. Second, interlinkages among the five key issues must be always taken into account in compliance with decision 62/557. Third, while all positions are equal and have to be treated accordingly until everything is agreed, meaningful progress can be achieved by agreeing on principles underlying each position. In the meantime, no position or proposal should be eliminated or merged without the consent of Member States.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we note that you circulated your proposals in draft.

In this context, UFC would like to point out several shortcomings that need to be addressed to preserve the text's ability to serve as a reference for participation of Member States in the intergovernmental negotiations.

1. We took note of the order in which you regrouped the various positions of Member States. In most cases, you started by locating positions referring to "general statements" (where present) at the beginning of each cluster. You then proceeded by listing more specific positions. As a consequence, the "Regional Representation" cluster of the document starts with bullet 3.1 ("General Statements"); "Size" starts with bullet 4.1.1 ("General Statements"); "Working Methods" starts with bullet 4.2.1 ("General Statements").

Yet, in the "Categories" part of the document, "General Statements" are confined in the last bullet (1.6). We think this is not coherent with the logic applied to the rest of the document and ask for detailed clarifications.

H.E. Ambassador Zahir Tanin  
Chairman of the intergovernmental negotiations  
on Security Council reform  
The United Nations  
New York

c. c  
H.E. Joseph Deiss  
President of the 65th session of the General Assembly

2. Again on categories, we cannot understand the rationale in the "*review clause*" partition criteria. Whereas in para 1.4 (*enlargement on intermediary/intermediate/interim/longer term/third category*) the positions foreseeing a review clause are separated in a different paragraph, segment 1.1 (*enlargement in both current categories ... with all the prerogatives...*) does not reflect the same. For example, L69 position (with provision of review) is not located in a separate para; para 1.1.1 (G4 position) refers to review only with regard to veto, whereas the review clause is foreseen also in relation to all "*situation created by the amendments*" such as for para 1.1.2 (Slovenia). In our view, the logic applied to para 1.4 (*intermediate approach*) should be applied also here, by separating L69 and G4 proposals (they both ask for enlargement in two categories; they both ask for review clause) in a new para (as it was done for para 1.4). Addition of this new para may also be necessary as the UN Charter provides for only two categories of the membership of the Security Council. "Permanent members without veto" entails creating a third category of membership, which is not provided under the current Charter provisions. Once again we ask for detailed clarifications.

3. Still on categories, we note that para 1.4 (*referring to the intermediary/intermediate/interim/longer term/third category*) starts by quoting two positions that are against this approach. Here we find a different logic than in the rest of the document. The rationale behind the other regroupings is to pool together positions that could present potential commonalities. Following this method and as it was done in other parts of the text, a separate paragraph should be dedicated to the above mentioned positions that are against this approach. Clarifications, once again, would be appreciated.

4. Again on categories, para 1.4.1 referring to the Italian/Colombian proposal should be split. The part referring to regular non-permanent seats should be inserted as a separate bullet point under para 1.3 dedicated to enlargement in non permanent 2 year category.

5. The cluster on veto could also be started with either the general statements or with paragraphs that in their entirety deal with veto i.e. reform of veto, restrictions on its use, elimination. This may have been more in line with the logic applied elsewhere in the text than to start the cluster with paragraphs relating to enlargement of the Council.

6. With regard to para 3.2 (*Selection Criteria for new members*) we note that Italy and Colombia's position is not reflected in para 3.2.4 (which refers to *demography*), whereas the demographic principle is key in assigning regular non permanent seats in our proposal. Such a choice needs to be clarified.

Mr. Chairman,

recalling once again the intergovernmental nature of the Security Council reform process, UFC is committed with it and with all the Member States in good faith, being the only Group that has shown flexibility over the last two years, since negotiations started. Our flexibility is reflected not only in our platform, but also in the evolution of the document, as anyone can observe. We are as usual open to the possibility of meeting with you in the near future to address the points raised in this letter.

We continue to be convinced that any breakthrough in the negotiations can be achieved by reciprocating such flexibility, and not by attempting to impose, once again, reform

formulas that have been rejected over the last 17 years. Unfortunately, by resuming framework solutions belonging to a pre negotiating era, a part of the membership is trying to undermine the process and the confidence of Members States.

We will oppose this attempt, by continuing to ask all Member States to be ready to bridge differences, instead of exasperating them. On these premises, you can continue to count on our commitment to the process.

Yours Sincerely, ~

The Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations  
Cesare Maria Ragaglini

## 中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

350 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

TEL.: (212) 655-6100

11 January, 2013

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to congratulate you on your assumption as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform during the 67<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.

China firmly supports necessary and reasonable reform of the Security Council to enhance its authority and efficiency, strengthen its capacity to respond to global threats and challenges, and enable it to better discharge its responsibilities entrusted by the Charter of the United Nations. China has actively and constructively engaged in the Intergovernmental Negotiations.

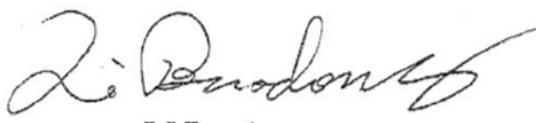
With reference to your letter dated Dec 4, 2012, I felt obliged to reiterate our positions on revision 3 of the negotiation text which were reflected in the two letters that I addressed to you dated 24 January, 2011 and 1 February, 2011.

Revision 3 of the negotiation text had caused some controversy among Member States and many countries and groups of countries expressed their concerns and reservations. It reorganized and summed up the positions and proposals of Member States, which is not only inappropriate and harmful, but also undermines the integrity of positions of Member States. This will only complicate and mislead the negotiation process. China is opposed to it, in particular using the text as an excuse to narrowing down options. Before the parties concerned reach general

consensus on the major issues of principle, streamlining of the text will not help bridge their differences, but rather bring about more problems.

China's position on revision 3 of the negotiation text remains unchanged and please find attached the above-mentioned two letters I wrote to you on previous occasions.

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



LI Baodong

Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
Of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin

Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matter related to the Security Council

c.c.: H.E. Mr. Vuk Jeremic

President of the 67<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly

中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

350 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

TEL.: (212) 655-6100

24 January 2011

Your Excellency,

China welcomes your efforts in facilitating the last six rounds of intergovernmental negotiations. We take note of your intention to distribute a new revision of the paper reflecting the positions and proposals of Member States. To my knowledge, a number of countries have expressed their opinions and concerns on this important matter to you, many of which China shares. Now I would like to reiterate the following points:

First, General Assembly Decision 62/557 calls on Member States to engage in the intergovernmental negotiations, based on proposals by Member States, in good faith, with mutual respect and in an open, inclusive and transparent manner. It determines the membership-driven nature of the intergovernmental negotiations.

Second, it is of utmost importance to comply with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly, and follow the principle of Member States-driven process, and fully solicit the views of Member States. Consensus of Member States must be achieved before you propose any document on your own capacity.

Third, the paper may serve as an important reference, but not the basis of intergovernmental negotiations. It should reflect the whole picture of the positions of Member States, and respect and retain the positions of all Member States and state groups in their entirety. Before the parties concerned reach general consensus on the major issues of principle, streamlining of the text will not help bridge their difference, but rather bring about more problems.

Fourth, to reorganize or summarize the positions and proposals of

Member States without their consent is inappropriate and harmful, which will complicate and mislead the negotiations and compromise the progress achieved so far. China opposes to it, in particular using the paper as an excuse to narrowing down options.

We will continue to support your Chairmanship and work together to ensure the success of the intergovernmental negotiations in the 65<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly.

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



Li Baodong

Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin

Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matter related to the Security Council

c.c.: H. E. Mr. Joseph Deiss

President of the 65<sup>th</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly

中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

350 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

TEL.: (212) 655-6100

1 February 2011

Your Excellency,

With reference to your letter dated 31 January 2011 submitting the third revision of the paper reflecting the positions and proposals of Member States, I would like to make the following points:

First, the paper may serve as an important reference facilitating the participation of Member States in intergovernmental negotiations, but not the basis for negotiations.

Second, China regrets that, despite the concerns and reservations expressed to you by a number of countries, including those in my letter dated 24 January 2011, an "operational tool" was proposed in your above-mentioned letter without prior consultations with and in absence of consensus among Member States. China opposes to any document inconsistent with relevant General Assembly decisions, particularly the principle of

membership-driven process.

Third, the Security Council reform is a serious and complicated process, which affects the future of the United Nations and key interests of all the Member States. It's not a game of word or format. Reorganizing or summarizing the positions and proposals of Member States without their consent is inappropriate and harmful, which will complicate and mislead the negotiations, damage solidarity and mutual trust and compromise the progress achieved so far.

Fourth, It is high time for Member States to seriously engage in exploring overall thinking which can indeed help bridging the differences among Member States. China supports agreeing on principles first before engaging in any streamlining or merging exercise.

China supports necessary reform of the Security Council. The reform should help improve the authority and efficiency of the Council and enable it to perform more effectively the responsibilities entrusted by the Charter of the United Nations. Security Council reform should give top priority to increasing the representation of developing countries, especially that of African countries, and give more small and medium-sized countries access to the Council and its decision making process.

We will continue to support your Chairmanship and work together to ensure the success of the intergovernmental

negotiations.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Li Baodong".

Li Baodong

Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin

Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matter related to the Security Council

c.c.: H. E. Mr. Joseph Deiss

President of the 65<sup>th</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly

**67/561. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 97th plenary meeting, on 29 August 2013, the General Assembly:

- (a) Decided to reaffirm the central role of the General Assembly on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;
- (b) Also decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its sixty-eighth session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009, 64/568 of 13 September 2010, 65/554 of 12 September 2011 and 66/566 of 13 September 2012, building on the informal meetings held during its sixty-seventh session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, while welcoming the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, and taking note of the previous proposals of the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, and noting with appreciation his active role and concrete efforts, including the preparation of the text reflecting the positions of and proposals submitted by Member States, with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Security Council;
- (c) Further decided to convene 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 during the sixty-eighth session of the General Assembly if Member States so decide;
- (d) Decided to include in the agenda of the sixty-eighth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council".

# 2013 | PGA's Advisory Group Non-Paper for Intergovernmental Negotiations



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

10 December 2013

Excellency,

I am writing to you, in your capacity as Chair of the Inter-governmental Negotiations (IGN), to follow up on our previous communications on the resumption of inter-governmental negotiations on Security Council Reform on 12 December 2013.

As you are no doubt aware, I had convened a broadly representative Advisory Group (AG) of Permanent Representatives to provide me with ideas on all aspects of the IGN for my consideration. As I had repeatedly stressed to member States, the AG is consultative, has NO negotiating role and that it does not overlap or substitute for the IGN. And as member States have reiterated at the debates of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> November, the IGN is a member States-driven process. I am bound by, and fully committed to, that process. The only way forward therefore is through a smooth, transparent IGN.

Against this backdrop, I am pleased to inform that, as per my request, members of the AG have provided me with a set of ideas pertaining to the negotiations which I now wish to communicate through you to the member States in the IGN for their own consideration. These ideas, attached herewith in the form of a Non Paper, are intended to be an instrument to assist in the organization of the IGN, while ensuring that General Assembly decision 62/557 remains the continued basis for the IGN process.

As such, the attached non-paper is neither a negotiating text nor a replacement of any existing document. In my view, this non-paper could be a useful tool to aid the already well-established member State-driven IGN process under your Chairmanship.

I therefore invite you to prepare a programme of work for the IGN and invite you to use any or all of the ideas contained in the Non Paper as a guide.

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

John W. Ashe

H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin  
Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations

Cc: All Permanent Representatives to the United Nations  
New York

211  
2013

## NON PAPER

### 1. Categories of membership<sup>1</sup>

- a. Enlargement in both existing categories, permanent and non-permanent.
- b. Enlargement through the creation of a new category of seats of (x) years to be converted into permanent seats<sup>2</sup>, as well as enlargement in the non-permanent category<sup>3</sup>.
- c. Enlargement through the creation of a new category of seats of (8-12) years that are immediately renewable, without prejudice to the possibility of enlargement in the non-permanent category.<sup>4</sup>
- d. Enlargement through the creation of a new category of seats of (3-5) years, as well as enlargement in the non-permanent category
- e. Enlargement in the non-permanent category only:
  - i. With the possibility of immediate re-election.
  - ii. Without the possibility of immediate re-election.

### 2. The question of the veto<sup>5</sup>

#### 2.1 In relation to enlargement:

- a. Extension of the veto to the new permanent members.
- b. Extension of the veto to the new permanent members, subject to a moratorium on its use for 15 years<sup>6</sup>.
- c. No extension of the veto.
- d. Abolition of the veto.

#### 2.2 In relation to the use of the veto:

<sup>1</sup> This section is linked to the question of the veto, regional representation; and size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Council.

<sup>2</sup> The conversion would take place unless otherwise decided in the framework of the review, cf. in 6.2.a.i.

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this non-paper, "the non-permanent category" refers exclusively to the existing non-permanent seats.

<sup>4</sup> To be combined with a provision that States running for such a new category seat are barred from running for a seat in the non-permanent category, at least for the length of term of a new category seat ("flip-flop clause").

<sup>5</sup> This section is linked to size and working methods of the Council.

<sup>6</sup> A further decision in this regard would have to be made in the context of the review, cf. 6.2.a.i.

- a. Limit the use of the veto:
  - i. Not to be used to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes.
  - ii. To Chapter VII matters.
- b. Require non-concurring votes by two permanent members to block a Council decision.

### 3. Regional Representation<sup>7</sup>

The charts below reflect how the various models proposed under 1. would affect regional representation. Furthermore, cross-regional suggestions have also been made as regards: (a) permanent Arab representation in any future expansion in the category of permanent membership; (b) adequate representation of the Islamic Ummah in any category of membership.

#### Regional representation under models 1.a. and 1.b.

|              | existing perm. seats | new perm. seats | existing non-perm. seats | new non-perm. Seats | TOTAL (perm + non-perm) |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Africa       | 0                    | 2               | 3*                       | 1 or 2              | 2+4 = 6 or 2+5 = 7      |
| Asia-Pacific | 1                    | 2               | 2*                       | 1                   | 3+3 = 6                 |
| EEG          | 1                    | 0               | 1                        | 1                   | 1 + 2 = 3               |
| GRULAC       | 0                    | 1               | 2                        | 1                   | 1 + 3 = 4               |
| WEOG         | 3                    | 1               | 2                        | 0                   | 4 + 2 = 6               |
| SIDS         |                      |                 |                          | 0 or 1              |                         |
|              | 5                    | 6               | 10                       | 4, 5 or 6           | 25, 26 or 27            |

\*Five seats are allocated to the African and Asia-Pacific Group, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1991A (XVIII). In practice three of these seats are allocated to the African Group, two to the Asia-Pacific Group.

<sup>7</sup> This section is linked to categories of membership, size and working methods of the Council.

**Regional representation under model 1.c**

|              | <b>existing perm. seats</b> | <b>new category of seats</b> | <b>existing non-perm. seats</b> | <b>new non-perm. seats</b> | <b>TOTAL (perm + long + non-perm)</b> |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Africa       | <b>0</b>                    | <b>2</b>                     | <b>3*</b>                       | <b>(x)</b>                 | <b><math>0 + 2 + 3 = 5</math></b>     |
| Asia-Pacific | <b>1</b>                    | <b>2</b>                     | <b>2*</b>                       | <b>(x)</b>                 | <b><math>1 + 2 + 2 = 4</math></b>     |
| EEG          | <b>1</b>                    | <b>0</b>                     | <b>1</b>                        | <b>(x)</b>                 | <b><math>1 + 0 + 1 = 2</math></b>     |
| GRULAC       | <b>0</b>                    | <b>1</b>                     | <b>2</b>                        | <b>(x)</b>                 | <b><math>0 + 1 + 2 = 3</math></b>     |
| WEOG         | <b>3</b>                    | <b>1</b>                     | <b>2</b>                        | <b>(x)</b>                 | <b><math>3 + 1 + 2 = 6</math></b>     |
|              | <b>5</b>                    | <b>6</b>                     | <b>10</b>                       | <b>(x)</b>                 | <b><math>21 + (x)^8</math></b>        |

(x) The proposal is neutral as to whether seats in the non-permanent category are added, which are therefore referred to as "(x)". The Eastern European Group has asked for an additional non-permanent seat under any enlargement model.

**Regional representation under model 1.d**

|                    | <b>existing perm. seats</b> | <b>new category of seats</b> | <b>existing non-perm. seats</b> | <b>new non-perm. seats</b> | <b>TOTAL (perm + med. + non-perm)</b> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Africa             | <b>0</b>                    | <b>1.5**</b>                 | <b>3*</b>                       | <b>1</b>                   | <b><math>0 + 1.5 + 4 = 5.5</math></b> |
| Asia-Pacific       | <b>1</b>                    | <b>1.5**</b>                 | <b>2*</b>                       | <b>1</b>                   | <b><math>1 + 1.5 + 3 = 5.5</math></b> |
| EEG                | <b>1</b>                    | <b>0.5***</b>                | <b>1</b>                        | <b>1</b>                   | <b><math>1 + 0.5 + 2 = 3.5</math></b> |
| GRULAC             | <b>0</b>                    | <b>1</b>                     | <b>2</b>                        | <b>1</b>                   | <b><math>0 + 1 + 3 = 4</math></b>     |
| WEOG               | <b>3</b>                    | <b>0.5***</b>                | <b>2</b>                        | <b>0</b>                   | <b><math>3 + 0.5 + 2 = 5.5</math></b> |
| Small States       |                             |                              |                                 | <b>1</b>                   | <b>1</b>                              |
| Medium size States |                             |                              |                                 | <b>1</b>                   | <b>1</b>                              |
|                    | <b>5</b>                    | <b>5</b>                     | <b>10</b>                       | <b>6</b>                   | <b>26</b>                             |

\*\* The proposal allocates one seat to Asia/Africa, which has been distributed evenly amongst both groups for reference purposes only.

\*\*\*One seat rotates between EEG and WEOG, resulting in an average of 0.5 seats for each region.

<sup>8</sup> A decision on adding new seats in the non-permanent category could be part of the review, cf. 6.2.a.ii.

## Regional representation under model 1.e

|              | <b>existing perm. seats</b> | <b>existing non-perm. seats</b> | <b>new non-perm. seats</b> | <b>TOTAL (perm + non-perm)</b> |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Africa       | 0                           | 3*                              | 3                          | 0 + 6 = 6                      |
| Asia-Pacific | 1                           | 2*                              | 3                          | 1 + 5 = 6                      |
| EEG          | 1                           | 1                               | 1                          | 1 + 2 = 3                      |
| GRULAC       | 0                           | 2                               | 2                          | 0 + 4 = 4                      |
| WEOG         | 3                           | 2                               | 1                          | 3 + 3 = 6                      |
|              | <b>5</b>                    | <b>10</b>                       | <b>10</b>                  | <b>25</b>                      |

4. Size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Council<sup>9</sup>

4.1 The Security Council membership shall be increased from fifteen to (x)<sup>10</sup> members.

4.2 Measures on working methods are limited to challenges arising from the enlargement of the Council. The following list serves as a placeholder. Some of the measures listed below can be decided at the same time as enlargement, while others require work to be done thereafter. This work must be concluded at the time of entry into force of the amendments at the latest.

- a. **Majority required** for decision-making: The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (art. 27 (2) and 27 (3)).
- b. **Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies.** A thorough review of the working methods is required, in particular on decision-making.
- c. **Council Presidency:** Ensuring that every member of the Council will continue holding the Presidency at least once during its membership will require a change to the current practice.
- d. **Secretariat capacity:** Review of the capacities and the resources of the Secretariat required to service an enlarged Council.

<sup>9</sup> This section is linked to categories of membership and the question of the veto.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. charts in section 3.

- e. **Practices and arrangements relating to permanent membership:** Review of the privileges enjoyed by the Permanent Members outside the Security Council (e.g. membership in bodies such as ECOSOC and ICJ, practice of distributing senior positions within the UN system).
- f. **Alleviating the workload** of the Council: Ways to address the workload, e.g. assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions. This would require extending the possibility of voting to subsidiary bodies.
- g. **Chairmanships** of subsidiary bodies: Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.

## 5. Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly<sup>11</sup>

Measures in this section can include:

- a. Submission of an analytical annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly, pursuant to Articles 15 (1) and 24 (3) of the Charter, and establishment of a dialogue between the two bodies on the report.
- b. Increased use of special reports to the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter.
- c. Establishment of a practice under which permanent members explain non-concurring votes to the General Assembly.

## 6. Cross-cutting issues

### 6.1 Amendments to the Charter

All enlargement models require a General Assembly resolution, to be adopted in accordance with resolution 53/30 of the General Assembly, containing amendments to the Charter. These amendments are subject to ratification and enter into force in accordance with Chapter XVIII of the UN Charter. Charter provisions subject to amendments are articles 23, 27, and 109.

<sup>11</sup> This section is linked to the question of the veto.

### **Enlargement under models 1b to 1e (a single General Assembly resolution)**

The Charter amendments resulting from enlargement are annexed to the General Assembly resolution. Elections take place once the amendments have entered into force

### **Enlargement under model 1a (two General Assembly resolutions)**

A General Assembly resolution deciding on enlargement is followed by the election of the new permanent Members by the General Assembly. The Charter amendments are adopted thereafter in a second General Assembly resolution.

#### **6.2 Review clause<sup>12</sup>**

Elements to be considered in connection with a possible review clause include:

**a. Scope**

- i. A limited review covering certain aspects of Security Council reform<sup>13</sup>.
- ii. A comprehensive review, covering all aspects of Security Council reform<sup>14</sup>

**b. Timing**

- i. The review takes place after a specified number of years<sup>15</sup>
- ii. A review is provided for, but without decision on its timing.

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<sup>12</sup> Most enlargement models provide for review clauses, while in some cases they do not offer specifics on scope and timing.

<sup>13</sup> Applicable e.g. to 1a.

<sup>14</sup> Applicable e.g. to 1c.

<sup>15</sup> Proposals include either a fixed number of years (15) or a relation of the timing of the review with the length of a terms of a new category of seats (e.g. 2x).

**Memo**

**To: H.E. Amb. John Ashe, President of the 68<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly**  
**and to Amb. Noel Sinclair**  
**from: Amb. Daniele Bodini**

I am very grateful for being appointed as a member of the President's Advisory Group for the Security Council Reform.

I am convinced that under the PGA leadership and Amb. Zanin as facilitator, with the help of the AG, under the supervision of Amb. Sinclair, the Security Council reform can find the needed energy to move forward in the 68<sup>th</sup> session.

I believe that a smooth, transparent IGN is the only way forward, where all member States can participate and where each of them can express their individual position on such important reform.

I believe that a negotiated reform can be only achieved starting from Rev.2, eventually adjourned to today specific countries' requests by the facilitator, Amb. Tanin.

I am very happy that the PGA on November 7<sup>th</sup> meeting clarified that the AG group has only a consultative purpose and not being representative of any negotiating party, it doesn't have a negotiating role nor a mandate to draft or streamline any negotiating document or a basis for negotiations. The AG does not overlap or substitute the IGN.

I completely share the PGA decision. In fact, we cannot forget that when Amb. Tanin tried to streamline Rev.2 in Rev.3 many serious controversies arose.

To reorganize or sum up positions of member States can be harmful, because the process can either delete or misrepresent each position of member States, with the risk of derailing or at least complicating the entire process of the IGN.

I believe that any kind of streamline of Rev.2 should be the result of the IGN painstaking negotiations.

For all the above reasons, I didn't participate in preparing this short non-paper that might expose the AG work to criticism and possible failure and might derail the efforts of the PGA.

How can we move the process of the IGN negotiations in an effective way?

I believe that at this time, the AG should advise the President about a new methodology of the "way forward" and not on the positions of different member States and groups, positions that we know by heart and that are described in details and with great accuracy in Rev.2 (document approved by the entire membership).

I believe that during the last few years the IGN process was a continuous stop and go; once that the participants member States made their statements, the process stopped for weeks or months, creating more divergencies than convergencies.

It is clear that a lasting reform has to be as widest accepted as possible. It has to be a compromise between member States and it has to take into account all the 5 interrelated topics of the SC reform.

To achieve concreteresults in the IGN, we have to be patient, show flexibility and not try to impose one solution over another.

We have to build confidence in the process. We want to maintain the members States engaged.

How to achieve this?

The PGA already made a positive step by establishing the AG, based on the response of the 7 and 8 November meeting, this new idea attracted a lot of attention, even though the response was mixed.

As I pointed out in previous meetings, I believe that if the President wants to go forward with the AG, such group should be enlarged with few more members, so that different groups (like for example the Arab group, the Eastern European Group, the Permanent members, etc) shall be represented as well.

The AG shall not substitute the role of the facilitator in taking notes of member States statements and in compiling accurately the various positions.

I believe that during the IGN meetings, that, in my opinion should be more frequent than in the past, the AG shall advise the PGA on when and where could be space for convergencies and compromise among States and groups of different views.

I believe the AG members under the able stewardship of Amb. Sinclair shall meet with Amb. Tanin and, leveraging on his unique experience, define a new program of work with a definite schedule and a renewed, transparent, open approach to find a solution in the IGN discussions with the widest possible agreement.

The AG shall consult constantly with the PGA how to bridge the differences among member States.

I believe that only following this path, the AG efforts can be helpful to the PGA in such very important undertaking.



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

3 March, 2014

Excellency,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from H.E. Mr. Zahir Tanin, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council.

In this communication Ambassador Tanin informs that, following a process of consultations with numerous Member States and grouping of States over the past few weeks, he has decided to convene, at the earliest opportunity, an initial set of six meetings, based on General Assembly Decision 62/557, to continue the tenth round in the process of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform. The proposed tentative dates and discussion topics for this round are also indicated.

I encourage Member States to actively participate in this round of discussions on this important matter.

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

*Paulo R. S. Belchior*  
pp. John W. Ashe

په منگرو ملتوکی  
د افغانستان اسلامي جمهوریت  
دایمی نمایندگی- نیویارک



نماینده گی دایمی  
جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان  
در ملن متحد - نیویارک

Permanent Mission of the Islamic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the  
United Nations

28 February 2014

Excellency,

It is my honour to write to you following my previous letter dated 14 January 2014 which announced a period of meetings between myself and Member States as an important step in the process of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform.

In this regard, I am pleased to inform you that over the last few weeks I have reached out to numerous Member States and groupings of States to engage in informative and constructive discussions about the process. The aim of these meetings was to gauge our collective readiness to build greater trust and real engagement in the process.

My discussions brought to light a number of important points. Many States highlighted the need to benefit from this session of the General Assembly following its productive start and the positive steps taken by the President of the General Assembly. While all groups were strongly supportive of continuing engagement, many stressed the need to avoid repetition and to have a more constructive debate. Member States also highlighted their expectation that all sides demonstrate genuine flexibility and willingness to compromise. At the same time, they recognised both the importance of text based negotiations as well as the need to better focus these negotiations towards a results orientated outcome.

I continue to be committed to the Member State driven nature of this process and remain impartial to any position yet partial to progress. Based on the input of Member States I have decided on an initial set of six meetings based on decision 62/557, to continue the 10<sup>th</sup> round at the earliest opportunity.

I intend to devote one meeting to each of the five key issues contained within the decision and a sixth meeting to deal with crosscutting factors which relate to more than one of the discussion topics. Having a meeting devoted to a single one of the five key issues will allow for a more detailed discussion and will spur a more interactive debate and a better understanding of the core of our negotiations. However, we must bear in mind that while we will devote a separate meeting to each of the five key issues, it is important to also recognise and discuss their interconnected nature.

With the texts on the table, this structure of meetings will provide Member States with the opportunity for interactive debate and movement from repetition to more meaningful exchanges. To this end, Member States should aspire to make these discussions fruitful and focused, to come to them with a true spirit of give and take, in good faith, with mutual respect.

The tentative dates and discussion topics for the initial informal plenary sessions during the 10<sup>th</sup> round of Intergovernmental Negotiations will be as follows:

13<sup>th</sup> of March On the topic of categories of membership,  
19<sup>th</sup> of March On the question of the veto,  
1<sup>st</sup> of April On the topic of regional representation,  
11<sup>th</sup> of April On the topic of the size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Council,  
23<sup>rd</sup> of April On the topic of the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly,  
8<sup>th</sup> of May On the topic of cross-cutting issues.

I will circulate a further letter before each meeting with more details on the topic to be discussed, while the time and location for the meetings will be published in the Journal.

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



Zahir Tanin

Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to the United Nations

Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council

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

Tel: (212) 972-1212

633 THIRD AVENUE, 27<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

FAX: (212) 972-1216

2014

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**IV. Decisions**

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**68/557. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 106th plenary meeting, on 8 September 2014, the General Assembly:

(a) Decided to reaffirm the central role of the General Assembly on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(b) Also decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its sixty-ninth session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009, 64/568 of 13 September 2010, 65/554 of 12 September 2011, 66/566 of 13 September 2012 and 67/561 of 29 August 2013, building on the informal meetings held during its sixty-eighth session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, while welcoming the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, and taking note of the previous proposals of the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, and noting with appreciation his active role and concrete efforts, including the preparation of the text reflecting the positions of and proposals submitted by Member States, with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Security Council;

(c) Further decided to convene 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 during the sixty-ninth session of the General Assembly if Member States so decide;

(d) Decided to include in the agenda of the sixty-ninth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council".



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

9 July, 2014

Excellency,

Following the conclusion of the 10<sup>th</sup> round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation on, and increase in the membership of, the Security Council and related matters, I had invited Ambassador Tanin, the Chair of the negotiations, to prepare his assessment of the round, to date, and in the wider context of the overall intergovernmental negotiations since the adoption of Decision 62/557.

I am pleased to make available to you under cover of the present letter a copy of Ambassador Tanin's written assessment.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John W. Ashe".

John W. Ashe



په ملګرو ملتوکي  
د افغانستان اسلامي جمهوریت  
د ایمه نمایندگی - نیویارک

تماینده ګن دایمی  
جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان  
در مل متحد - نیویارک

Permanent Mission of the Islamic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the  
United Nations

8 July 2014

Excellency,

It is my honour to write to you following the productive series of meetings held within this 10<sup>th</sup> round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters (IGN). Following the calls of Member States, and fulfilling my promise that should there be sufficient understanding from Member States, I would share my assessment of the process, it is my pleasure to transmit herewith my assessment for your onward transmission to Member States and Observer Missions.

This effort is in accordance with the spirit of your letter dated the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 2014, in which you encouraged me to share my assessment of the meetings we held in this round within the context of the overall Intergovernmental Negotiations process. It is based entirely on what I heard in the 10<sup>th</sup> round through our formal meetings and in my consultations.

I remain, as I have always emphasised, impartial to any position yet partial to progress. With this in mind, I have undertaken this work in the interest of solidifying the progress achieved in a 10<sup>th</sup> round characterised by a re-emergence of interactivity and a growing level of give and take amongst Member States. These elements will continue to be vital as we work towards a successful conclusion of this process.

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

Zahir Tanin  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative  
Chair of the Intergovernmental  
Negotiations on the question of equitable  
representation on and increase in the  
membership of the Security Council and  
related matters

To: H.E. John Ashe  
68<sup>th</sup> President of the General Assembly  
United Nations  
New York

## Chair's Assessment

### 10<sup>th</sup> Round Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform

#### *Background of the 10th round*

The proactive tone and momentum in the 10<sup>th</sup> round of Intergovernmental Negotiations was set early on by the initiative of the President of the 68<sup>th</sup> General Assembly to establish an Advisory Group. The appointment by President Ashe of the distinguished Ambassadors from Belgium, Brazil, Liechtenstein, Papua New Guinea, San Marino and Sierra Leone generated constructive momentum for this 10<sup>th</sup> round. The efforts of five of the members of the Advisory Group culminated in the production of a non-paper, transmitted to me in a letter from the President dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2014. This letter also included a Memorandum from the Ambassador of San Marino, who disassociated himself from the production of the Non-Paper, expressing hesitation about the group's procedure. Rather than devising a Non-Paper, he suggested that the Advisory Group should instead advise the President on a new methodology for the way forward.

Although the reactions of Member States to the paper and to the procedure for its drafting were mixed, the Non-Paper itself provides a clear overview of the main positions of Member States under each of the five key issues contained within General Assembly decision 62/557. Although it does not attempt to be a comprehensive or exhaustive list of positions, the strength of the Non-Paper lies in its concise nature, clear recognition of the interconnections between the five key issues and the helpful way in which it presents complex data such as positions on regional representation.

Some have expressed concern that the Non-Paper does not reflect the nuances within positions. To address this concern, States may find it helpful to view the Non-Paper in conjunction with Rev3, which retains the full positions and language of Member States.

Despite my appeal to Member States to benefit from the Non-Paper by using it as a basis for further discussion within the context of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, a common understanding of its use has yet to be reached.

#### *Consultations*

Following the distribution of the Non-Paper and prior to the beginning of our meetings this round, I conducted broad political outreach through consultations to gauge the membership's collective readiness for a progressive agenda for this session, to build greater trust and to strengthen engagement ahead of the upcoming meetings. Over the course of these consultations, States made clear that the 68<sup>th</sup> General Assembly offered an opportunity to progress towards a results-oriented outcome, especially following the President of the General Assembly's proactive steps. They also highlighted their expectation that all sides demonstrate genuine flexibility, recognised the importance of text-based negotiations and urged for the avoidance of repetition. Based on the input I received over the course of these consultations, I sent a letter to all Member States in which I outlined a set of six meetings based on General Assembly decision 62/557, which I hoped would provide the opportunity for interactive debate and movement from repetition to more meaningful exchanges.

### *The six thematic meetings of the 10<sup>th</sup> round*

#### *1. On the topic of categories of membership*

During our first discussion which was on the topic of categories of membership on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March, 44 Member States spoke, seven of which spoke on behalf of groupings representing a large number of other delegations. There was general agreement on the need to enlarge the Council; however the variations on how to do so remained numerous.

The main areas discussed included the possibility of enlarging the Council in both permanent and non-permanent categories, enlargement in the non-permanent category only, and enlargement in a new category of seats with various options related to term length and a new focus on immediate re-election. Additionally, while holding varying primary positions on reform, some States also noted the possibility of further exploration of intermediate options.

A much debated subject within our discussions related to whether or not the Chair should share an evaluation of the quantity of support for positions on categories of membership. In addition to recognising that support for the different variations of expansion seems to remain largely unchanged,<sup>1</sup> I believe that quantifying support based on numbers of those delegations that spoke during the 10<sup>th</sup> round is not an adequate measure upon which I can base an accurate judgement, particularly as the Intergovernmental Negotiations takes place in the format of informal plenary. Moreover, in order to make progress it is imperative for the Chair to do his utmost to ensure an atmosphere conducive to reforms, build political will and keep all Member States engaged in the process.

Discussions revealed the common understanding that an expanded Council should accommodate those States that desire a more substantial role on the Council. Different views exist, however, as to whether this would entail the creation of new permanent seats or longer term non-permanent seats with the possibility of immediate re-election. Despite diverse opinions on permanent membership, all Member State positions show openness to different variants of non-permanent expansion as an integral part of a reformed Council.<sup>2</sup> To this end, an increased focus by Member States on commonalities could be useful to achieve progress.

Debates on this issue were not limited to different expansion models; important points were also raised on the subject of categories. For example, Member States indicated that the power held by permanent members extends beyond their seats in the Council.<sup>3</sup> States also suggested that the criteria listed in Article 23 of the Charter for the selection of non-permanent members could also be applied when selecting possible new permanent members,<sup>4</sup> and raised general concerns in regards to the effectiveness of an enlarged Council.

<sup>1</sup> As noted in my letter of 25<sup>th</sup> July 2012.

<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that Member States would be satisfied with Council reform that simply entails adding extra two-year non-permanent seats, as was the case of the last reform agreement in 1963.

<sup>3</sup> For example, some delegations noted the common practice of holding positions for the nationals of permanent members within the United Nations system such as on the bench of the International Court of Justice or high ranking positions within the Secretariat.

<sup>4</sup> Article 23 of the United Nations Charter states that non-permanent members shall be elected by the General Assembly with "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."

## 2. On the question of the veto

During our 19<sup>th</sup> of March meeting on the question of the veto, 36 delegations spoke, six of which spoke on behalf of groups representing a large number of other delegations. At the meeting, delegations focused on two main areas: veto in relation to enlargement and issues which relate to the use of veto.

In terms of the veto as it relates to enlargement, many delegations suggested an inseparable link between permanent seats and the right of veto. Some raised the concern that not granting potential new permanent members veto privileges would divide the Council's permanent membership into different classes. To this end, some delegations recommended that new permanent members have full use of the veto, while others suggested a 15-year moratorium on the use of the veto by new permanent members until a review of the reform takes place.

Alternatively, other delegations expressed concern that extending veto privileges to potential new permanent members would only compound perceived existing problems within the Council. In this regard, many delegations offered examples of recent incidents in which they felt the use of the veto prevented the Council from discharging its duties in accordance with the Charter. Most of the delegations that held this view envisioned an enlargement without the creation of further permanent seats and thus no additional veto powers, though others envisioned new permanent seats without veto. Numerous delegations also recognised that the threat of use of veto has a significant power over the Council's decision making.

There was a prevailing sense that the veto is anachronistic and should be abolished. However, many delegations also emphasised that this may not be practical due to the ratification process required. As a result, many delegations focused their discussions on the ways in which the use of the veto could be altered in a reformed Council.

Delegations suggested that because any enlargement requires a Charter amendment, it would be valuable to use such an opportunity to also redefine decision-making procedures, and in this regard Member States suggested changes related to veto procedure. For example, States suggested that veto would entail the non-concurring votes of two or more permanent members to block a Council decision, or that permanent members could cast a non-concurring vote that is not considered to be a veto. A new regional veto option was also raised; this would block action if Council members from the region under discussion, acting on the basis of regional consensus, all voted against the action.

Member States also suggested changing practices related to the use of veto, for example, limiting its use only to Chapter VII decisions<sup>5</sup> or prohibiting its use on Chapter VI related matters.<sup>6</sup> There was an adamant call from a large number of delegations that veto should not be used to block Council action aimed at responding to or preventing genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Chapter VII pertains to actions with respect to threat to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter VI pertains to the pacific settlement of disputes.

<sup>7</sup> While it is outside the mandate of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, many delegations expressed support for, or an interest in exploring further, the French initiative for a voluntary code of conduct on the use of the veto by the Council's permanent members, which draws from a recommendation which was made by The High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change in 2004.

*3. On the topic of regional representation*

In our 1<sup>st</sup> of April meeting on regional representation, 37 delegations spoke, seven of which spoke on behalf of groupings representing a large number of other delegations.

Along with delegations presenting a variety of detailed proposals on the numbers and distribution of seats to specific regions, there was general agreement that enlargement should enhance regional representation on the Council, particularly in a way that would ensure that unrepresented or underrepresented regions are adequately taken into account.

A number of States recognised the increasing role that regional groups and organisations play in international relations and the growing participation of regional organisations in international peace and security. This was also coupled with the recognition that there has been a change in both the balance of regions and the composition of the United Nations membership since the last reform decision in 1963. States also discussed the distinction between the Charter stipulated distribution of regional seats through "equitable geographic distribution" and enhanced "regional representation" on the Council.

Member States also debated the potential for cross regional representation to include factors such as size, development status of a Member State or specifically the inclusion of Arab States and the Islamic *Ummah*. While States broadly recognised the potential for cross regional groups to add significant value to the Council's work, some delegations suggested that assigning specific seats for these criteria would create a situation in which groups would be eligible for multiple seats at one time. They suggested that alternatively, these factors could be taken into consideration within regional groups. In connection to this, States suggested that the current 'Arab swing seat'<sup>8</sup> could provide an example of how to ensure the inclusion of cross regional groupings in a reformed council.

Many States emphasised that permanent members on the Council serve in a national capacity rather than on behalf of a region, as per their recognition by name in Article 24 of the Charter. As a result, it was suggested by some that any new permanent seats should be country-specific and not allocated to a region. Some delegations also reasoned that any new regional seat should be open to all members of that region.

A few delegations took the opportunity to mention the possibility of the European Union having a greater role in a reformed Council.

*4. On the topic of the size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Security Council*

During the meeting on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April on the size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Council, 45 delegations spoke, seven of which spoke on behalf of groupings representing a large number of other delegations.

On the issue of size, States widely agreed that the exact size of an enlarged Council will depend directly on the model chosen. However, while some outlying positions remain, there seemed to be an agreement among many delegations that the size of an enlarged council should be in the mid to upper 20s.

<sup>8</sup> An informal agreement exists that one Security Council seat is reserved for an Arab State. This is facilitated within the Asia-Pacific and African regional groupings who take turns every two years to provide an Arab candidate, ensuring their continued representation.

Many delegations took this opportunity to note the increased size of the membership of the United Nations since the last reform decision in 1963 and the implications this has on the Council's representativeness today..

There was widespread agreement that any enlargement in the Council should not hamper its efficiency. Many delegations listed a variety of national parliaments and bodies in the international system comprised of over 25 members, including the General Assembly, that are able to effectively make decisions. These delegations highlighted that efficiency within a reformed Council is achievable, irrespective of size, through appropriate working methods.

On the issue of working methods, remarks fell into two categories: first, the effects of Council enlargement on working methods, and second, working methods in relation to the Council's current composition and in general.

Within the first category, many delegations warned that if the current arrangements for the rotating Council presidency remain the same in an enlarged Council of more than 24 members, each of the two-year non-permanent members may not have the opportunity to hold the presidency during their term on the Council. However, States who raised this issue did not cite it as a reason to constrict the enlargement of the Council to fewer than 24 members. Instead, they highlighted the need to adjust working methods related to the selection of the Council's presidency.

Delegations also noted that increasing the size of the Council would necessitate changes in the Council's daily administration. They speculated that this could include curtailing lengthy general statements and finding a better arrangement for the workload of the Council in terms of topics to be discussed and of the cycle for mandate renewals. Numerous delegations commented that there would be a need for better distribution of the work between members of the Council in the case of enlargement, both in terms of subsidiary bodies and in terms of penholderships. Similarly, Member States suggested increasing transparency in the assignment process for chairs and penholders, or assigning them shortly after the election of new non-permanent members.

As discussed in the question of veto, delegations also recognised that a reformed council would require amendment of the Charter's provisions on decision making majorities, but that exact numbers would depend on the size of the agreed upon enlargement. Some delegations also commented on the need to review the Secretariat's capacity to service an enlarged Council and on the need to make physical structural changes to the Council chamber itself.

Significant proportions of many delegations' statements were dedicated to the second category of remarks, working methods in the Council's current composition or on working methods in general. These issues formed a large part of discussions even though they are beyond the mandate of the Intergovernmental Negotiations as they pertain to the Council in its current composition. Many delegations recognised the positive steps taken thus far towards the improvement of working methods in the Council, citing an increase in public meetings, *Arriva* formula meetings, wrap up sessions and the use of horizon scanning. Delegations also praised the application of Presidential Note S/2010/507 on working methods and the efforts of the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions. However, in recognising the value of these tools, many delegations also called for their more consistent application and noted that their use varied largely amongst presidencies.

Numerous delegations argued that improved working methods would help the Council carry out its mandate more effectively. They also highlighted that enhanced working methods could make the Council more transparent, efficient and representative.

In regards to the working methods of the Council more generally,<sup>9</sup> some delegations felt the current working methods of the Council can and should be improved immediately, outside of the Intergovernmental Negotiations process as a means to take small steps towards overall reform. Other States, however, held strong views that issues of working methods related to the current composition of the Council should only be addressed by the Council itself.

Delegations expressed concern that the Council's rules of procedure still remain provisional. While Member States recognised that the Charter stipulates that the Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, many noted that operational procedure of the Council is of interest to the entire membership, as the Council acts on behalf of all States and all States must implement its decisions. One delegation suggested that this could be accommodated through Member States offering suggestions on working methods to the Council's Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions. Another Member State also proposed the establishment of a joint working group of the Security Council and the General Assembly on working methods.

In addition, two new proposals were put forward: first, to hold an open meeting of the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions, which would allow all Member States the opportunity to hear about the past and the current work of the Group and second, to hold a workshop on the work of the Security Council for non Security Council members similar to those held for incoming non-permanent members.

##### *5. On the topic of the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly*

At the meeting on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April on the topic of the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, 30 delegations spoke, seven of which spoke on behalf of groupings representing a large number of other delegations.

Numerous delegations described the separate mandates of the two bodies as defined in the Charter. They commonly referred to the General Assembly as the chief deliberative body of the United Nations, and defined the Security Council by its mandate to hold primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. A number of delegations expressed their concern that the Security Council occasionally oversteps its mandate by considering issues that States perceive as only tenuously related to international peace and security. Some Member States also suggested that this extension of mandate was most common in the thematic debates undertaken by the Security Council. Other Member States noted that encroachment by the Security Council was not only on the mandate of the General Assembly, but that of the mandates of other bodies of the United Nations as well.

<sup>9</sup> Member States also raised concerns about the under utilisation of Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, the need for more public meetings, particularly for briefings by Special Envoys or Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, the need for greater access to documentation both for non-permanent members and non Council members, more systematic inclusion of other stakeholders in Council discussions such as States which are under discussion or are directly related to issues under discussion, relevant regional organisations, the Peace Building Commission's (PBC) Country-Specific Configuration Chairs, Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) and Police Contributing Countries (PCCs), the need to involve non-permanent members of the Council earlier on in consideration of issues and strengthening the Security Council's relationship with international legal bodies.

Correspondingly, a number of delegations highlighted the shared responsibility of the General Assembly in matters of international peace and security and in areas in which the work of the Security Council and the General Assembly intersect. Some Member States specifically outlined the role that the General Assembly can play when the Council is deadlocked. One delegation suggested that in such instances the General Assembly is able to explore options that are more difficult to discuss in the Security Council. In this regard, other delegations highlighted an under utilisation of the Uniting for Peace mechanism.<sup>10</sup>

Member States also noted that given the clear mandates of the two bodies in the Charter, improving the relationship between them will not require a Charter amendment but will instead require improved working methods.

There was a prevailing agreement about the need for better cooperation between the General Assembly and the Security Council. Member States highlighted that cooperation between all organs is vital for the United Nations to accomplish the aims set out in the Charter and therefore contended that the relationship between the two bodies should not be competitive. It was also recognised that better cooperation can enhance the legitimacy of decisions and actions of both bodies.

Numerous delegations cited Article 24(1) of the Charter, which highlights that the Security Council acts on behalf of the larger membership.<sup>11</sup> In connection, many Member States discussed the mandated reporting mechanisms set out in Article 24(3) of the Charter for the Security Council to submit an annual report and, where necessary, special reports to the General Assembly. Some delegations noted that the mechanism for the preparation of special reports for the consideration of the General Assembly had been underutilised and requested that the Security Council provide them more frequently. However, it was suggested by another Member State that these reports are produced only when the Security Council deems appropriate and not at the General Assembly's behest. Other delegations disagreed suggesting that requesting such reports was well within the prerogatives of the General Assembly and that the reports formed an important part of the Security Council's accountability to the General Assembly.

Many delegations expressed concern about the substance of the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly. While many noted marked progress in the report in recent years, there was a common call for the report to be made more analytical, substantial, and comprehensive. Some delegations suggested that it could include a better rationale for why decisions were or were not taken, and one Member State noted that, as the annual report is written and published many months after the end of the period of consideration, it could prove useful to provide some reflection and evaluation of decisions taken. Delegations also requested that issues raised by the General Assembly in the annual debate on the report of the Security Council should then be reflected within the annual report itself.

<sup>10</sup> General Assembly resolution 377 A (V) "Resolves that if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures..."

<sup>11</sup> Article 24(1) of the Charter 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."

One delegation pointed out that the General Assembly debate on the report is an important opportunity for the General Assembly to provide feedback to the Council and that the current level of participation in these debates does not reflect the interest shown in the Intergovernmental Negotiations on this topic.

Many delegations suggested that permanent members circulate an explanation to the General Assembly on the rationale behind casting a non-concurring vote. Delegations expressed a willingness to explore the modalities of this idea further.

Additionally, Member States highlighted the need for more regular and substantive meetings between the Presidents of the Security Council and the General Assembly to review the agendas and programmes of work of each body in order to make their work more complementary and to avoid overlap.

Some delegations also touched on the need for a strengthened role of the General Assembly in the appointment of the Secretary-General.

#### *6. On the topic of cross-cutting issues*

At the final meeting held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May on the topic of cross-cutting issues, 52 Member States spoke, seven of which spoke on behalf of groupings representing a large number of other delegations.

Member States took this opportunity to further clarify their positions. Discussions also elucidated some important cross cutting issues related to reform. These included Charter amendments that could be required for reform and the manner in which these amendments would be initiated in the General Assembly, either through a single resolution with an annex or through a series of resolutions and elections. Numerous delegations also spoke strongly in favour of the inclusion of a clause which would provide for a review with a clear scope at a set moment following the implementation of the Charter amendment.

#### *General assessment of the 10<sup>th</sup> Round*

There were a number of recurring themes throughout the meetings. The loudest and clearest was the continual emphasis on the need for reform. Delegations provided a variety of reasons, including the need to address current underrepresentation in the Council, to bridge the disconnect between the Council's composition and contemporary realities and to help the Council carry out its mandate more effectively. There was also a sense of foreboding that the relevance of the Council and the United Nations could be undermined without reform.

There were also numerous procedural discussions about the various texts available to Member States. Some impressed the idea of using the Non-Paper as a working document and narrowing down the options within it. Others disagreed with this approach and envisioned moving back to working with Rev2 to come to an acceptable abridged version. These delegations remarked that they did not consider the Non-Paper to be on par with Rev2, which they deem to be the only consensus document. However, other delegations countered this argument, noting that Rev2 does not include their most up-to-date positions and expressing concerns that moving back to Rev2 would amount to ignoring their positions.

While some Member States were hesitant about the use of the Non-Paper during discussions, the main positions they outlined on each of the five key issues closely matched positions reflected in the Non-Paper.

At all five meetings, many delegations used the texts on the table to illustrate their positions. Those that used the President of the General Assembly's Non-Paper were able to illustrate positions with particular clarity, as it allowed them to identify their positions by chapter and section number. This was particularly helpful during discussions to better articulate complex issues such as regional representation where numerical formulations can be quite complex. Those who used Rev2 as a reference point were prevented by its structure from providing the same level of detail and precision.

From the discussions in this round, I have observed that while some groups are still hesitant to use Rev3, there has been no dispute about the accuracy of its content. If positions have changed or if States wish to omit past submissions, specific edits can be sent to my office in writing. Like the Intergovernmental Negotiations itself, which is a Member States driven process, Rev3 is built solely on Member States' positions. The inclusion of new proposals from this round in Rev3 is also crucial to ensuring they are on equal footing with existing proposals.

Member States also raised the possibility of having measurable results by or concluding negotiations in 2015 in recognition that the Intergovernmental Negotiations is not an open ended process. Some delegations raised 'hesitations about artificial deadlines while others expressed concern about "artificial delays".

All delegations recognised the interconnected nature of the five key issues. This allowed us to organise meetings efficiently by discussing one issue at a time without losing a focus on all five key issues as a whole. It was also emphasised that in the end, overall reform does not have to stem from only one proposal but could instead encompass elements from many.

Member States also discussed the procedure of the Intergovernmental Negotiations itself; it seemed at times that procedural concerns overshadowed substantive discussions. These discussions included the production of a summary by the Chair, the greater need for flexibility from all delegations, the need to strictly adhere to General Assembly decision 62/557 and various thoughts on the speed and the length of negotiations. Some States likened this process to others at the United Nations; however, others argued that the Intergovernmental Negotiations is a very different process and should be treated as such. Other delegations expressed frustration about the lack of progress in the absence of what they consider "real negotiations".

There was also a series of exchanges as to whether a consensus agreement on reform should be reached or if voting in the General Assembly with a minimum of two thirds in favour would be sufficient. While there was wide recognition that the best possible outcome in any negotiation is consensus, practically our discussions in the Intergovernmental Negotiations are guided by General Assembly decisions 62/557<sup>12</sup> and a potential vote in the General Assembly would fall under the mandate of General Assembly resolution 53/30.<sup>13</sup> Neither of these two requires an

<sup>12</sup> General Assembly decision 62/557 requires "a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States."

<sup>13</sup> General Assembly resolution 53/30 states, "The General Assembly, Mindful of Chapter XVII of the Charter of the United Nations and of the importance of reaching general agreement as referred to in resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, determines not to adopt any resolution or decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters, without the affirmative vote of at least two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly."

agreement by consensus on reform issues. With this in mind, reaching a decision by two thirds majority vote in the General Assembly is already a sizable task.

#### *The way forward*

Modest but significant steps towards reform have been taken over the last five years of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. Member States have put many hours into carefully crafting statements and positions; they have been active in their attendance and instrumental to the re-emergence of true interaction between delegations at our meetings within this 10<sup>th</sup> round. In response to the call of Member States, we moved from talking to text-based negotiations in the form of the various revisions to the negotiation text. We now also have the Non-Paper from which to draw inspiration. Until Member States decide that the Intergovernmental Negotiations process has reached the limits of what it can achieve, our focus should be on how to reinvigorate the process and plot a clear path towards much desired reform.

Although the Intergovernmental Negotiations remain one of the most difficult and protracted negotiations within the United Nations, as one Member State highlighted in this round, we "should not be imprisoned by the difficulty of the process." As we conclude this round and look to the future, I would suggest to Member States two courses of action:

1. This round of negotiations has revealed a strong desire to reinvigorate Security Council reform in a way that takes stock of our collective efforts thus far and generates high-level support. To this end I respectfully suggest a high-level audit of endeavours to achieve early reform of the Security Council, in particular through the Intergovernmental Negotiations, for the consideration of world leaders during a high-level event at the General Debate of the 70<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, 10 years after the World Summit Outcome Document, in which world leaders tasked us to deliver an early reform of the Security Council.

The audit would consist of an objective summary of the process to raise high-level political awareness of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, both in terms of its achievements and its limits in a neutral way. It is my suggestion to Member States that the audit should be drafted by an independent political figure, to be selected by the Secretary-General or the President of the General Assembly in consultation with the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. This audit would not prejudice continuing efforts within the Intergovernmental Negotiations process or initiatives by Member States; rather it would complement efforts and provide momentum in the lead up to the 70<sup>th</sup> General Assembly.

2. As I outlined previously in my 25<sup>th</sup> of July 2012 letter and as a logical evolution of our text-based process, we cannot move forward without a commonly agreed concise working document. This round and the addition of the Non-Paper has clarified that the greatest challenge to our text based process is not the lack of a text, it is the lack of agreement on the texts on the table. A true indicator of progress within the Intergovernmental Negotiations process was the shift to text based negotiations. Rev3, with its "user friendly guide", was our first step towards a concise working document. However, we cannot be satisfied simply with this; in order to achieve our goals we must continue to work towards basing our negotiations on an agreed text. Member States need to engage with, build upon, edit or entirely rework the available texts in order to allow for negotiations that are characterised by give and take.

As Member States move towards the celebration of the 70<sup>th</sup> year of the United Nations, they are faced with a tremendous opportunity for achieving much needed reforms. To facilitate further progress, I humbly suggest that Member States make these recommendations actionable, by including the consideration of the aforementioned recommendations within this agenda item for the 69<sup>th</sup> General Assembly. It is my hope that through these recommendations, with the support of the Member States, we will build upon the achievements of the last six General Assembly sessions and move forward to a new phase of reform.



**STATEMENT**

**BY**

**H.E. SAM K. KUTESA**

**PRESIDENT OF THE 69<sup>TH</sup> SESSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**AT**

**INTERGOVERNMENTAL NEGOTIATIONS ON SECURITY  
COUNCIL REFORM**

**11 FEBRUARY 2015**

*[Please check against delivery]*

**Excellencies,**

**Distinguished Delegates,**

I am pleased to join you today at this preparatory meeting of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Reform of the Security Council.

Security Council reform is an integral part of our broader efforts to transform the United Nations into a more effective and democratic global institution. This includes revitalizing other bodies, as well, including the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and improving the organization's overall functioning and management.

Ten years ago, our Heads of State and Government in the 2005 World Summit expressed support for an early reform of the Security Council. But after nearly a decade, we have not made much progress. It is now time to move this process forward, to enhance the Council's effectiveness, legitimacy and implementation of its decisions, in line with outcome of the 2005 World Summit.

**Excellencies,**

A revitalized, reformed and effective United Nations needs to be at the heart of the international community's effort to promote peace and security, sustainable development and human rights. In these

transformative times, a modernized United Nations must be the functional centre for harmonizing mankind's values and actions.

It is on record that, at the start of this year's General Assembly session, more than one hundred leaders expressed concern at the lack of progress in the negotiations on Security Council reform. It is also on record that leaders from all corners of the globe were unified in their common call for the Council to reform and adapt to the geopolitical realities of our modern day world.

The subject of Security Council reform extends well beyond the halls of the United Nations. It is an issue that concerns not only government leaders, but also members of non-governmental organizations, civil society, academia and other stakeholders; all of whom play a part in shaping public perception of the Organization.

**Distinguished Delegates,**

Today's meeting will provide a crucial platform for preparatory discussions that will inform the intergovernmental negotiation process. Together, we will exchange views and expectations about the methodology for the upcoming resumption of the formal negotiations.

Past intergovernmental negotiations on the reform of the Security Council have been characterized by the repetition of well-known positions and statements. As I outlined in my letter to Member States on 10 November 2014, there is an imperative to move the intergovernmental process towards text-based negotiations. This sentiment was echoed by the vast majority of speakers during the plenary debate last November.

Since our last meeting, I have had wide consultations with the Member States and regional groups, and I was heartened to hear support for the start of the intergovernmental negotiations, as well as the effort to move the process toward text-based negotiations.

I commend the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, Ambassador Rattray, for his leadership. I have full confidence in him, and support his intentions to build a substantive approach based on the views expressed at today's meeting to launch the intergovernmental negotiations process in an open, inclusive and transparent manner. Since his appointment, he has shown commitment to carefully listen to and fully understand the views and positions of the Member States.

It is my hope that you will afford him your full support and flexibility to steer the negotiations in a manner that moves the process forward.



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

31 July 2015

Excellency

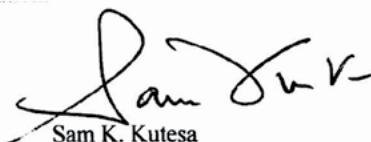
Reference is made to my letter dated 10 November, 2014, of which I appointed H.E Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations to Chair on my behalf, the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on Security Council Reform. In my letter, I encouraged Member States to move the process towards text based negotiations. I now have the honour to circulate to you a text, to form the basis for the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the reform of the Security Council.

This text is the outcome of a consultative, inclusive and transparent process. It is a product of Member States submissions and discussions in the IGN during 69<sup>th</sup> session. I am confident that all efforts have been made to afford an opportunity to Member States to participate throughout the process from its inception until now.

The text should be considered in conjunction with its annex as a comprehensive whole. The annex displays not only the original submissions of Member States to the Framework Document, but also six letters containing the positions of groups and Member States that indicated that they did not wish their proposals to be included in the body of the text.

Given this text's adherence to General Assembly Decision 62/557, it represents a sound basis upon which Member States can engage in text- based negotiations during the next phase of IGN.

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



Sam Kutesa

All Permanent Representatives  
to the United Nations  
New York

## Security Council and related matters

Issues of 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.

### a) CATEGORIES OF MEMBERSHIP

#### a.1 Permanent Members

a.1.1. The Republic of China (People's Republic of China), France, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (The Russian Federation), The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America

i. ...with no additional permanent seats:

**Ireland, Liechtenstein, Panama**

ii. ...plus additional permanent seats:

(**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**),  
**Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Latvia, Malaysia, Monaco, Netherlands, Peru, Philippines, Singapore, Viet Nam**

iii. ...plus [x] additional permanent seats:

**Slovakia [5]; Georgia [5-6];**

**African Group, Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [6]; Australia, Hungary [up to 6]**

iv. ...plus Brazil, Germany, India, Japan and permanent African representation:

**France, Kazakhstan, Romania, UK**

a.1.2. No less than two permanent seats for Africa. **African Group**

a.1.3. Endorses the enlargement of the Security Council in the category of permanent members. At least two developing countries from Africa, two from Asia and two others from Latin America and the Caribbean should enter the Council as new permanent members. **Cuba**

a.1.4. It is yet premature to specify the issue of this category of membership...In the event of possible expansion of permanent membership, Japan is totally unqualified to be a permanent member of the expanded Security Council under any circumstances since Japan still denies to liquidate its inhumane war crimes committed against a number of Asian countries during World War II, which placed Japan under the term of an enemy state in the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>1</sup> **DPRK**

a.1.5. Not convinced by arguments for an increase in the number of permanent seats. Bringing in new permanent members would seem to carry the risk of perpetuating many of the deficiencies of current arrangements. **Ireland**

In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for additional permanent seats

a.1.6. Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution on Security Council reform, interested Member States prepared to assume the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council would submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, as soon as possible, at a date to be determined by the President of the General Assembly to the election of the six new permanent members. **G4, L.69, Czech Republic**

a.1.7. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members. **G4, L.69, Czech Republic**

a.1.8. Election of new permanent members by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. **Belgium and Luxembourg, (The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)**, **G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Georgia, Monaco**

a.1.9. The criteria of Article 23 (1) should also apply to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard being specifically 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 Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)**, **G4, L.69, Czech Republic**

a.1.10. Having in mind the importance of these elections they should require broader support than regular elections for the non-permanent seats. **Croatia**

- a.1.11. Decision on the basis of consensus or the largest possible majority in the General Assembly. **Serbia**
- a.1.12. Expansion of permanent seats by consensual/unanimous endorsement of the regional group and respective decision/acclamation of the United Nations General Assembly. **Slovakia**
- a.1.13. The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election. **African Group**
- a.1.14. The election process of new members should remain as a prerogative of the General Assembly. **Peru**
- a.1.15. The manner in which new permanent members are chosen would depend on the outcome of discussions about the scope of enlargement. It is for the United Nations membership to designate new permanent members. **France, UK**

**a.2 Non-permanent members with a two-year term**

- a.2.1. Current two-year non-permanent seats (10)
  - i. ..plus additional non-permanent seats:  
*(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago), Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Croatia, Dominican Republic, France<sup>2</sup>, Latvia, Malaysia, Monaco, Netherlands, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Singapore, UK<sup>3</sup>, Viet Nam*
  - ii. ..plus [x] additional non-permanent seats:  
*Czech Republic [4]; G4, Belgium and Luxembourg, Georgia [4-5]; Australia [up to 5]; Ireland, Kazakhstan, Slovakia [5]; African Group [not less than 5]; Hungary [not more than 6]; L.69, Montenegro [6]*
- a.2.2. A total of 5 non-permanent seats for Africa. **African Group**
- a.2.3. The number of non-permanent members for a term of two years should increase to 15 at least. **Cuba**
- a.2.4. Proceed first with the issue of enlargement of non-permanent seats. **DPRK**  
In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for additional two-year non-permanent seats
- a.2.5. Additional two-year non-permanent members will be elected by the General Assembly, in accordance with the current standard procedure for non-permanent seats. *(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago), G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Georgia, Hungary, Monaco, Montenegro, Paraguay, Slovakia*
- a.2.6. The election process of new non-permanent members should remain as a prerogative of the General Assembly. **Peru**
- a.2.7. It is for the United Nations membership to elect all non-permanent members. **France, UK**
- a.2.8. The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election. **African Group**
- a.2.9. Member States should take into account the (i) aspirations of those countries whose contribution to the work of the Organization is undisputed (ii) financial contributions to the United Nations budget, as well as and (iii) participation in peacekeeping operations with the United Nations Security Council mandate. **Poland**
- a.2.10. New non-permanent seats should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current non-permanent members, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established. **Cuba**
- a.2.11. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from 15 to maximum 25/26, 2 of the 4/5 additional non-permanent members shall be chosen for a term of one year. **Belgium and Luxembourg**  
Possible re-election of two year non-permanent seats

- a.2.12. Not opposed to immediate re-election of non-permanent members. **Cuba**
- a.2.13. It is for consideration whether countries holding two-year term seats would be free to stand again for a second term on completion of their first. It is also for consideration whether at the end of the second term they might be required to step down for a number of years before standing again. **Ireland**

**a.3 New Category of Seats**

- a.3.1. Remains open for this option, if negotiations can lead to the compromise between groups with the opposing views on new permanent membership. **Montenegro**

a.3.2. Does not favor the creation of new categories or sub-categories of Member States. New categories would intensify current differences and would motivate division among members of the Security Council in lieu of contributing to more effective operation thereof. For instance, the accession of new permanent members without the right to veto would result in a new category, which is not supported. **Cuba**

Longer Term Non-Permanent Seats

a.3.3. Six additional members elected to serve, on a permanent basis, for renewable terms of [8/10] years.<sup>4</sup> **Liechtenstein**

a.3.4. Non-permanent members with an eight-year term – a total of 6 seats. **Ireland**

a.3.5. Should it find consensus, does not exclude an interim solution, where a new category of seats is created for longer periods than two years that can also be immediately renewable. **Hungary**

In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats

a.3.6. Elections to fill the six seats with terms of [8/10] years shall be held after entry into force of the required Charter amendment and simultaneously with the regular elections of non-permanent members of the Security Council. Candidates for seats above shall not be eligible to serve as non-permanent members in accordance with Article 23, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter for the following [8/10] calendar years. **Liechtenstein**

a.3.7. It is for consideration whether countries holding eight-year term seats would be free to stand again for a second term on completion of their first. It is also for consideration whether at the end of the second term they might be required to step down for a number of years before standing again. **Ireland**

Transitional Permanent Seats

a.3.8. Open for discussion on a new category of membership, provided it does not compromise the effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council decision making, creates opportunity (maybe for an interim period) for those Member States that wish to assume higher responsibility; and provides an acceptable platform for regional leading Member States to do so if endorsed by the regional group. **Slovakia**

a.3.9. Open to the possibility of establishing a category of members with a long mandate, which could eventually become permanent members. This can be considered as a constructive evolution formula. **Peru**

In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats

a.3.10. Election process to be decided by the rules of procedure, ideally on principle of regional endorsement. **Slovakia**

Gradual Removal of Categories

a.3.11. The very nature of membership “categories” does not correspond to the democratic institution that we are trying to perfect. In the long run, we would like to see there are no membership categories, just as is the case in all the other United Nations bodies. By the United Nations Centennial in 2045, we envision a Security Council consisting of 24 members, all on equal standing, elected for three-year terms, with the opportunity for consecutive re-election.

Considering the commitments well into the 2030's as already acquired by some Member States in terms of their candidacy under the current membership structure of 5 permanent members and 10 non-permanent members on a two-year rotation. The final composition of the Security Council will be phased in over two stages.

The first stage, beginning in 2017 and ending in 2030, introduces five semi-permanent seats which entail a tentatively indefinite tenure without the right to veto, to accommodate the G4 and one member of the African Group; one additional non-permanent seat each for the Eastern European Group and the Arab States, and two for the Small Island Developing States.

The second stage introduces three-year election cycles beginning in 2030 for all positions in the Security Council. Measures to ascertain the re-election of the P5 until the United Nations Centennial in 2045 should be discussed and incorporated. **Panama**

Description of an election process for any type of new category of seats

a.3.12. To be elected by the General Assembly, with the same procedure as the current non-permanent members. **Montenegro**

a.3.13. The election process should follow current practices regarding non-permanent members. **Paraguay**

**b) REGIONAL REPRESENTATION**

b.1. Appropriate geographic balance across the full membership of the Council. To better reflect contemporary geopolitical realities. **Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Dominican Republic, Latvia, Peru, Viet Nam**

b.2. The current composition of the Security Council does not reflect geopolitical realities, for which it needs to be balanced. Developing countries are underrepresented in the Council. **Cuba**

b.3. Need to address the non-representation and under-representation of some regions in the permanent and non-permanent category; this will help improve the legitimacy and accountability of the United Nations Security Council. **Brunei Darussalam, Singapore**

b.4. Reform should guarantee that all United Nations Member States are represented and included in an equal and democratic manner in the deliberations of international peace and security issues. **DPRK**

b.5. A reform that will ensure Africa's legitimate right to fair and equitable geographical representation in the Security Council: taking into account the principles, objectives and ideals of the UN Charter for a fairer world based on universalism, equity and regional balance within the UN system. **African Group**

b.6. Supportive of a reform which will ensure Africa's fair and equitable geographical representation in the Security Council. **Brunei Darussalam, Croatia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Slovakia**

b.7. Emphasize the necessity of one new non-permanent member seat for the Eastern European Member States that are considerably underrepresented in the Security Council. **Czech Republic**

b.8. Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Africa; Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Asia; Expansion in non-permanent category for Eastern European; Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for GRULAC; Expansion in permanent category for WEOG. (The Bahamas Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)

b.9. The enlargement of the Security Council shall be guided by the principles of Article 23 of the Charter, based on the equitable geographical representation of the regional groups.<sup>5</sup> **Hungary**

b.10. Any change in the Security Council composition should be based on the existing regional groups. **Ukraine**

b.11. Broader reform of geographical distribution. **Poland**

b.12. Implementation of geographical criteria in order to allow all regions to have an adequate presence within the enlarged Council. **Paraguay**

b.13. Close the gap between regional groups and improve rotations. **Slovakia**

b.14. Increase in the membership of the Council for each region should correspond to their respective proportion in the membership of the United Nations. **Viet Nam**

b.15. Do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the United Nations Charter, which makes clear that admission to the United Nations is extended to individual states. **France, UK**  
Cross-Regional Arrangements

b.16. Member States should also make full use of the possibility of cross-regional arrangements to ensure that the diversity of the General Assembly membership is adequately reflected in the Council. **G4**

b.17. Small states must always be represented in the Council. If the Council's composition does not include a small state, at least one of the existing Council members will be appointed as a representative for small states in consultation with the members of the Forum of Small States. **Singapore**

Regional groups shall coordinate to ensure that there is regular representation for small developing states in the non-permanent category. **L.69**

Any enlargement of the Security Council should take into account the concerns of small and medium-sized Member States, including the Small Island Developing States (SIDS). **Belgium and Luxembourg, Netherlands**

Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to the adequate and continuing representation of:

- i. Small Member States: **Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Slovakia**
- ii. Medium Size Member States: **Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, Estonia, Latvia, Netherlands**

iii. Small Island Developing States (SIDS): G4, Brunei Darussalam, Estonia

Increase the presence of Arab countries. Slovakia

It is very important to increase the representation of Non-Aligned Movement Member States and other developing countries. DPRK

Expansion should see more seats for the developing countries and equitable geographical representation in the enlarged membership, in both categories. Malaysia

Expansion in the permanent and non-permanent category with developed and developing countries adequately represented. Brunei Darussalam

Equitable geographic representation to the benefit of small and developing countries and regional and other specific groups. Serbia

The reform should envisage increased representation in the Council of developing countries from Africa, Asia-Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean. Ukraine

The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. Therefore, the increase in such categories should mostly stem from developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. It must not expand by default. The enlargement of the Security Council should not be partial or selective, nor should it imply an increase in the number of members to the detriment of developing countries. The main increase for such categories should be in the number of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. Cuba

**b.29. Distribution of seats in the case of expansion of both permanent and non-permanent seats**

b.29.1 New/ Additional permanent seats to be distributed as follows:

- i. African States:  
African Group<sup>5</sup> [no less than 2];  
Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, L.69<sup>3</sup>, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [2]
- ii. Asia-Pacific States:  
Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [2]
- iii. Latin American and Caribbean States:  
Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [1]
- iv. Western European and Other States:  
Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [1]

b.29.2 Additional two-year non-permanent seats to be distributed as follows:

- i. African States:  
Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [1]; Belgium and Luxembourg, G4 [1-2];  
African Group [no less than 2]; L.69 [2]
- ii. Asia-Pacific States:  
Belgium and Luxembourg, G4, L.69, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [1]
- iii. Eastern European States:  
G4, L.69, Belgium and Luxembourg, Croatia<sup>8</sup>, Czech Republic, Georgia<sup>9</sup>, Hungary<sup>10</sup>,  
Kazakhstan, Latvia<sup>11</sup>, Romania<sup>12</sup>, Slovakia<sup>13</sup> [1]
- iv. Latin American and Caribbean States:  
G4, L.69, Belgium and Luxembourg, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan [1]
- v. Western European and Other States: Kazakhstan [1]
- vi. Small Island Developing States (SIDS) across all regions:  
(The Bahamas Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and  
Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)<sup>14</sup>,  
L.69 [1]

b.29.3 At least two developing countries from Africa, two from Asia and two others from Latin America and the Caribbean should enter the Council as new permanent members. **Cuba**

**Range of Proposals in b.29**

|  | Current permanent seats | New/ Additional permanent seats* | Current non-permanent seats | Additional non-permanent seats | Total       |
|--|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| African States                                 | 0                       | 2                                | 3                           | 1-2**                          | 6-7         |
| Asia-Pacific States                            | 1                       | 2                                | 2                           | 1                              | 6           |
| Eastern European States                        | 1                       | 0                                | 1                           | 1                              | 3           |
| Latin American and Caribbean States            | 0                       | 1                                | 2                           | 1                              | 4           |
| Western European and Other States              | 3                       | 1                                | 2                           | 0-1                            | 6-7         |
| Cross regional: Small Island Developing States | 0                       | 0                                | 0                           | 0-1                            | 0-1         |
|  | 5                       | 6                                | 10                          | 4-7                            | 25-28 seats |

\*Also note: Submission b.29.3

\*\*Also note: African Group [no less than 2]

**b.30. Distribution of seats in the case of creation of longer term non-permanent seats**

b.30.1 New longer term non-permanent seats with a term length of [8 Ireland or 8/10 Liechtenstein] years to be distributed as follows:

- i. African States: **Ireland, Liechtenstein** [2]
- ii. Asia-Pacific States: **Ireland, Liechtenstein** [2]
- iii. Latin American and Caribbean States: **Ireland, Liechtenstein** [1]
- iv. Western European and Other States: **Ireland, Liechtenstein** [1]

b.30.2 Additional two-year non-permanent seats to be distributed as follows:

- vii. African States: **Ireland** [2]
- viii. Asia-Pacific States: **Ireland** [1]
- ix. Eastern European States: **Ireland, Liechtenstein** [1]
- x. Latin American and Caribbean States: **Ireland** [1]

b.30.3 Leaves open the possibility of the creation of further two-year non-permanent seats in accordance with Article 23, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter, and does not specifically address the number or distribution of any such seats. **Liechtenstein**  
(Denoted by [x] in the below table)

**Range of Proposals in b.30**

|                                     | Current permanent seats | Current non-permanent seats | New longer term non-permanent seats | Additional two-year non-permanent seats | Total                 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| African States                      | 0                       | 3                           | 2                                   | 2 or [x]                                | 7 or [x]              |
| Asia-Pacific States                 | 1                       | 2                           | 2                                   | 1 or [x]                                | 6 or [x]              |
| Eastern European States             | 1                       | 1                           | 0                                   | 1                                       | 3                     |
| Latin American and Caribbean States | 0                       | 2                           | 1                                   | 1 or [x]                                | 4 or [x]              |
| Western European and Other States   | 3                       | 2                           | 1                                   | 0 or [x]                                | 6 or [x]              |
|                                     | 5                       | 10                          | 6                                   | 5 or [x]                                | 21 to 26 or [x] seats |

**b.31. Distribution of additional two-year non-permanent seats under any expansion model**

b.31.1 Distribution of additional two-year non-permanent seats in the event of any expansion model regardless of the distribution of potential additional permanent or any new category of seats

- i. African States: [2] **Montenegro**
- ii. Asia-Pacific States: [1] **Montenegro**
- iii. Eastern European States: [1] **Estonia, Lithuania, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia, Ukraine**
- iv. Latin American and the Caribbean States: [1] **Montenegro**
- v. Western European and Other States: [1] **Montenegro**

**b.32. Distribution of seats during the gradual removal of categories**

b.32.1 By 2030 (first stage) the Security Council will retain the current structure of seats along with the addition of semi-permanent category of seats with a tentative indefinite tenure to be distributed as follows:

- i. African States: [1]
- ii. Brazil, Germany, India, Japan: [4]

And additional two-year non-permanent seats to be distributed as follows:

- iii. Eastern European States: [1]
- iv. Arab States: [1]
- v. Small Island Developing States: [2]

b.32.2 By 2045 (second stage) the composition of the Security Council will amount to a single category of three-year electable seats to be distributed as follows:

- i. African States: [4]
- ii. Arab States: [1]
- iii. Asia-Pacific States: [5]
- iv. Eastern European States: [3]
- v. Latin American and Caribbean States: [3]
- vi. Small Island Developing States: [2]
- vii. Western European and Other States: [6]

b.32.3 The proposed distribution of member seats takes into account the various other proposals on the table, as well as the proportion of countries in each region of the world, giving greater representation to developing countries, and bearing in mind that a few countries overlap groupings. **Panama**

**c) THE SIZE OF AN ENLARGED SECURITY COUNCIL AND WORKING METHODS OF THE COUNCIL**

**c.1. Size of an Enlarged Security Council**

c.1.1 A total of (21 - 27) seats

**Montenegro<sup>15</sup>** [21]; **Liechtenstein** [22 or more]; **Australia<sup>16</sup>** [21-26]; **Panama** [24]; **Serbia** [up to 25]; **Czech Republic, Georgia, Slovakia** [25]; **G4, Brunei Darussalam<sup>17</sup>** [25-26]; **Belgium and Luxembourg** [maximum 25-26]; **Romania** [25-27]; **Ireland, Kazakhstan** [26]; **African Group, Cuba<sup>18</sup>** [not less than 26]; **Hungary** [not more than 27]; **L.69** [27]; **France, Peru<sup>19</sup>** [mid-twenties]

c.1.2 The Security Council should be expanded in order to make it more broadly representative. At the same time, expansion of the Security Council should not hamper its effectiveness and ability to carry out its responsibilities as set out in the Charter. **Netherlands, UK**

**c.2. Working Methods of the Council**

**Working Methods Impacted by Enlargement**

c.2.1 Working methods of the enlarged Council should be conducted so as to help facilitate a more transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Security Council as a whole. **Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Croatia, Ireland, Malaysia, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Serbia**

Votes Required for Decision Making

c.2.2 An affirmative vote of [14/15 G4 / 15 L.69] from a total of [25/26 G4 / 27 L.69] members of the enlarged Security Council will be required for a decision.

c.2.3 An expanded Security Council would maintain the same proportionality of 60% for voting purposes i.e. decisions would be adopted by the affirmative vote of 15 members. **Panama**

c.2.4 The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (art. 27 (2), 27 (3) and 109 (1)). **Hungary, Liechtenstein**

Presidency of the Security Council

c.2.5 The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure. **Belgium and Luxembourg, (The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago), G4, L.69, Latvia, Liechtenstein**

Participation of Non-Permanent Members in the Work of the Council

c.2.6 An enlarged Council should not make it more difficult for non-permanent members to contribute actively to the work of the Council. **Belgium and Luxembourg, Netherlands**

c.2.7 The reform of the working methods should ensure participation on an equal footing of permanent members and non-permanent members within the Security Council. The enlarged Council should hold more open meetings, to improve the flow of information and exchange of ideas between members of the Council and other Member States. **Paraguay**

Privileges of Permanent Membership

c.2.8 Review of the privileges enjoyed by the permanent members outside the Security Council (e.g. membership in bodies such as ECOSOC and ICJ, practice of distributing senior positions within the United Nations system). **Liechtenstein**

Decision Making in Subsidiary Bodies

c.2.9 A thorough review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies is required in the case of enlargement, in particular on decision-making. **Hungary, Liechtenstein**

c.2.10 Explore ways of alleviating the workload of the Council, e.g. assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions. **Hungary** This would require extending the possibility of voting to subsidiary bodies. **Liechtenstein**

Secretariat Capacity

c.2.11 Review of the capacities and the resources of the Secretariat required to service an enlarged Council. **Liechtenstein**

Other Issues Related to Working Methods

c.2.12 Views the process of improving the working methods and the progress already achieved in the practice in this regard as a continuous process. **Monaco**

c.2.13 Working methods would continue to be revised and adapted to allow greater openness and transparency for the greater membership of the United Nations, on whose behalf the Security Council operates. **Panama**

c.2.14 Charter amendment has to be part of the package (Article 27 and 28 to 32). Working methods will be defined by Charter amendments (voting procedure) and the new Rules of Procedure. The new Rules of Procedure will have to be adopted by the Security Council and the entry into force of the Charter amendments. **Hungary**

c.2.15 Adopt relevant procedures to increase the transparency and efficiency of the Council. **Georgia**

c.2.16 Impartiality, non-selectivity and democracy should be fully upheld in all activities of the Security Council. **DPKR**

c.2.17 Uphold the primacy of and respect for the Charter in connection with its functions and powers, and in that regard to desist from the practice of engaging and initiating formal and informal discussions on the situation in any Member State of the United Nations or on any issue that does not constitute a threat to international peace and security, and contrary to the provisions of Article 24 of the Charter. **African Group**

c.2.18 Avoid any attempts to use the Security Council to pursue national political agendas and to ensure the necessity of non-selectivity and impartiality in the work of the Council, and the need for the Council to strictly keep within the powers and functions accorded to it by the Member States under the United Nations Charter. **African Group**

c.2.19 Greater transparency in the process of the accession of new United Nations Member States. **Kazakhstan**

c.2.20 This is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and, moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly. **France, UK**

Participation of Non-Permanent Members in the Work of the Council

c.2.21 Elected members should be enabled to play a more active and effective role in the [proceedings and **Ukraine**] decision making process of the Council. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)

c.2.22 Early involvement of all Council members in the drafting of Council resolutions. **Lithuania**

c.2.23 There is a need for more transparency and close consultations amongst all members of the Council on all matters that the Security Council is seized with. **Malaysia**

c.2.24 There should be full and complete participation by elected members in penholding resolutions. **L.69**

Cooperation Between the Security Council and Entities Outside of the Council

c.2.25 The Council should intensify cooperation and coordination with regional and sub-regional organizations. **Australia, Poland, Romania, Viet Nam**

c.2.26 Further development of more meaningful relationship with international organizations. **Slovakia**

c.2.27 The Council must improve its cooperation with regional organisations, particularly the African Union. Such cooperation must be serious and include providing assistance for AU's capacity building as per their requirement. **L.69**

c.2.28 The Security Council should further enhance its cooperation with the United Nations Secretariat and the entire United Nations system. **Australia, Poland**

c.2.29 More structured dialogue between the Council and the ICC. **Lithuania**

c.2.30 The enlarged Council should facilitate more interaction with other United Nations bodies or legal institutions such as the International Court of Justice, the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Criminal Court. **Paraguay**

c.2.31 Encourages the United Nations Security Council to take advantage of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) by seeking its advisory opinion, consistent with Article 96 (1) of the United Nations Charter... United Nations Security Council deliberations on contentious political issues would be better served if supplemented by an authoritative legal opinion. Although the legal opinions are not legally binding, they would contribute towards upholding the principle of respect for the rule of law as enshrined in the United Nations Charter. **Malaysia**

Subsidiary Bodies and Sanctions

c.2.32 Assign chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way. **Hungary, Ireland, Liechtenstein**

c.2.33 All Council members should be involved in the decision-making on the distribution of chairmanships of subsidiary bodies of the Council, ensuring that the country specific and thematic lead roles are distributed evenly and appropriately among Council members. **Singapore**

c.2.34 Regular review of the work of the sanctions committees, earlier appointment of chairs of subsidiary bodies, public briefings by chairs of sanctions committees, renew the work/establish a working group on sanctions. **Lithuania**

c.2.35 Continue to improve the Council's handling of sanctions regimes, primarily in terms of ensuring their targeted and, when possible, time-limited character, spelling out concrete conditions for lifting, streamlining listing and delisting procedures, providing for periodic assessment. **Ukraine**

c.2.36 Avoid any recourse to the imposition or prolongation of sanctions or their extensions by the Security Council against any State under the pretext or with the aim of achieving the political objectives of one or a few States, rather than the general interest of the international community. **African Group**

Agenda of the Security Council

c.2.37 The Council will amend its procedures so that items do not remain on its agenda permanently/beyond (x) years. **L.69**

c.2.38 The Council's agenda should equally reflect all States' needs and interests in an objective, rational, non-selective and non-arbitrary manner. **Cuba**

c.2.39 The increasing tendency in the Security Council towards expansion of what poses a threat to international peace and security should be stopped. **Cuba**

Rules of Procedure of the Council

- c.2.40 The Council's rules of procedure should be formalized (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**) [and disseminated to all United Nations Member States **Singapore**] in order to ensure transparency and accountability. **Malaysia**
- c.2.41 The Council's rules of procedure should be formalized in order to ensure transparency and accountability, since they have been provisional for over 70 years. **Cuba**
- c.2.42 Formalize the Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, which have remained provisional for more than 60 years, in order to improve on its transparency and accountability. **African Group**

Use of Chapter VI Provisions

- c.2.43 The work of the Council should prioritise the utilization of Chapter VI measures to promote peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter. **Viet Nam**
- c.2.44 Before mandating measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council should ensure that all efforts for the pacific settlement of disputes through measures under Chapter VI have been exhausted. **L.69**
- c.2.45 Refrain from resorting to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not necessarily pose a threat to international peace and security, and to fully utilize the provisions of other relevant Chapters, where appropriate, including Chapters VI and Chapter VIII, before invoking Chapter VII which should be a measure of last resort, if necessary. **African Group**
- c.2.46 Resort to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not pose a threat to international peace and security should be avoided. The Council should fully apply the provisions in the Charter as applicable, including chapters VI and VIII, before referring to Chapter VII, which should be the last option if ever necessary. **Cuba**
- c.2.47 Imposing sanctions should only be considered after all means have been exhausted for a pacific solution/settlement of disputes in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, and long and short-term effects of such sanctions have been carefully pondered. Sanctions should not be applied "preventatively" in cases of mere violation of International Law or international principles and standards. **Cuba**

**d) THE QUESTION OF THE VETO**

- d.1. [The new permanent members would as a principle have the same responsibilities and obligations as current permanent members. **Georgia**] [New permanent members shall not exercise the veto-right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held fifteen years after the entry into force of the amendments to the Charter. **Czech Republic**] Amendments to the Charter shall reflect the fact that the extension of the right of veto to the new permanent members will be decided upon in the framework of a review. **Belgium and Luxembourg, G4**
- d.2. The veto should be abolished. So long as it exists, it should be extended to all members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must enjoy all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership including the right of the veto. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**), L.69, **Dominican Republic**
- d.3. The veto is should be abolished but so long as it exists, it should be extended to all members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must in this regard enjoy all prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto as a matter of common justice. **African Group**
- d.4. New permanent members should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current permanent members, including the right to veto, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established. **Cuba**
- d.5. We would not oppose extension of the veto to new permanent members if the candidates to such permanent membership were to pursue such an extension. **France**
- d.6. Status of the permanent member of the United Nations Security Council is both a privilege and a responsibility - including the right of veto. All countries being considered as potential permanent members and countries that have the ambition to be considered should have the ability to carry all the responsibility that comes with United Nations Security Council duties and be able to prove in deeds that they do deserve it and are ready to take up this responsibility. **Slovakia**
- d.7. The new permanent members should also be accorded veto power so as to contribute towards a more balanced and representational decision-making process, particularly if it is agreed that all regions would be represented in the Security Council. **Malaysia**
- d.8. The veto should not be extended to new permanent members of an enlarged Security Council. **Australia, Chile, Ireland, Singapore, UK**
- d.9. On the basis of the principle of sovereign equality of all the United Nations Member States as enshrined in the Charter, no state should be granted the special privilege to exercise the veto power. **Philippines**
- d.10. Member States should be invited to continue discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances. **G4**
- d.11. The question of the veto would be addressed as part of the review [16 / 20 years] after the first elections in the new category of seats by the General Assembly. **Liechtenstein**

Voluntary Limitation/ Restraint of the Use of the Veto

- d.12. Permanent members of the Council should voluntary and collectively commit themselves to not using their veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending situations involving mass atrocity crimes. **Belgium and Luxembourg, Estonia, Ireland, Ukraine**
- d.13. Permanent members of the Council should voluntary and collectively commit themselves to not using their veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending:
  - Genocide **Czech Republic, Lithuania, Montenegro, Singapore, Ukraine**;
  - War crimes **Czech Republic, Lithuania, Montenegro, Singapore, Ukraine**;
  - Crimes against humanity **Czech Republic, Lithuania, Singapore, Ukraine**;
  - Ethnic cleansing **Czech Republic, Montenegro**;
  - Massive human rights violations **Lithuania**
- d.14. Supports all initiatives facilitating timely and decisive action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending mass atrocities, including those calling for voluntarily agreeing to refrain from using the veto. **Hungary**
- d.15. If permanent members insist on casting a veto that blocks action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity they should produce alternative proposals that will end such atrocities or clearly explain to all United Nations Member States why they are prepared to see the continuation of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and a copy of the explanation should be circulated as a Security Council Document. **Singapore**

- d.16. Support a code of conduct for the voluntary limitation of the use of the veto by permanent members. **Belgium and Luxembourg, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ireland, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland**
- d.17. Proposals made by some Member States on a voluntary code of conduct regulating the use of the veto in cases of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide certainly merit positive consideration. **Latvia**
- d.18. Support proposals for a code of conduct among the P5 regarding their use of the veto in the Security Council as a first step towards a process of reviewing the veto power of permanent members. **Philippines**
- d.19. More generally all Member States should commit to support timely action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes. **Belgium and Luxembourg**
- d.20. Self-regulation of the use of the veto by the permanent members. **Monaco**
- d.21. The veto should be used with maximum restraint with its eventual elimination. **Brunei Darussalam**
- d.22. Should aim to minimize the use of the veto. **Netherlands**
- d.23. Supports an adjustment of the veto right based on consensus of the current permanent members, taking into consideration the needs of the Council for faster action, greater involvement in conflict prevention and increasing efficiency. **Romania**
- d.24. The initiative on restraint of the use of the veto in situations of mass atrocity deserves close attention and ambitious follow-up, and could be taken forward independently of broader Security Council reforms. **Australia**

Mandatory Restriction of the Use of the Veto

- d.25. The use of the veto should be restricted in cases which would block Council action aimed at preventing or ending:
  - Crimes against humanity **Georgia, Kazakhstan, Peru**;
  - War crimes **Georgia, Kazakhstan**;
  - Ethnic cleansing **Georgia**;
  - Genocide **Georgia, Kazakhstan, Peru**;
  - Systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. **Peru**

- d.26. The use of the veto should be limited to only measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**), **Peru, Viet Nam**)
- d.27. Relevant procedural regulations should be elaborated to restrict the veto right of permanent members who are involved in a conflict under Security Council consideration. **Georgia**
- d.28. The veto should not in any case be used for blocking Council action in the event of aggression against a United Nations Member State. **Ukraine**
- d.29. The permanent members should recommit themselves to Article 27 (3) of the United Nations Charter obliging a party to a dispute to abstain from voting. **Ukraine**

Abolition of the Veto

- d.30. Support abolition of the veto. However, in event of its retention, new permanent members should also have right to veto. There should be no distinction between permanent members. While the veto is in existence, efforts must be made to limit its use in instances of the most serious crimes of international concern, crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide, etc. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)
- d.31. Abolishment of the use of the veto in conformity with the principle of sovereign equality as envisaged in the Charter. Nevertheless, we continue to call for a restraint in the use of veto powers especially in cases of international crimes of the most serious nature such as in instances of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. **Malaysia**
- d.32. It is indispensable to eliminate the veto immediately for being an anachronistic and undemocratic privilege. Until its elimination is attained, other mechanisms should be implemented in order to limit its use to the extent possible. **Cuba**
- d.33. The veto is an anachronistic tool, belonging in a period of our past history. Regardless of which membership formula we end up using for the Security Council, our aim should be to eliminate the veto. Until we reach the stage of full abolishment of the veto, we should continue to strive for it not to be used, especially in humanitarian situations. As an ethical statement, the P5 should refrain from using the veto when their national interest is involved. **Panama**

- d.37. In general, favour the abolition of the veto. **Ireland**
- Explaining the Use of a Veto
- d.38. Permanent members should explain non concurrent votes to the wider United Nations membership. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)
- d.39. In a public session of the Council. **Peru**
- d.40. In particular with regard to its consistency with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and to circulate a copy of the explanation as a Council document. **Ukraine**
- Veto Trigger Mechanism
- d.41. Establish a practice, in appropriate cases, of declaring, when casting a negative vote on a draft resolution before the Council, that such a negative vote shall not constitute a veto in the sense of Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Charter. **Singapore**
- d.42. The decision-taking process in the Council should be reformulated. Currently, non-procedural decisions require unanimity of the five permanent members, while this requirement can be reduced to the affirmative vote of two of them. **Peru**
- d.43. The exercise of the veto should be regulated so as to prohibit such power being the sole discretion of its holder to unjustly overrule the wishes of the majority. Call for a modified veto system whereby a minimum of three votes should be made a prerequisite to block a resolution. **Malaysia**

**e) RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Mandates of the General Assembly and the Security Council

- e.1. The relationship between the Security Council and General Assembly should be characterized by cooperation and mutual support with full respect for their respective mandates. The Security Council should concentrate on areas within its mandate and avoid encroachment on matters which fall under the purview of the General Assembly. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)
- e.2. All resolutions of the General Assembly that clarify the relationship of the Security Council with the General Assembly and the main bodies should be observed. In Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council is not provided with competence to address issues which fall within the functions and powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, especially those related to the establishment of standards, legislation, administrative and budgetary matters and setting definitions. **Cuba**
- e.3. The enlarged Council is accountable to the General Assembly, since the Council acts on behalf of the wider membership of the United Nations. Member States have the right and duty to duly know and analyse the work of the Council. The relationship between the enlarged Council and the General Assembly must be of collaboration. **Georgia, Paraguay**
- e.4. Equal position and mutual complementarity (since their tasks are different) of the Security Council and the General Assembly as two of the main organs of the United Nations should be stressed. **Czech Republic**
- e.5. Strengthening of relations and better communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly for the purpose of safeguarding international peace and security in accordance with the authority and responsibility the two organs have under the Charter. **Dominican Republic, Monaco, Montenegro, Paraguay, Serbia, Slovakia**
- e.6. There is a need for a more balanced and stronger cooperation between the General Assembly and Security Council as defined in the United Nations Charter (Article 24). **Brunei Darussalam**
- e.7. It is necessary to attain a balanced and efficient relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, based on strict respect to the provisions of the Charter and in accordance with the respective mandates of these bodies. **Cuba**
- e.8. The two organs must work closely together within their respective sphere in the search for solutions to the plethora of challenges confronting the international community while seeking to foster harmonious interaction and ensuring cooperative relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly without encroaching on each other's mandates as spelt out in the Charter and to preserve the constitutional balance between them. **African Group**
- e.9. Address the growing concerns by Member states of the gradual encroachment by the Security Council on and the erosion of the authority and mandate of the General Assembly by fully and speedily implementing the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 51/193, 58/126 and 59/31. **African Group**

Role of the General Assembly

e.12. Ensuring that the role and authority of the General Assembly including on questions relating to international peace and security be respected and to also guarantee the unfettered application of Articles 10-14 and 35 of the Charter and where appropriate Rules 7 to 10 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, which enable the General Assembly to take urgent action; all of which provide a strong basis for the General Assembly to assert itself and prevent the erosion of its powers by the Security Council. **African Group**

e.13. It is fundamental to strengthen the role and authority of the General Assembly as the main body of the Organization. The competence of the General Assembly includes issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security, as stated in Article 11 of the United Nations Charter. **Peru**

e.14. The General Assembly should be strengthened in its role as the chief deliberative, policy making and representative organ of the United Nations. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)

e.15. Recalling the General Assembly resolution 377 (V), the role of the General Assembly shall be increased in cases of threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. Namely, if the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security when there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including the use of armed force when necessary. The relevant changes shall be introduced to the Charter of the United Nations. **Georgia**

Coordination between the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council

e.16. Establish a timely flow and exchange of information between the two organs particularly through regular consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council. **G4, L.69, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Viet Nam**

e.17. The provisions of effective and timely flow and exchange of information between the two organs particularly through frequent and regular consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council to review work plans and consult on specific issues of mutual concern. Such meetings can enhance more direct and dynamic exchanges between the two organs. **African Group**

e.18. The President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly should hold monthly consultations on a regular basis. If any specific situation arises, such consultations should be more frequent. **Cuba, Malaysia**

e.19. Establishing closer, more frequent and meaningful interaction between the Presidents of the Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and Peacebuilding Commission. **Ukraine**

Cooperation and Communication between the General Assembly and the Security Council

e.20. We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the United Nations can function as effectively as possible. **France, Romania, UK**

e.21. Establish substantive dialogue between the General Assembly and the Security Council. **Montenegro**

e.22. The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in general, should aim for closer cooperation, including improved exchange of information; and better coordination e.g., ensuring that Security Council and General Assembly meetings on the same topics are not held simultaneously. **Estonia, Kazakhstan**

Annual Report and Special Reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly

e.23. The Security Council should submit an analytical, substantive and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly. **G4, Belgium and Luxembourg, L.69, Australia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Malaysia, Ukraine**

e.24. Annual reports on the work of the United Nations Security Council, should be prepared, pursuant to Article 15 paragraph 1 and Article 24 paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter, to: (i) assess whether Security Council decisions have been implemented; (ii) analyse obstacles to implementation and reasons for non-implementation; and (iii) suggest mechanisms or measures to enhance implementation. **Singapore**

e.25. The Security Council should submit to the General Assembly a broad and analytic yearly report, assessing its work, including those cases in which the Council has not reached any decisions, as well as the remarks by its members during the review of the items of its agenda. **Cuba**

- e.26. Focus annual United Nations General Assembly debate under agenda item "Report of the Security Council" for more specific outcomes, proposals on improving UNSC-UNGA interaction in addressing various cross-cutting issues. **Lithuania**
- e.27. Participation in the preparation of documents and reports of the Council, including its annual reports, should be more open and accessible to non-Council members. **Viet Nam**
- e.28. In the Council reports to the General Assembly, both annual and special reports as provided for in Article 15 and 24, the Council should give an account of its stewardship in regard to the prerogatives it exercises on behalf of Member States. More analytical and special reports as necessary. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)
- e.29. The Council should submit special reports more frequently to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 15 (1) and Article 24 (3) of the Charter. **Belgium and Luxembourg G4, L.69**
- e.30. The Security Council should submit special reports for the consideration of the General Assembly under Articles 15(1) and 24(3) of the Charter of the United Nations, which have unfortunately never been submitted. **Cuba**
- e.31. Security Council's submission in accordance with Articles 15 and 24 of the United Nations Charter, special subject-oriented reports to the General Assembly for its consideration and on issues of current international concern. **African Group**
- e.32. Security Council shall submit, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter. **Ukraine**
- e.33. Security Council's submission in keeping with Articles 24(3) of the United Nations Charter, more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly, consisting among other things, of assessment of the work of the Council, views expressed by its members as well as the rationale for taking action on issues before it. **African Group**
- e.34. The Security Council should further its relationship with the General Assembly, the major organ with the participation of the entire membership of the United Nations, via increased consultations and reporting, especially on matters related to the majority of United Nations Member States. **Viet Nam**
- e.35. The enlarged Council should submit more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly. **Paraguay**

Participation and Access for Members of the General Assembly to the Work of the Council

- e.36. Broader consultations and other forms of interaction with non-Council members on a regular basis. **Ukraine, Viet Nam**
- e.37. The work of the Security Council should be as transparent and open as possible - non-member States should have better insight in the work and decision making process of the Security Council. **Czech Republic**
- e.38. Briefings to United Nations Member States by penholders or sponsors of Security Council resolutions in the event of fast-paced developments on the ground or in the Security Council. **Lithuania**
- e.39. Allow greater access for the whole membership to information regarding the work of the Council and enhance the Council's accountability through greater transparency, inclusiveness, openness in decision-making. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**), **Croatia, Netherlands, Peru**
- e.40. Open meetings of the Council in themselves do not create greater transparency. Transparency depends on the scope given to non-members to understand, appreciate and access the Council's decision making considerations. **Singapore**
- e.41. Improved format of meetings, with predictable and timely communication to the membership at large. **Slovakia**
- e.42. The existing practice to hold closed meetings with no records will be abolished, and access will be given to non-members to the Council's documentation and records. **L.69**
- e.43. The practice of holding closed meetings should be restricted. **Viet Nam**
- e.44. Non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues being considered by the Council should be given every opportunity to participate in the Council's deliberations in informal meetings and informal consultations. **Singapore**
- e.45. Allow for greater participation in and closer following of the Council's work for non-members, especially from the perspective of a small state. **Montenegro**

e.46. Ensuring that members are fully informed of the nature and scope of the Security Council's activities not only through full informative press releases, but also by effectively communicating their views on issues of concern taken by Council in its informal consultations. Convening more formal meetings and informal consultations involving the interested parties prior to the adoption of decisions to allow for wider participation. **African Group**

e.47. Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter must be fully implemented by consulting with Member States which are not members of the Security Council on a regular basis, especially members with special interest in the substantive matter under consideration by the Council, must be invited to participate in consultations before an outcome document on that item is adopted. **L.69, Netherlands, Slovakia**

e.48. It should allow the concerning State, including those that are not members of the Security Council, to participate in the Council's discussions on issues that directly affect them under Article 31 of the Charter. **Cuba**

e.49. The Council must ensure effective communication of its mandates and means of implementing them to non-members in clear and easily understandable ways, particularly for mandates that carry obligations on all Member States, for example, in implementation of sanctions. **Singapore**

e.50. When a country that is not a member of the Security Council requests a meeting thereof, it should be convened immediately by the Council in pursuance of Article 35 of the Charter. **Cuba**

e.51. Subsidiary bodies of the Council should work in such a way that they provide sufficient and opportune information on their activities to all members of the United Nations. It should ensure that non-Member States have access to subsidiary bodies, including the right to participate in their discussions. **L.69, Cuba**

e.52. Establish its subsidiary organs in accordance with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, and these organs should function in a manner that would provide adequate and timely information on their activities to the general United Nations membership. **African Group**

e.53. More structured interaction, regular consultations and improved participation of the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and the chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Commission in relevant debates and, in an appropriate format, in informal discussions. **G4, Malaysia**

e.54. To send systematically draft resolutions and presidential statements also to non-member States of the Security Council. **Czech Republic**

e.55. Non-Council members should be given access to the work of the Council, including its documentation and records. **Viet Nam**

e.56. The tentative programme of work and forecast for the coming month, and changes to the programme of work, should be communicated to all non-members as soon as they are available to the Council. **Singapore**  
Public Meetings, Public Briefings and Open Debates

e.57. To enhance transparency and inclusivity of its work, the Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format. **G4, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Peru, Ukraine, Viet Nam**

e.58. Increase the number of public meetings, in accordance with Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly non-Council members whose affairs are under discussion of the Council. **African Group**

e.59. Increase the number of Security Council meetings in open format and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the United Nations, particularly those non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues under consideration of the Council. **Singapore**

e.60. The Security Council, as a general rule and in compliance with Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter, should convene public meetings open to all Member States of the United Nations in order to ensure that these meetings provide actual opportunity to bring opinions and contributions of the broadest membership of the United Nations into consideration, in particular, those of the States that are not members of the Council and which issues are discussed by this body. Closed meetings and informal consultations should be held only in exceptional cases. The Security Council should carry out substantive debates on topics of its own consideration and open to all Member States. **Cuba**

- e.61. Briefings of Special Envoys or Representatives of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat of the United Nations should be carried out in public meetings, unless there are extraordinary circumstances. **Cuba, Netherlands, Singapore**
- e.62. Allow for briefings by the Special envoys or Representatives of the Secretary-General and the UN Secretariat to take place in public meetings, unless in exceptional circumstances. **African Group**
- e.63. The Security Council should hold regular briefings on current issues and problems faced by the international community. **Czech Republic**
- e.64. Provide frequent, timely and quality briefings to the wider membership of the United Nations on matters discussed in the informal consultations and in the subsidiary bodies. **Singapore** [including "horizon-scanning" sessions. **Ukraine**]
- e.65. The Security Council should hold more open debates. **Estonia, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan** Including on:  
[Working methods. **G4, Ukraine**]  
[Geographical issues of special concern to the wider membership. **Lithuania**]
- e.66. There should be more structured follow-up to the annual Security Council open debate on working methods. **Lithuania**
- e.67. Better time management at open debates. All states, both Security Council members and non-members, should observe speaking time limits. Consider establishing a ceiling for briefer numbers (e.g. three) at open debates for better time management. **Lithuania**
- e.68. It is necessary to guarantee that the opinions of Member States of the United Nations obtained in thematic public debates be reflected in the adopted relevant resolutions and presidential statements, in lieu of the current practice of adopting resolutions and delivering presidential statements without any reference to such debates. **Cuba**
- e.69. In instances where open debates are held, Council members should consider hearing the views of invited members of the wider membership before they pronounce on the issue being addressed. **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- e.70. Foster a forward looking approach through regular horizon scanning briefings by the Secretary-General to the Security Council. **Netherlands**
- e.71. Increase the use of Horizon Scanning briefings and Arria-formula meetings. **Estonia**
- e.72. Welcomes the holding of 'Arria-Formula' meetings to enhance closer interaction with non-Council members. **Malaysia**
- e.73. The Presidency of the Council should convene an open meeting or wrap-up session at the end of its Presidency to communicate to non-members the key outcomes and deliverables achieved under its Presidency. **Malaysia, Netherlands, Singapore, Slovakia**
- e.74. The Security Council should guarantee that its monthly evaluations be broad and analytic and should make them opportunely known. **Cuba**
- e.75. More briefings by the President of the United Nations Security Council to the larger United Nations membership, and these briefings should be more interactive and substantive. The current practice of reading from prepared texts agreed by United Nations Security Council members has constrained the President from engaging the wider United Nations membership on issues of major concern, including seeking their valuable views that could add value to the work of the United Nations Security Council as a whole. **Malaysia**
- e.76. More Q&A briefings on the Council's programme of work. **Ireland**
- e.77. Make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues. **G4, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania**  
Consultation with Troop and Police Contributing Countries
- e.78. Consultation with and participation of Troop and Police Contributing Countries in decision making concerning peacekeeping operations must be made mandatory (as laid down in Article 44) and these discussions should be comprehensive covering the establishment, conduct, review and termination of peacekeeping operations, including the extension and change of mandates, as well as for specific operational issues. **L.69**
- e.79. Regular, timely and meaningful consultation with, and participation of, Troop, Police [and financial **G4**] Contributing Countries in decision making concerning peacekeeping operations **Australia, Lithuania, Malaysia, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Slovakia, Viet Nam**
- e.80. Hold more regular and timely consultations with troop and police contributing countries and other states with particular engagement in United Nations peace operations, both during elaboration of their mandates and throughout their entire life cycle. **Ukraine**

- e.81. Enhance its relationship with the UN Secretariat and troop contributing countries (TCC), including through a sustained, regular and timely interaction. Meetings with TCCs should be held not only in the drawing up of mandates, but also in their implementation, when considering a change in, or renewal of, or completion of a mission mandate, or when there is a rapid deterioration of the situation on the ground. **African Group**
- e.82. Meetings with countries contributing troops should be convened not only when mandates will be established, but also during their implementation, when a change, renewal or completion of a mission's mandate is analyzed, or if a sudden worsening of the situation on the ground occurs. **Cuba**
- e.83. The Security Council should continue to strengthen its relationship with the Secretariat of the United Nations and the countries that contribute troops to peacekeeping operations, *inter alia*, by means of a sustained, periodic and opportune interaction. **Cuba**
- e.84. Regular and meaningful interaction between the Council and force/police commanders. **Lithuania**
- e.85. The Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations should involve TCCs more frequently and intensively in its deliberations, especially in the very early stages of mission planning. **African Group**
- e.86. Establish closer interaction between the Security Council, in particular its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and the General Assembly Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34). **Ukraine**

Selection and appointment of the Secretary-General

- e.87. General Assembly should be granted a more active role in the election of Secretary-General to make the process more transparent and inclusive. **Georgia, Ireland, Kazakhstan**
- e.88. Without contesting the Security Council's prerogative to this effect. The process should enable main candidates to present their vision, priorities to the general membership. Have straw polls of general membership on the shortlisted candidates before final decisions are made, to see who would best meet the expectations of Member States. **Lithuania**

**f) Any other related matters:**

Review

- f.1. [The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed **L.69**] [15 Belgium and Luxembourg, G4 / 10-15 (The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)] years after their entry into force.
- f.2. [16 / 20] years after the first elections in the new category of seats the General Assembly shall review the situation. The review shall include consideration of the categories of seats, the creation of additional seats of any category, including permanent seats, a review of the question of the veto as well as the implementation of the measures to improve the working methods of the Council. **Liechtenstein**
- f.3. A review clause that will allow Member States to carry out periodic revisions of the decisions made under this process. **Paraguay**
- f.4. It is expected that the issue of membership expansion and working methods of the Council would continue to be debated in the future, which may require regular review of these two issues. As such, a review mechanism is recommended. **Malaysia**

The Process of Charter Amendments

- f.5. Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution and following the elections of the new permanent members, a resolution containing necessary amendments to the Charter would be submitted to the General Assembly in order to be adopted [at the earliest possible time **G4/** no later than twelve weeks. **L.69**]
- f.6. The Charter amendments necessary would be annexed to a General Assembly Resolution. Elections to fill the six seats with terms of [8/10] years shall be held after entry into force of the required Charter amendment and simultaneously with the regular elections of non-permanent members of the Security Council. **Liechtenstein**
- f.7. Should make a distinction between those measures which need the amendment of the Charter and those recommendations or proposals that do not require such action. In our view the zero draft of the General Assembly resolution should consist of two chapters: The first chapter should contain the Charter amendments. The second chapter should consist of the decision of the General Assembly (eg. On relationship of the Security Council and General Assembly) and the recommendations for the Security Council (eg. Rules of Procedure). **Hungary**

General Points

f.8. The reform of the Security Council must not be a postponed or ignored goal. A real reform of the United Nations will not be possible without a true reform of the Security Council. Urgent practical actions are a must. **Cuba**

f.9. Reform is a complex matter and hopes that the broadest possible consensus can be achieved to move the process forward. **Brunei Darussalam**

f.10. Any decision taken on reform should have the widest possible support of Member States and at the very least, be in keeping with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 53/30. (**The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago**)

1 DPRK- "It is yet premature to specify the issue of this category of membership. Discussions on the issue of categories are now in the initial stage, and even if category issue is agreed, there will be next step to be considered on the modalities and procedures on selection and election." "Japan still denies to liquidate its inhumane war crimes committed against a number of Asian countries during World War II, which placed Japan under the term of an enemy state in the Charter of the United Nations. DPRK expresses deep concern at the approach taken by Japan. Our concern is that Japan acts as if she must occupy a permanent seat of the enlarged Security Council, taking as if there is already an agreement on enlargement of permanent seats of the Security Council. Moreover, Japan is the enemy state and defeated state that had occupied the Asian countries and committed huge crimes against humanity during the Second World War which had been the cause and motivation of creation of the United Nations, and Japan is the only country that has not fully and convincingly made recognition, apology and compensation for its crimes up to this moment, 70 years since the foundation of the United Nations. Japan is too much ambitious and impudent in the deliberations of the reform and this stems from its sinister and impudent purpose to bury forever its past crimes and the disgrace of enemy state through this process."

2 France- "moderate expansion"

3 UK- "moderate expansion"

4 Liechtenstein- "On a permanent basis" refers to the fact that Member States could continue to hold these seats as long as they continue to be re-elected."

5 Hungary- "Hungary does not reject, a priori, other supplementary models based on other criteria. If other categories are accepted the necessary adjustments in regional representation has to be carried out."

6 African Group- The African Group proposes an additional 6 permanent seats and not less than 5 additional two-year non-permanent seats. However, they have only specified the distribution of 2 permanent seats and two additional non-permanent seats for Africa leaving the rest open to further consideration.

7 L.69- The L.69 Group welcomes the appreciation of the C.10 towards the L.69 submission and in this regard, the L.69 Group reaffirms its support and alignment with the Common African Position.

8 Croatia- While Croatia supports additional permanent and non-permanent seats they have only specified the distribution of 1 additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group leaving the rest open to further consideration.

9 Georgia- While Georgia supports additional permanent and non-permanent seats; they have assigned 1 additional two-year non-permanent seat to the Eastern European Group and leaves additional permanent and non-permanent seats to be distributed according to the established practice.

10 Hungary- While Hungary supports up to 6 additional permanent and not more than 6 non-permanent seats they have only specified the distribution of 1 additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group leaving the rest open to further consideration.

11 Latvia- While Latvia supports additional permanent and non-permanent seats they have only specified the distribution of 1 additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group leaving the rest open to further consideration.

12 Romania- While Romania proposes additional permanent seats for Brazil, Germany, India and Japan, as well as additional non-permanent seats, they have only specified the distribution of 1 additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group leaving the rest open to further consideration.

13 Slovakia- While Slovakia supports 5 additional permanent and 5 additional non-permanent seats they have only specified the distribution of 1 additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group leaving the rest open to further consideration.

14 The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago- "Reserve their position on the additional and total numbers in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of a reformed Council."

15 Montenegro- Montenegro remains open for few additional seats, if there can be an agreement reached about new permanent or new category of membership."

16 Australia- "Important that Council membership remains at a workable size" 21-26

17 Brunei Darussalam- "mid-twenties" 25-26

18 Cuba- "With this number, the proportion between the members of the Security Council and Member States of the United Nations would approach the proportion there was at the time the Organization was founded."

19 Peru- "In order to reflect an equitable regional representation, the reformed Council membership should be enlarged to a number of members in the "mid-twenties"

## Annex

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<sup>1</sup>The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago

Framework Document  
Inputs by Montenegro

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of (...) seats
- Non-permanent members with a two year term – a total of 6 seats  
Elected by the General Assembly, in accordance with standard procedure
- Any new category  
Montenegro remains open for this option, if negotiations can lead to the compromise between groups with the opposing views on new permanent membership.  
Elected by the General Assembly, same as with non-permanent members

b) Regional representation

- Montenegro supports enhanced and appropriate regional representation of all five regional groups. With the proposal for 6 new non-permanent seats, each regional group would receive one additional non-permanent seat, with the exception of the African group, which would receive two additional non-permanent members, for the reason to correct the historical injustice done to this continent. Eastern-European Group has seen the number of its members more than doubled in the last 20 years. Therefore it deserves one more non-permanent seat in the reformed Security Council.

c) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of 21 seats

- With the above mentioned proposal for 6 new non-permanent seats, Montenegro believes that a total of 21 seats would be the most optimal solution for the size of reformed Council. Montenegro remains open for few additional seats, if there can be a agreement reached about new permanent or new category of membership.

Working methods of the Council

- Montenegro appreciates the efforts undertaken so far by the P5, as well as within the scope of other initiatives, such as ACT group, that aim to improve comprehensively the working methods, that is to allow for greater participation in and closer following of the Council's work for non-members, especially from the perspective of a small state.

d) The question of the veto

- Within the well-known realities that characterize this issue, Montenegro supports the French proposal on the voluntary veto restraint in situations of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

- Montenegro supports expanded interaction and cooperation between the two main bodies of the UN, within the scope of their respective mandates. Montenegro calls for establishing substantive dialogue between the GA and the SC.

## Framework Document

### G-4 inputs

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of 11 seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America.
  - *In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats:* Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution on Security Council reform, interested Member States prepared to assume the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council would submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, as soon as possible, at a date to be determined by the President of the General Assembly to the election of the six new permanent members, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.
  - The criteria of Article 23 (1) should also apply to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of 14/15 seats
  - The election process for non-permanent members will follow current practices.

b) Regional representation:

- The six new permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:
  - (i) Two from African Member States;
  - (ii) Two from Asia-Pacific Member States;
  - (iii) One from Latin American and Caribbean Member States;
  - (iv) One from Western European and Other Member States;
- The four/five new non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:
  - (i) One/Two from African Member States;
  - (ii) One from Asia-Pacific Member States;
  - (iii) One from Eastern European Member States;
  - (iv) One from Latin American and Caribbean Member States;
- Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Member States should also make full use of the possibility of cross-regional arrangements to ensure that the diversity of the General Assembly membership is adequately reflected in the Council.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of 25/26 seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- An affirmative vote of 14/15 of 25/26 members of the enlarged Security Council will be required for a decision.
- The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.
- To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of its work, the enlarged Council would be encouraged to, *inter alia*, meet, as a general rule, in a public format; make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues; hold open debates on the issue of working methods; hold more regular and timely consultations with troop, police and

financial contributing countries of UN peacekeeping missions.

d) The question of the veto:

- Member States should be invited to continue discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances.
- The new permanent members would as a principle have the same responsibilities and obligations as current permanent members. However, the new permanent members shall not exercise the veto-right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held fifteen years after the coming into force of the reform.
- Amendments to the Charter shall reflect the fact that the extension of the right of veto to the new permanent members will be decided upon in the framework of a review.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The enlarged Security Council would be encouraged to, *inter alia*, hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly; submit an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly; submit more frequently special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Articles 15 (1) and 24 (3) of the Charter; improve participation of the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and the chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Commission in relevant debates and, in an appropriate format, in informal discussions.

• Any other related matters:

- Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution, a resolution containing necessary amendments to the Charter would be submitted to the General Assembly in order to be adopted at the earliest possible time.
- The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed fifteen years after their entry into force.

**Framework Document**  
*For inputs from Member States*

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]
- [Any new category...]
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]

b) Regional representation:

- Creation of an additional non-permanent seat for EEG.
- Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of its work, the Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format; make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues; hold more open debates; and increase the use of Horizon Scanning briefings and Arria-formula meetings.

d) The question of the veto:

- Supporting the French initiative - regulation of the use of veto by the permanent members of the Security Council who would voluntarily and collectively undertake not to use the veto where a mass atrocity has been ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> (...) denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas [...] is intended for the inclusion of text.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Security Council would be encouraged to hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly; and submit an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly.
- The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in general, should aim for closer cooperation, including improved exchange of information; and better coordination (e.g., ensuring that Security Council and General Assembly meetings on the same topics are not held simultaneously).
- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
  - [...]

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

## Positions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) on Framework Document for Security Council Reform

### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members- total of ( ) seats

*[It is yet premature to specify the issue of this category of membership. Discussions on the issue of categories are now in the initial stage, and even if category issue is agreed, there will be next step to be considered on the modalities and procedures on selection and election.]*

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term- a total of ( ) seats

*[Since enlarging non-permanent seats will be more agreeable, it could be a way forward to proceed first with the issue of enlargement of non-permanent seats.]*

### b) Regional representation:

- *[It is very important to increase the representation of Non-Aligned Movement member states and other developing countries.]*

### c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of ( ) seats

#### (ii) Working Methods of the Council

*[Impartiality, non-selectivity and democracy should be fully upheld in all activities of the Security Council. Now, the Security Council has reached the state whereby it is misused by an individual country abusing its status of a permanent member to pursue its own national interests, violating the international norms and principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.]*

### d) The question of the veto:

### e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

### Any other matters:

*[Overall process of discussions of the reform should be a process to guarantee and convince that all UN member states could be represented and included in an equal and democratic manner in the deliberations of international peace and security issues. In other words, the Security Council reform should be the process driven by all member states based on the consensus in a transparent manner.]*

*Since the purpose of the Security Council reform is to realize democratization of UN system, reform discussions and negotiations should not be swayed by the individual purposes and interests of any specific group or countries.*

*Any move to pursue the reform issue by simple majority or by setting artificial timetable cannot reflect fully and democratically the viewpoints and positions of all member states and rather will ignite differences and conflict of opinions.*

*DPRK expresses deep concern at the approach taken by Japan. Our concern is that Japan acts as if she must occupy a permanent seat of the enlarged Security Council, taking as if there is already an agreement on enlargement of permanent seats of the Security Council.*

*Moreover, Japan is the enemy state and defeated state that had occupied the Asian countries and committed huge crimes against humanity during the Second World War which had been the cause and motivation of creation of the United Nations, and Japan is the only country that has not fully and convincingly made recognition, apology and compensation for its crimes up to this moment, 70 years since the foundation of the United Nations.*

*Japan is too much ambitious and impatient in the deliberations of the reform and this stems from its sinister and impudent purpose to bury forever its past crimes and the disgrace of enemy state through this process.]*

**Questionnaire on Security Council matters**

**1.- Category of membership:** The Dominican Republic supports the expansion of the Security in both categories: Permanent and non-Permanent members.

**2.- Regional representation:** The Dominican Republic supports the ownership representation.

**3.- Size of the Security Council:** 24-25 members.

**Working methods:** The Dominican Republic considers that the Security Council should improve its relationship with partners outside the Council. The Security Council should also increase the transparency of its work, making its role more interactive with its partners and ensure that these are better informed of the issues in which it deals. The Security Council should continue trying to hold more public official sessions as opposed to the practice of private consultations. The improvement of the Security Council working methods will make it more efficient and its decisions more applicable.

**4.- Veto Issue:** The Dominican Republic supports the elimination of the veto. However, in order not to obstruct the SC reform, the Dominican Republic would support that the issue to be revised in 10 years.

**5.- Relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly:** The Dominican Republic supports the strengthening of the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, even advocating for a permanent seat of the President of the General Assembly in the Security Council. In order to be more participative in the work of the Security Council like de Secretary General seat in the Security Council.

**6.- Other matters:** The Dominican Republic supports a Security Council comprehensive reform that privileges the representation of small states that never had had the opportunity to serve in this important organ due to its current structure. From a practical point of view, the Dominican Republic considers useful that the Facilitator of the reform of the Security Council obtained the views of the countries directly involved in the reform of the Security Council and process a document with the basic parameters of discussion, so that it is easier to generate specific negotiations.

<<<<>>>>>>>>>

**1.- CATEGORIA DE MIEMBROS:** RD APOYA LA EXPANSION DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD EN AMBAS CATEGORIAS; MIEMBROS PERMANENTES Y NO PERMANENTES.

**2.- REGIONAL REPRESENTACION;** RD APOYA LA TITULARIDAD NACIONAL YA QUE SOLO EL GRUPO AFRICANO TIENE UN SISTEMA REGIONAL DE REPRESENTACION ESTABLECIDO.

**3.- TAMAÑO DEL CONSEJO;** 24-25 miembros

**4.- CUESTION DEL VETO;** RD APOYA LA ELIMINACION DEL VETO. SIN EMBARGO, COMO UNA FORMA DE NO OBSTACULIZAR LA REFORMA DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD APOYAMOS QUE ESTA CUESTION SEA ANALIZADA EN UNA CONFERENCIA REVISORA DENTRO DE 10 AÑOS

**5.RELACION CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD Y ASAMBLEA GENERAL;** RD APOYA EL FORTALECIMIENTO Y LA INTERRELACION DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD Y ASAMBLEA GENERAL. INCLUSO PROPUGNAMOS QUE EL PRESIDENTE DE LA ASAMBLEA GENERAL TENGA UN ASIENTO EN EL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD A FIN DE QUE SEA MAS PARTICIPATIVO EN LAS LABORES DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD.

**OTRAS MATERIAS;** RD APOYA UNA REFORMA DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD INTEGRAL EN QUE SE PRIVILEGIE LA REPRSETACION DE LOS PEQUEÑOS ESTADOS INSULARES Y DE AQUELLOS ESTADOS EN QUE NUNCA HAN TENIDO LA OPORTUNIDAD DE SERVIR EN ESTE IMPORANTE ORGANO DEBIDO A LA ACTUAL ESTRUCTURA DE REPRESENTACION.



NBD/67/2015

*The Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations and has the honour to refer to the interactive briefing held on 26 March 2015 on Security Council Reform*

*In this regard, the Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam request the kind assistance of the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to forward to H.E. Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica and Chairman of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, Brunei Darussalam's inputs to the Intergovernmental Negotiations Framework Document.*

*The Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations the assurances of its highest consideration.*

16 April 2015

**Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations**  
767 Third Avenue, 9th Floor  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Email: [jamaicaun@gmail.com](mailto:jamaicaun@gmail.com)  
Fax: (212) 935-7607

Ref: 29 : G/A/33



## Framework Document

### Brunei Darussalam's Inputs

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Supports the expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories with developing and developing countries adequately represented.

a) Regional representation:

- Supports the need for a more balanced geographical representation to reflect the expansion of UN Membership since the last reform in 1963.
- Supports the need to address the non-representation and under-representation of some regions in the permanent and non-permanent category e.g. African region and Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

b) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

- Supports an expanded UNSC to a total of mid-twenties i.e. 25 or 26 seats in total.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Recognizes the need to improve the UNSC's transparency, accountability and efficiency.

d) The question of the veto:

- The veto should be used with maximum restraint with its eventual elimination.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Underlines the need for a more balanced and stronger cooperation between the General Assembly and Security Council as defined in the UN Charter (Article 24).
- Any other related matters<sup>1</sup>:
  - Notes that reform is a complex matter and hopes that the broadest possible consensus can be achieved to move the process forward.

<sup>1</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE  
UNITED NATIONS | NEW YORK

16 April 2015

HE Mr Courtenay Rattray  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform  
Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations  
767 Third Avenue, 9<sup>th</sup> Floor  
New York, NY 10017

Dear *Courtenay*,

Thank you for your letter dated 26 March 2015 conveying the framework document and your speaking points for the IGN meeting on 26<sup>th</sup> March.

2 As requested, please find enclosed Singapore's inputs on the framework document. We would be grateful if you could incorporate our inputs in the master framework document. Singapore reserves the right to come back with further inputs as necessary.

3 Let me take the opportunity to assure you that Singapore will work with you, as Chair of the IGN on Security Council Reform, and other members of the IGN process, to achieve an outcome that will make the UNSC more representative, open, transparent, accountable and effective to deal with the many challenges before us.

4 Please accept, your excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours *sincerely*,

KAREN TAN  
Ambassador and Permanent Representative

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**FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT  
(INPUTS FROM SINGAPORE)**

b) Regional Representation of UNSC Membership:

- Increase representation of under-represented regional groups in the UNSC as this will help improve the legitimacy and accountability of the UNSC.
- Small States must always be represented in the Council as they make up more than two-thirds of the UN membership.
- If the Council's composition does not include a small state, at least one of the existing Council members will be appointed as a representative for small states in consultation with the members of the Forum of Small States.

c) (i) Size of an Enlarged Security Council

- Expand the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership to better reflect current geopolitical realities.

(ii) Working Methods of the Council

- The Council should adopt its rules of procedures and disseminate them to all UN Member States.
- The tentative programme of work and forecast for the coming month, and changes to the programme of work, should be communicated to all non-members as soon as they are available to the Council.
- All Council members should be involved in the decision-making on the distribution of chairmanships of subsidiary bodies of the Council, ensuring that the country-specific and thematic lead roles are distributed evenly and appropriately among Council members.
- The Council must ensure effective communication of its mandates and means of implementing them to non-members in clear and easily

understandable ways, particularly for mandates that carry obligations on all Member State, for example, in implementation of sanctions.

- The Presidency of the Council should convene an open meeting at the end of its Presidency to communicate to non-members the key outcomes and deliverables achieved under its Presidency.
- Briefings by UN Officials to the Security Council should as far as possible be made accessible to all member states.
- Annual reports on the work of the UN Security Council, should be prepared, pursuant to article 15 paragraph 1 and article 24 paragraph 3 of the UN Charter, to: (i) assess whether Security Council decisions have been implemented; (ii) analyse obstacles to implementation and reasons for non-implementation; and (iii) suggest mechanisms or measures to enhance implementation.

In our view, the above changes to the working methods of the Council do not require amendments to the Charter of the United Nations and can be undertaken without prejudice to other aspects of the Security Council Reform.

Any reform must include changes to its working methods and must make the Council more accountable and transparent for all Member States, not just members of an enlarged Council.

d) The Question of the Veto

- New permanent members should not be accorded the right to veto as it would complicate decision making in the Council.
- Permanent Members of the Council should commit themselves to not using a veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.
- If Permanent Members insist on casting a veto that blocks such action, they should produce alternative proposals that will end such atrocities or clearly explain to all UN Member States why they are prepared to see the continuation of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and a copy of the explanation should be circulated as a Security Council Document.

- Establish a practice, in appropriate cases, of declaring, when casting a negative vote on a draft resolution before the Council, that such a negative vote shall not constitute a veto in the sense of Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Charter.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

- Increase the number of Security Council meetings in open format and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly those non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues under consideration of the Council. However, more open meetings of the Council in themselves do not create greater transparency. Transparency depends on the scope given to non-members to understand, appreciate and access the Council's decision making considerations.
- Provide frequent, timely and quality briefings to the wider membership of the UN on matters discussed in the informal consultations and in the subsidiary bodies.
- Non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues being considered by the Council should be given every opportunity to participate in the Council's deliberations in informal meetings and informal consultations.

16 April 2015



საქართველოს ელექტორატი  
საერთაშორისო საქართველოს  
ეროვნული მისია საერთაშორისო



12998-19-2-201504160254

**PERMANENT MISSION OF GEORGIA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Nº 19/12998

04/16/2015

Excellency, *Dear Courtenay,*

It is my honor to enclose herewith the framework document on the United Nations Security Council reform, populated with the positions and proposals of the Government of Georgia.

The contact person at our Mission is Mr. Giorgi Kvelashvili, Senior Counsellor, who can be reached at tel.: 212.759.1949, ext. 208, or via email [gkvelashvili@mfa.gov.ge](mailto:gkvelashvili@mfa.gov.ge)

Excellency, while anticipating a fruitful and friendly exchange on the matters related to the Security Council reform, please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Annex: 2 pages.

Respectfully,

Kaba Imnadze

Ambassador

Permanent Representative

**H.E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray**

Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations

New York

**276**

**2015**

One United nations Plaza, 26TH floor, New York, NY 10017, USA

## Framework Document

### Inputs from Georgia

#### **Issues of 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.**

##### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of (10-11)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
    - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]
  - Permanent Members should be elected by the UN General Assembly, by the 2/3 vote.
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of (14-15) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]
  - The non-permanent Members of the UNSC should be elected by the UNGA, however at least 1 newly added non-permanent seat should be attributed to the Eastern European Group, other seats to be attributed to the regional groups.
- [Any new category...] --
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]

##### b) Regional representation

- [...] 2 seats should be attributed to the EEG. Other places to be distributed according to the established practice.

##### c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of (25) seats

##### (ii) Working methods of the Council:

- [Increase the transparency and efficiency of the Council, adopt relevant procedures].

##### d) The question of the veto:

- [All Permanent Members should have the veto right. The veto right should be restricted under following circumstances: a) The decision of the UNSC aims at prevention of the crimes against humanity, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and

<sup>1</sup> "...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

genocide; b) Permanent Member is involved in the conflict under the consideration and, therefore, cannot exercise his rights impartially. Relevant, procedural regulations should be elaborated to this end.

e) Relationship between the Council and General Assembly:

- [Accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be increased. GA should be granted a more active role in the election of the UNSG.]

Recalling the General Assembly resolution 377 (V), the role of the General Assembly shall be increased in cases of threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. Namely, if the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security when there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including the use of armed force when necessary. The relevant changes shall be introduced to the Charter of the UN.]

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
- [...]

<sup>1</sup> “(...)” denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas ‘[... ]’ is intended for the inclusion of text.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

Croatia

**Framework Document**  
*For inputs from Member States*

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats.. Croatia supports the enlargement of the Council in the permanent category of membership. Having in mind the importance of these elections, Croatia holds that they should require broader support than regular elections for the non-permanent seats.]
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats.. Croatia supports the enlargement of the Council in the non-permanent category of membership]
- [Any new category...]
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]

b) Regional representation:

- [Croatia advocates for one additional seat for East European regional group in the non-permanent category]
- [Croatia supports greater African representation in the Council]

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- [Working methods of the enlarged Council should be conducted so as to help facilitate a more efficient and effective, as well as accountable functioning of the Security Council as a whole. ]

<sup>1</sup> (...) denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas [...] is intended for the inclusion of text.

Croatia

- [Croatia supports more frequent interaction of the members of the Council with wider UN membership through greater transparency, openness in decision-making and inclusiveness.]

d) The question of the veto:

- [Croatia welcomes the French initiative of adopting a Code of Conduct to govern the use of the veto]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [Croatia would encourage the enlarged Security Council to hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly.]

• Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- [Croatia welcomes the decision on the conduct of elections for non-permanent members of the Council six months before the elected members assume their responsibilities, which will allow for better advance planning and preparation of new members.]

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

## L.69 Group Inputs on Framework Document ( inputs of the L.69 Group are in red below)

Issues of 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.

### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of 11 seats
  - The Republic of China (People's Republic of China), France, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (The Russian Federation), The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America.
  - (2 from Africa) (2 from Asia) (1 from GRULAC) (1 from WEOG)
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats.]:

Upon adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms by the General Assembly, member states desiring to assume permanent membership shall submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, at a date to be determined by the PGA, for the election of new permanent members of the Security Council, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. As per established practice, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.

- While electing new permanent members, the General Assembly would also consider the criteria of Article 23 (I) to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of 16
  - The election process for non-permanent two-year term seats will remain unchanged.

### b)Regional representation:

That additional seats be elected by the General Assembly as follows:

- (a) Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States;
- (b) Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asia-Pacific States;

## L.69 Group Inputs on Framework Document ( inputs of the L.69 Group are in red below)

Issues of 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.

### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of 11 seats
  - The Republic of China (People's Republic of China), France, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (The Russian Federation), The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America.
  - (2 from Africa) (2 from Asia) (1 from GRULAC) (1 from WEOG)
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats.]:

Upon adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms by the General Assembly, member states desiring to assume permanent membership shall submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, at a date to be determined by the PGA, for the election of new permanent members of the Security Council, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. As per established practice, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.

- While electing new permanent members, the General Assembly would also consider the criteria of Article 23 (I) to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of 16
  - The election process for non-permanent two-year term seats will remain unchanged.

### b)Regional representation:

That additional seats be elected by the General Assembly as follows:

- (a) Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States;
- (b) Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asia-Pacific States;

- (c) One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States;
- (d) One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and Caribbean States;
- (e) One permanent seat for Western European and other States;
- (f) One non-permanent seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS) across all regions

*Regional groups shall coordinate to ensure that there is regular representation for small developing states in the non-permanent category,*

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of 27 seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- The affirmative vote of 15 out of 27 members of the Security Council will be required for a decision.
- To make meetings of the Council transparent and inclusive, the existing practice to hold closed meetings with no records will be abolished, and access will be given to non-members to the Council's documentation and records.
- The Council will amend its procedures so that items do not remain on its agenda permanently/beyond (x) years.
- Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter must be fully implemented by consulting with member states which are not members of the Security Council on a regular basis, especially members with special interest in the substantive matter under consideration by the Council.
- Non-members should be given systematic access to subsidiary bodies of the UNSC, including the right to participate in debates.
- There should be full and complete participation by elected members in penholding resolutions.
- Consultation with and participation of Troop and Police Contributing Countries in decision making concerning peacekeeping operations must be made mandatory (as laid down in Article 44) and these discussions should be comprehensive covering the establishment, conduct, review and termination of peacekeeping operations, including the extension and change of mandates, as well as for specific operational issues.
- Countries having specific interest in particular agenda item must be invited to participate in consultations before an outcome document on that item is adopted.
- The Council should focus its time and efforts on dealing with issues concerning its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security as mandated by the UN Charter, rather than encroaching upon the mandate of the General Assembly
- Before mandating measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council should ensure that all efforts for the pacific settlement of disputes through measures under Chapter VI have been exhausted. In this regard, the Council must improve its cooperation with regional organisations, particularly the African Union. Such cooperation must be serious and include providing assistance for AU's capacity building as per their requirement.

- The Security Council should ensure that non-permanent members of the Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.

d) The question of the veto:

- The veto should be abolished. So long as it exists, it should be extended to all new members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must enjoy all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The expanded Security Council would be encouraged to, *inter alia*, hold regular consultations with the General Assembly under its President;
- The Council should submit an analytical, substantive and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in its annual report to the General Assembly;
- The Council should submit special reports more frequently to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter

f) Any other related matters:

#### Amendments

Following the elections of the new permanent members, to accordingly amend the Charter of the UN no later than twelve weeks from the adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms,

#### Review

To provide for a review of the implementation of this Resolution.

**Framework Document**  
*For inputs from Member States*

**COMMENTS BY PERMANENT MISSION OF POLAND  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

**April 16, 2015**

Contact persons at the Mission of Poland:

1) Expert on SC reform:

Joanna Honkisz, Political Unit, Second Secretary,  
joanna.honkisz@msz.gov.pl

2) Political Coordinator:

Adam Krzywosadzki, Head of Political Unit, First Secretary,  
adam.krzywosadzki@msz.gov.pl

**Issues of 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.**

A) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of (...) seats
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of (...) seats
- Reform of the UNSC is necessary, since the composition of this body does not reflect the realities of the modern world. In the case of increasing the number of members of the Council we should take into account the (i) aspirations of those countries whose contribution to the work of the Organization is undisputed (ii) financial contributions to the UN budget, as well as and (iii) participation in peacekeeping operations with the UN Security Council mandate.
- Poland supports a reform that would grant an additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group (EEG). Our position stems from the fact that the membership of EEG has increased from 9 to 23 countries, as a result of disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia. It should be however a part of a broader reform of geographical distribution.
- Any new category

B) Regional representation:

•

C) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council - a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council

- We support efforts to improve the **working methods of the Security Council**, aiming to make its actions more transparent. The Security Council should further enhance its cooperation with regional organizations, troop-contributing countries, the UN Secretariat and the entire UN system.

D) The question of veto:

- We are aware of importance of the **principle of the right of veto** of the permanent members of the Council. However, we should also take into account changes in the global international order, taking place right before our eyes. That is why recent 'proposals to reform the right of veto, including the French proposal to adopt a code of conduct in this respect, are interesting and worth discussing.

E) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

•

Any other related matters:



PERMANENT MISSION  
OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF LIECHTENSTEIN  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
NEW YORK

H. E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray  
Permanent Representative of Jamaica  
to the United Nations  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform

New York, 16 April 2014

Excellency,

Further to your letter dated 27 March, I have the honor to transmit to you Liechtenstein's position on the reform of the Security Council in the format of your framework document. It is based large on the established Liechtenstein position, which was also reflected in previous versions of the compilation text. Should you require any clarifications in this regard, please do not hesitate to contact myself or the officer in charge of this file (René Holbach: 212 599 0220 ext. 230, [rene.holbach@nyc.llv.li](mailto:rene.holbach@nyc.llv.li)).

Allow me also to take this opportunity to express to you my personal support and that of my country. We stand ready to support you in your attempt to inject new life into the intergovernmental negotiations.

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

Christian Wenaweser  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative

Enclosure

## Framework Document

### Liechtenstein Input

Issues of 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 Council and the General Assembly.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of five seats
- Non-Permanent members with a two-year term - a total of ten (or more) seats<sup>1</sup>
- New category: Six additional members elected to serve, on a permanent basis, for renewable terms of [8/10] years.<sup>2</sup>

b) Regional representation

- The six additional seats with terms of [eight/ten] years shall be distributed as follows:
  - I. two from African States
  - II. two from Asian States
  - III. one from Latin American and Caribbean States
  - IV. one from Western European and Other States
- As mentioned above, the Liechtenstein Model leaves open the possibility of the creation of additional two-year non-permanent seats in accordance with article 23, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter, and does not specifically address the number or distribution of any such seats.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council - a total of 21 (or more) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

It is understood that the General Assembly will simultaneously decide on a set of measures dealing with the

<sup>1</sup>The Liechtenstein Model, as previously submitted on 26 February 2010, provides flexibility on the creation of additional non-permanent seats.

<sup>2</sup>"On a permanent basis" refers to the fact that Member States could continue to hold these seats as long as they continue to be re-elected.

working methods of an expanded Council. Issues to be addressed include, but are not limited, to the following:

- a. Majority required for decision-making: The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (art. 27 (2) and 27 (3)).
- b. Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies. A thorough review of the working methods is required, in particular on decision-making.
- c. Council Presidency: Ensuring that every member of the Council will continue holding the Presidency at least once during its membership will require a change to the current practice.
- d. Secretariat capacity: Review of the capacities and the resources of the Secretariat required to service an enlarged Council.
- e. Practices and arrangements relating to permanent membership: Review of the privileges enjoyed by the Permanent Members outside the Security Council (e.g. membership in bodies such as ECOSOC and ICJ, practice of distributing senior positions within the UN system).
- f. Alleviating the workload of the Council: Ways to address the workload, e.g. assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions. This would require extending the possibility of voting to subsidiary bodies.
- g. Chairmanships of subsidiary bodies: Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.

d) The question of the veto:

It would be agreed that the question of the veto would be addressed as part of the review outlined under "any other related matters" below.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Any other related matters:

Adoption of the necessary Charter amendments:

The Charter amendments necessary would be annexed to a General Assembly Resolution.

Elections of the new members:

- Elections to fill the six seats shall be held after entry into force of the required Charter amendment and simultaneously with the regular elections of non-permanent members of the Security Council.
- Candidates for seats above shall not be eligible to serve as non-permanent members in accordance with article 23, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter for the following [eight/tan] calendar years.

Review:

[16 / 20] years after the first elections in the new category of seats the General Assembly shall review the situation. The review shall include consideration of the categories of seats, the creation of additional seats of any category, including permanent seats, a review of the question of the veto as well as the implementation of the measures to improve the working methods of the Council.

## LITHUANIA

### Framework Document

#### For inputs from Member States

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]
- [Any new category...]
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]

b) Regional representation:

In the event of Council enlargement, one additional non-permanent seat should be allocated to the EEG. Lithuania supports an enhanced role of African countries in the Council. Any potential enlargement should not diminish the chances of small states to be represented on the Council.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Open debates on geographical issues of specific concern to wider membership.
- Better time management at open debates. All states, both UNSC members and non-members, should observe speaking time limits. Consider establishing a ceiling for briefer numbers (e.g. three) at open debates for better time management.
- Regular review of the work of the sanctions committees, earlier appointment of chairs of subsidiary bodies, public briefings by chairs of sanctions committees, renew the work/establish a working group on sanctions.

<sup>1</sup> (...) denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas [...] is intended for the inclusion of text.

- Timely and meaningful interaction between the Council and TCCs and PCCs.
- More regular, meaningful interaction between the Council and force/police commanders.
- More structured follow-up to the annual UNSC open debate on working methods.
- Briefings to UN member states by penholders or sponsors of UNSC resolutions in the event of fast-paced developments on the ground or in the UNSC.
- More structured dialogue between the Council and the ICC.
- Make better use of interactive dialogues
- Early involvement of all Council members in the drafting of Council resolutions.

d) The question of the veto:

- Permanent members should undertake to abstain from the use of veto in the cases of massive human rights violations, genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. A voluntary code of conduct to this effect would be welcome.
- Consider requiring two negative votes, not one, by permanent members to make veto effective.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Focus annual UNGA debate under agenda item "Report of the Security Council" for more specific outcomes, proposals on improving UNSC-UNGA interaction in addressing various cross-cutting issues.
- Encourage to hold regular consultations with the President of the GA on pertinent SC and GA agenda items.

• Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- Election of Secretary General: make the process more transparent; inclusive, without contesting the UNSC prerogative to this effect. Enable main candidates to present their vision, priorities to the general membership. Have straw polls of general membership on the shortlisted candidates before final decisions are made, to see who would best meet the expectations of member states.

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

**Framework Document**  
For inputs by Member States

**Submission of the Principality of Monaco**

**a) Categories of membership:**

- Permanent members – a total of (...) seats
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of (...) seats

**Monaco supports an enlargement in both categories of membership.**

**b) Regional representation:**

- **Monaco supports the current practice of States' candidature.**

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of (...) seats**

**(ii) Working methods of the Council**

- **Monaco views the process of improving the working methods and the progress already achieved in the practice in this regard as a continuous process.**

**d) The question of the veto:**

- **Monaco supports the proposal of the self-regulation of the use of the veto by the permanent members.**

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

- **Monaco has the same approach in this regard as the one expressed in section c) (ii).**
- **The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly must be undertaken under the auspices of the Charter's provisions.**

**• Any other related matters:**

- [...]

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**Framework Document**

*France*

**Issues of 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.**

**a) Categories of membership:**

- Permanent members
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America, Brazil, Germany, India, Japan, and permanent African representation
  - The form of the election process would depend on the outcome of discussions
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term
  - We support moderate expansion in the number of non-permanent seats

**b) Regional representation:** We do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the UN Charter, which makes clear that admission to the UN is extended to individual states.

- New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members.

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council**

- We support a reformed Security Council whose membership would number somewhere in the mid-20s.

**(ii) Working methods of the Council**

- We believe that this is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and, moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly

**d) The question of the veto:**

- We would not oppose extension of the veto to new permanent members if the candidates to such permanent membership were to pursue such an extension.

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly**

- We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the UN can function as effectively as possible.

*The Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic  
to the United Nations*

*New York, 10*  
Ref.: 1266/2015/USSM1-RG

*Excellency, Dear friend!*

*I have the honour to reply to your letter dated 26 March 2015 in which you requested delegations, in your capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on Security Council reform to complete the framework document providing national positions and proposals. As requested, enclosed please find the submission of the Slovak Republic.*

*Slovakia sees the UN as the main international forum to respond to global challenges. The UN is and stays the cornerstone of the international order, the most effective way of multilateral diplomacy, the appropriate forum where the broadest possible agreement can be achieved and the only establishment that can face global challenges that no other grouping of states (no matter how broad or strong) could handle. There is no alternative to the UN.*

*Slovakia continues to promote the strengthening of the effectiveness of the UN in key areas, such as management, peacekeeping and the financial sustainability of the UN. We support the discussions and processes aimed at making the work of all the UN bodies more effective. This process needs to be inclusive and in dialogue with all the member states with possibility to engage other stakeholders (NGOs, civil society). The UN is the only global organization and its effective functioning should be in the interest of all of us.*

*Slovakia continues to support the reform of the UN System and of its bodies, including the comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council so that it better reflects the needs of the current world and that atrocities like those in Syria will never be repeated.*

*His Excellency*

*Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray*

*Ambassador, Permanent Representative  
of Jamaica to the United Nations*

*Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council reform*

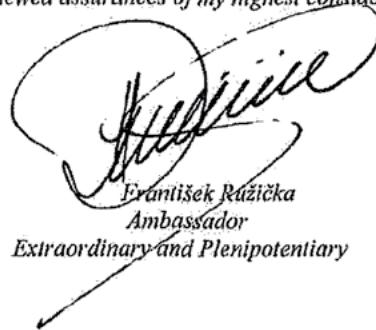
*Permanent Mission of Jamaica  
to the United Nations*

*New York*

*Our position reflects our view at the current deliberations, stemming from the need for more inclusive, consensus building and pragmatic approach that requires concessions from all stakeholders also vis-à-vis previous positions.*

*There is no reason for delays in this process. But given the complexity of the issue and the need for the widest possible consensus the process should not be rushed by setting artificial deadlines.*

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



František Ražička  
Ambassador  
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

**Framework document**  
For inputs from member states  
**SLOVAKIA**

**a) Categories of membership:**

- Permanent members – a total of **10** seats
  - *The People's Republic of China, France, the Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America*
  - *In the event of possible expansion consensual/unanimous endorsement of the regional group + respective decision/acclamation of the UN General Assembly*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of **15** seats
  - *In the event of possible expansion, current rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent members should apply;*
- Any new category – *Slovakia is open for discussion on a new category of membership, provided it does not compromise the effectiveness of the UNSC decision making, creates opportunity (maybe for an interim period) for those Member States that wish to assume higher responsibility; and provides an acceptable platform for regional leading member states to do so if endorsed by the regional group.*
  - *In the event of possible expansion, election process to be decided by the rules of procedure, ideally on principle of regional endorsement.*

**b) Regional representation:**

- *Slovakia is of the opinion that African continent should be better represented in the reformed UNSC, if possible in both categories of membership (or in new one), provided that countries of the African Group express their wish to do so;*
- *Slovakia as well supports the idea, should there be a decision to increase the number of the non-permanent members, that the representation of the EEG should be duly respected and reflected (increase by 1);*
- *If Member States decide to consider the option how to increase inclusivity and equality of Member States by enabling chances of small member states to be elected to the UNSC, Slovakia will support such a motion;*
- *The endgame should inter alia:*
  - *Close the gap between regional groups – improve rotations;*
  - *Increase the presence of Africa in the UN*
  - *Increase the presence of Arab countries,*
  - *Increase the presence of AP group of states*
  - *Increase the presence of EEG countries;*
- *Introduce representation of "small states" (optional).*

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council: a total of **25** seats**

**(ii) Working methods of the Council:**

*Reform of the Security Council working methods by ad hoc innovation in specific cases is a realistic goal. But learning from past innovations and adapting them creatively for new cases are also likely to suffer as a result of rapid rotation of people. Slovakia welcomes the initiatives of Member States (i.e. SS); Among possible ways of improving working methods following suggestions may be considered:*

- a) *improved format of meetings (with predictable and timely communication to the membership at large);*
- b) *further development of more meaningful relationship with international organizations;*
- c) *more effective opportunities for access and participation by actors who are parties to issues before the Council or are specially affected by them;*
- d) *presidency wrap-up debates at the end of term;*
- e) *further improvements in the process for input by the TCCs into decisions related to the design of peacekeeping operations.*

**d) The question of the veto:**

- *Status of the permanent member of the UNSC is both a privilege and a responsibility – including the right of veto. All countries being considered as potential permanent members and countries that have the ambition to be considered should have the ability to carry all the responsibility that comes with UNSC duties and be able to prove in deeds that they do deserve it and are ready to take up this responsibility;*

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

- *Slovakia respects the functions and competencies of the principle UN organs as per the UN Charter and is open to constructive discussions to improve relations among principal organs.*

Australia

**Framework Document**  
*For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of 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.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of **up to 11** seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of **up to 15** seats
- Any increase in permanent membership should be accompanied by an expansion in non-permanent membership

b) Regional representation:

- Appropriate geographic balance across the full membership of the Council
  - To better reflect contemporary geopolitical realities, including greater representation from Asia, Africa and Latin America

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of **21-26** seats

- Important that Council membership remains at a workable size

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Important to continue to improve the transparency and accessibility of the Council, including:
  - Improved consultations with troop and police contributing countries
  - Greater coordination with other UN organs as well as regional and sub-regional organisations

d) The question of the veto:

- Consistent with Australia's historical opposition to the veto, the veto should not be extended to new permanent members
- The initiative on restraint of the use of the veto in situations of mass atrocity deserves close attention and ambitious follow-up, and could be taken forward independently of broader Security Council reforms

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The Security Council should submit a more comprehensive and analytical annual report to the General Assembly
- Any other related matters:

### **Framework Document**

#### **a) Categories of membership:**

Peru favors an increase in the number of members of the Security Council in order to make it more democratic and representative, in particular broadening the participation of countries from Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa.

Peru supports an increase in both categories of members: permanent and non-permanent. The election process of new members should remain as a prerogative of the General Assembly.

Peru is open to the possibility of establishing an intermediate category of members with a long mandate, which could eventually become permanent members. This can be considered as a constructive evolution formula.

#### **b) Regional representation**

The Security Council composition should reflect an equitable regional representation.

#### **c) The size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council**

In order to reflect an equitable regional representation, the reformed Council membership should be enlarged to a number of members in the "mid-twenties"

Methods of work conducive to a more efficient, transparent, democratic and representative Security Council should include more open sessions, an improved system of consultations with troop contributing countries when discussing the mandates of peacekeeping operations, and a greater access for the whole membership to information regarding the work of the Council.

Moreover, the decision-taking process in the Council should be reformulated. Currently, non-procedural decisions require unanimity of the five permanent members, while this requirement can be reduced to the affirmative vote of two of them.

#### **d) The question of veto**

The veto is an exception to the principle of equal sovereignty among States, and it should be progressively eliminated. In the meanwhile, the exercise of the veto should be circumscribed to decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, and its use should be restrained in cases of genocide, crimes against humanity and systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

In the same context, Peru considers that, as a previous step towards the elimination of the veto, in case a permanent member decides to exercise it, its decision must be explained and properly sustained in a public session of the Council.

#### **e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly**

It is fundamental to strengthen the role and authority of the General Assembly as the main body of the Organization. The competence of the General Assembly includes issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security, as stated in article 11 of the United Nations Charter.



TETÁNGUERA NOVÉ  
JOKUPITYRA  
MOCHONAFU  
MINISTERIO DE  
RELACIONES  
EXTERIORES

TETÁ  
REKUÁI  
GOBIERNO NACIONAL  
Jalape Okondiyera Tapó Pyahu  
Governo yendo Justicia En Navea Rumbu

Misión Permanente de la República del Paraguay ante las Naciones Unidas  
Nueva York

MP/UN/NY/MP/N° 76/15

Ref.: Framework Document Security  
Council Reform - Inputs from Paraguay

The PERMANENT MISSION OF PARAGUAY TO THE UNITED NATIONS, presents its compliments to the UNITED NATIONS - PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, and has the honor to refer to the letter of H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica and President of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, dated March 26, 2015.

In this regard, this Permanent Mission is pleased to attach the framework document with the position and proposals of the Republic of Paraguay on this matter.

The PERMANENT MISSION OF PARAGUAY TO THE UNITED NATIONS avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the UNITED NATIONS - PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, the assurances of its highest consideration.

New York, April 17, 2015



301  
2015  
To the  
Permanent Mission Of Jamaica  
To The United Nations  
New York

FO/ms/as

**Framework Document**  
**Inputs from Paraguay**

**a) Categories of membership:**

Paraguay supports the expansion of the Security Council in order to adequately reflect the current composition of the UN membership and the geopolitical realities as well as to represent the interest of all Member States in the maintenance of international peace and security.

- Permanent members – a total of ... seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - Description of an election process for new seats
- Non-permanent member with a two-year term – a total of... seats
  - In the event of possible expansion, the election process should follow current practices.
- *Any new category...*
  - In the event of possible creation of a new category, the election process should follow current practices regarding Non-permanent members.

**b) Regional representation:**

- Paraguay supports the implementation of geographical criteria in order to allow all regions to have an adequate presence within the enlarged Council.

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of ... seats**

**(ii) Working methods of the Council:**

- For the sake of transparency and inclusiveness, the enlarged Council should hold more open meetings, to improve the flow of information and exchange of ideas between members of the Council and other Member States.
- For the sake of accountability, the enlarged Council should submit more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly and should facilitate more interaction with other UN bodies or legal institutions such as the International Criminal Court of Justice, the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Criminal Court.
- The reform of the working methods should ensure participation on an equal footing of Permanent Members and Non-permanent Members within the Security Council.

**d) The question of the veto:**

- Paraguay supports the total elimination of the veto.
- To this end, it is in favor of its progressive elimination.

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

- The enlarged Council is accountable to the General Assembly, since the Council acts on behalf of the wider membership of the UN. Member States have the right and duty to duly know and analyze the work of the Council.
- The relationship between the enlarged Council and the General Assembly must be of collaboration.
- Both organs should work closely together within their respective areas as established in the Charter.

**Any other related matters:**

- **Review clause:** Paraguay supports the inclusion of a “review clause” that will allow Member States to carry out periodic revisions of the decisions made under this process.
- **Time and work schedules:** In order to organize the negotiations, Paraguay supports the idea of setting a reasonable timeframe and work schedule.
- **Decision-making:** Only the decisions made by consensus will have the necessary legitimacy to be implemented; nonetheless, if consensus is not reached, Paraguay considers that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly regarding the vote should be applied.
- **Text for negotiations:** The negotiations must continue with a text. The text must reflect all the positions presented by Member States.

\*\*\*

ПОСТОЙННЕ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВО  
УКРАЇНИ  
ПРИ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ ОБ'ЄДНАНИХ  
НАЦІЙ



Phone : (212) 759 70 03  
Fax : (212) 355 94 55

220 East 51st Street  
New York, N.Y., 10022

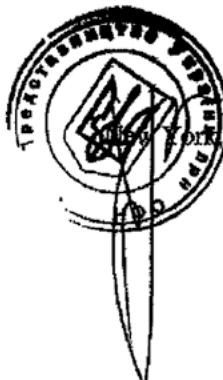
PERMANENT MISSION  
OF UKRAINE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

E-mail: [uno\\_us@mfa.gov.ua](mailto:uno_us@mfa.gov.ua)  
<http://www.un.mfa.gov.ua>

# 4132725-194/014-501

The Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Permanent Mission of the Jamaica to the United Nations and has the honor to submit Ukraine's input to the framework document on the UN Security Council reform in response to the invitation of the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the UN, H.E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray to the Member States to present their positions and proposal on the matter.

The Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Permanent Mission of the Commonwealth of Dominica to the United Nations the assurances of its highest consideration.



**Input from Ukraine**

**Framework Document**

**a) Categories of membership:**

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term.
- *Any increase in the non-permanent membership of the SC should ensure an enhanced representation of the Eastern European Group by the allocation to the said Group of one additional non-permanent seat in the enlarged Council (A/59/723).*

**b) Regional representation:**

- *Any change in the Security Council composition should be based on the existing regional groups.*
- *The reform should envisage increased representation in the Council of developing countries from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.*
- *The Eastern European Regional Group should be provided with one additional non-permanent seat.*

**c) (ii) Working methods of the Council:**

- *To further enhance the transparency, accountability and inclusiveness of the Council's work, with a view to strengthening its effectiveness, through, inter alia:*
  - ❖ *broader consultations and other forms of interaction with non-Council members on a regular basis;*
  - ❖ *meeting, as a general rule, in a public format;*
  - ❖ *frequent, timely and qualitative briefings on the matters discussed in the Security Council and its subsidiary organs in private meetings, including "horizon-scanning" sessions;*
  - ❖ *holding more regular and timely consultations with troop and police contributing countries and other states with particular engagement in UN peace operations, both during elaboration of their mandates and throughout their entire life cycle;*
  - ❖ *making more frequent use of open debates on working methods.*
- *To explore ways of increasing the role of non-permanent members in the Council's proceedings and decision-making.*
- *Continue to improve Council's handling of sanctions regimes, primarily in*

***spelling out concrete conditions for lifting, streamlining listing and delisting procedures, providing for periodic assessment.***

d) The question of the veto:

- ***Member States should aim for phasing out of the veto. As a first step, permanent members of the Security Council should voluntarily and collectively pledge not to use the veto in case of mass atrocities, genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes on a large scale.***
- ***Should the veto be used in other cases, the permanent member resorting to it has to be invited to explain the reason for this action, in particular with regard to its consistency with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and to circulate a copy of the explanation as a Council document.***
- ***The veto should not in any case be used for blocking Council's action in the event of aggression against a UN Member State.***
- ***The permanent members should recommit themselves to the Article 27 (3) of the UN Charter obliging a party to a dispute to abstain from voting.***

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- ***Establishing closer, more frequent and meaningful interaction between the Presidents of the Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and Peacebuilding Commission.***
- ***Security Council's annual reports to the General Assembly shall provide substantive, comprehensive and analytical evaluation of the work of the Council.***
- ***Security Council shall submit, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter.***
- ***To establish closer interaction between the Security Council, in particular its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and the UNGA Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34).***



PERMANENT MISSION OF CUBA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
315 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

New York, 16 April 2015

Excellency,

I have the honor to write to you in your capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation on the Security Council Reform (IGN), and regarding your letter dated March 26, 2015, I would like to attach herewith the inputs of Cuba to the framework document.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Excellency, to renew to you the assurances of my highest and distinguished consideration.



Rodolfo Reyes Rodríguez  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of  
Cuba to the United Nations

## Framework Document

### Inputs from Cuba

Issues of 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.

#### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of ()<sup>1</sup> seats

Cuba favorece la expansión del Consejo de Seguridad tanto en la categoría de miembros permanentes como no permanentes. El objetivo principal de la expansión del Consejo de Seguridad debe ser rectificar la sub-representación de los países en desarrollo. Por tanto, el incremento principal en esa categoría debe corresponder a los países en desarrollo de África, Asia y América Latina y el Caribe. Deben ingresar como nuevos miembros permanentes, como mínimo, dos países de África, dos países en desarrollo de Asia y dos países de América Latina y el Caribe.

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]

El objetivo principal de la expansión del Consejo de Seguridad debe ser rectificar la sub-representación de los países en desarrollo. No puede ser ampliar por ampliar. La ampliación del Consejo no debe ser parcial o selectiva, ni implicar un incremento de los miembros del Consejo que vaya en detrimento de los países en desarrollo. El incremento principal en esa categoría debe ser en el número de países en desarrollo de África, Asia y América Latina y el Caribe en el Consejo. Los nuevos miembros permanentes deben tener exactamente las mismas prerrogativas y derechos que los actuales, incluyendo el voto, sin que se establezcan criterios selectivos o discriminatorios. De no ampliarse la categoría de miembros permanentes y hacerlo solo en el número de puestos no permanentes, se ampliaría aún más la brecha existente entre miembros permanentes y no permanentes; aumentaría la desproporción entre la representación de países desarrollados y países en desarrollo en el Consejo; el Consejo sería aún menos representativo, y por tanto, menos legítimo y efectivo.

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of () seats

<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

Cuba favorece también la ampliación del número de puestos de miembros no permanentes. Los nuevos puestos de miembros no permanentes deben tener exactamente las mismas prerrogativas y derechos que los actuales, sin que se establezcan criterios selectivos o discriminatorios.

El número de puestos de miembros no permanentes con dos años de mandato debe ampliarse a un total de, al menos, 15.

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats.]

[Cuba no se opondría a la reelección inmediata de los miembros no permanentes.]

- [Any new category...]

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats.]

[Cuba no favorece la creación de nuevas categorías o sub-categorías de miembros. Las nuevas categorías incrementarían las diferencias existentes y estimularían la división entre los miembros del Consejo de Seguridad, en lugar de contribuir al mejor funcionamiento del Consejo. Por ejemplo, el ingreso de nuevos miembros permanentes sin poder de voto, equivaldría a crear una nueva categoría, lo cual Cuba no apoya.]

b) Regional representation:

- [La composición actual del Consejo de Seguridad no refleja las realidades geopolíticas y por tanto, necesita ser reequilibrado. Los países en desarrollo están sub-representados en el Consejo. El principal objetivo de la ampliación del Consejo debe ser la rectificación de la insuficiente representación de países en desarrollo de África, Asia y América Latina actualmente en ese órgano. El hecho de que los países en desarrollo no estén representados adecuadamente en el Consejo de Seguridad socava los intereses del Consejo, su autoridad y credibilidad.]

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...no menos de 26) seats. Con esa cifra la proporción entre miembros del Consejo de Seguridad y la de Estados miembros de la ONU al menos se acercaría a la proporción que tenía al ser fundada la Organización.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Es necesaria una reforma urgente y profunda de los métodos de trabajo del Consejo de Seguridad para garantizar que este funcione como un órgano transparente, democrático y representativo.

- La cuestión de los métodos de trabajo está interrelacionada a otras cuestiones, particularmente aquellas relativas a la ampliación del Consejo y al voto. No habrá una verdadera reforma de los métodos de trabajo mientras no se haya ampliado el Consejo en ambas categorías de miembros y los países en desarrollo no estén adecuadamente representados en el mismo.
- El Consejo de Seguridad, como órgano general y conforme a los Artículos 31 y 32 de la Carta, debe realizar reuniones públicas abiertas a todos los Estados miembros de las Naciones Unidas, a fin de asegurar que estas reuniones brinden oportunidades reales para considerar las opiniones y contribuciones de la más amplia membresía de las Naciones Unidas, particularmente los Estados que no son miembros del Consejo cuyos asuntos están siendo discutidos por ese órgano. Las reuniones a puertas cerradas y las consultas oficiales deben celebrarse solo en casos muy excepcionales.
- El Consejo de Seguridad debe llevar a cabo debates sustantivos sobre temas bajo su consideración, abiertos a todos los Estados miembros, de forma oportuna.
- Las sesiones informativas de Enviados Especiales o Representantes del Secretario General y de la Secretaría de las Naciones Unidas deben efectuarse en reuniones públicas, a menos que existan circunstancias excepcionales.
- Cuando un país que no es miembro del Consejo de Seguridad solicita una reunión del órgano, esta debe ser convocada inmediatamente por el Consejo, conforme al Artículo 35 de la Carta.
- Debe formalizarse el reglamento del Consejo de Seguridad, que continúa siendo provisional desde hace casi 70 años, a fin de aumentar la transparencia y nivel de rendición de cuentas.
- El Consejo de Seguridad debe asegurar que sus evaluaciones mensuales sean amplias y analíticas, y que las dé a conocer oportunamente.
- Permitir que el Estado concernido, incluso los que no son miembros del Consejo de Seguridad, participen en las discusiones del Consejo sobre las cuestiones que lo afectan directamente, en correspondencia con el Artículo 31 de la Carta.
- Asegurar que las opiniones de los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas que se obtengan en debates públicos temáticos se reflejen en las correspondientes resoluciones y declaraciones presidenciales que se adopten, en lugar de la práctica actual de adoptar resoluciones y emitir declaraciones presidenciales sin hacer referencia a dichos debates.
- Los órganos subsidiarios del Consejo deben funcionar de modo tal que proporcionen información suficiente y oportuna sobre sus actividades a todos los miembros de las Naciones Unidas.

Garantizar que los países no miembros del Consejo tengan acceso a los órganos subsidiarios, incluyendo el derecho a participar en sus discusiones.

- El orden del día del Consejo de Seguridad debe reflejar las necesidades y los intereses de todos los Estados por igual, de manera objetiva, racional, no selectiva y no arbitraria.
- La imposición de sanciones sólo debe considerarse después que se han agotado todos los medios de solución pacífica de controversias en virtud del Capítulo VI de la Carta y se han considerado, cuidadosamente, los efectos a corto y largo plazo de dichas sanciones. Las sanciones no se aplicarán "preventivamente" en casos de simple violación del derecho internacional o de los principios o normas internacionales.
- El Consejo de Seguridad debe seguir fortaleciendo su relación con la Secretaría de las Naciones Unidas y con los países que aportan contingentes a las operaciones de mantenimiento de paz de la ONU, entre otras cosas, mediante una interacción sostenida, periódica y oportuna. Las reuniones con los países que aportan contingentes deberán celebrarse no sólo cuando se vayan a establecerlos mandatos, sino también durante su ejecución, cuando se analiza un cambio, la renovación o la terminación del mandato de una misión, o cuando se produce un rápido empeoramiento de la situación sobre el terreno.
- No se debe recurrir al capítulo VII de la Carta como marco general para abordar problemas que no representen una amenaza para la paz y la seguridad internacionales. El Consejo debe aplicar cabalmente las disposiciones de la Carta según proceda, incluidos los Capítulos VI y VIII, antes de invocar el Capítulo VII, lo cual deberá ser una medida de último recurso, de ser necesaria. ]

d) The question of the veto:

- [Es necesario eliminar el voto de manera inmediata por resultar un privilegio anacrónico y antidemocrático.
- Mientras se alcanza el objetivo de la eliminación, deben implementarse mecanismos que restrinjan al máximo posible su uso.]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [Es necesario lograr una relación balanceada y eficiente del Consejo de Seguridad y la Asamblea General de Naciones Unidas,

generada en el estricto respeto a las disposiciones de la Carta y en correspondencia con los respectivos mandatos de esos órganos.

- Asimismo, deben respetarse todas las resoluciones de la Asamblea General que aclaran la relación del Consejo de Seguridad con la Asamblea y los órganos principales. En el Artículo 24 de la Carta no se confiere al Consejo de Seguridad la competencia para abordar las cuestiones que corresponden a las funciones y las facultades de la Asamblea General y del Consejo Económico y Social, en especial en las esferas de establecimiento de normas, legislación, asuntos administrativos y presupuestarios y establecimiento de definiciones.
- El Presidente del Consejo de Seguridad y el Presidente de la Asamblea General deben celebrar consultas mensuales de forma regular. En caso de que se produzcan determinadas situaciones, esas consultas deben celebrarse más frecuentemente.
- Es necesario garantizar que el Consejo de Seguridad rinda cuentas debidamente a la Asamblea General de Naciones Unidas. El Consejo de Seguridad debe presentar a la Asamblea General un informe anual amplio y analítico en el que se evalúe la labor del Consejo, incluidos los casos respecto de los cuales el Consejo no haya adoptado decisiones, así como los criterios expresados por sus miembros durante el examen de los temas del orden del día que tuvo ante sí.
- El Consejo de Seguridad, conforme a los Artículos 15(1) y 24(3) de la Carta de Naciones Unidas, debe presentar informes especiales para la consideración de la Asamblea General, los cuales, lamentablemente, nunca han sido presentados.]

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
- [Cuba apoya un proceso de reforma del Consejo de Seguridad basado en un enfoque integral y ampliado, que aborde todas las cuestiones sustantivas relacionadas, entre otras, la cuestión de la membresía, el número de miembros, la representación regional, los métodos de trabajo y el proceso de toma de decisiones, incluido el voto.
- La reforma del Consejo de Seguridad no puede continuar siendo un objetivo pospuesto e ignorado. No puede existir una reforma real de las Naciones Unidas hasta que no se lleve a cabo una verdadera reforma del Consejo de Seguridad.
- Se requieren acciones prácticas urgentes.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement

- Cuba no favorece el establecimiento de plazos artificiales, lo que impide un desarrollo normal del proceso de negociación. Tampoco apoyamos maniobras dilatorias dirigidas a continuar retrasando el logro de resultados concretos. En términos prácticos, ello equivaldría a perpetuar el *status quo* del Consejo de Seguridad. No hacer nada y posponer indefinidamente la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad no es una opción aceptable para Cuba.
- Detener de inmediato la tendencia creciente en el Consejo de Seguridad a la expansión de lo que constituya una amenaza a la paz y la seguridad internacionales.]

## Framework Document

### *Inputs from Cuba*

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of ()<sup>1</sup> seats

Cuba endorses the enlargement of the Security Council in the categories of permanent members and non-permanent members. The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. Therefore, the increase in such categories should mostly stem from developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. At least two developing countries from Africa, two from Asia and two others from Latin America and the Caribbean should enter the Council as new permanent members.

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]

The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. It must not expand by default. The enlargement of the Security Council should not be partial or selective, nor should it imply an increase in the number of members to the detriment of developing countries. The main increase for such categories should be in the number of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. New permanent members should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current permanent members, including the right to veto, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established. If the category of permanent members is not expanded and only the number of non-permanent seats increases, the gap between permanent and non-permanent members will widen, along with the disparity in the representation of developed and developing countries, the Council will become even less representative and consequently, less legitimate or effective.

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of () seats

<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

Likewise, Cuba endorses an enlargement in the number of non-permanent seats. New non-permanent seats should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current non-permanent members, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established.

The number of non-permanent members for a term of two years should increase to 15 at least.

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]

[Cuba would not oppose to immediate reelection of non-permanent members]

- [Any new category...]

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]

[Cuba does not favor the creation of new categories or sub-categories of member States. New categories would intensify current differences and would motivate division among members of the Security Council in lieu of contributing to more effective operation thereof. For instance, the accession of new permanent members without the right to veto would result in a new category, which is not supported by Cuba.]

b) Regional representation:

- [The current composition of the Security Council does not reflect geopolitical realities, for which it needs to be balanced. Developing countries are underrepresented in the Council. The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean in such body. The fact that developing countries are not properly represented in the Security Council undermines its own interests, authority and credibility.]

(i) The size of an enlarged Security Council-a total of (...not less than 26) seats. With this number, the proportion between the members of the Security Council and Member States of the United Nations would approach the proportion there was at the time the Organization was founded.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- *[An urgent and thorough reform of the working methods of the Security Council is necessary in order to ensure that it functions as a transparent, democratic and representative body.*
- *The working methods issue is related to other issues, particularly those concerning the enlargement of the Security Council and the veto. There will not be a true reform of the working methods if the Council is not expanded in both categories and developing countries are not properly represented.*
- *The Security Council, as a general rule and in compliance with articles 31 and 32 of the Charter, should convene public meetings open to all Member States of the United Nations in order to ensure that these meetings provide actual opportunity to bring opinions and contributions of the broadest membership of the United Nations into consideration, in particular, those of the States that are not members of the Council and which issues are discussed by this body. Closed meetings and informal consultations should be held only in exceptional cases.*
- *The Security Council should carry out substantive debates on topics of its own consideration and open to all Member States.*
- *Briefings of Special Envoys or Representatives of the Secretary General and the Secretariat of the United Nations should be carried out in public meetings, unless there are extraordinary circumstances.*
- *When a country that is not member of the Security Council requests a meeting thereof, it should be convened immediately by the Council in pursuance of Article 35 of the Charter.*
- *The Council's rules of procedure should be formalized in order to ensure transparency and accountability, since they have been provisional for over 70 years.*
- *The Security Council should guarantee that its monthly evaluations be broad and analytic and should make them opportune known.*
- *It should allow the concerning State, including those that are not members of the Security Council, participate in the Council's discussions on issues that directly affect them under Article 31 of the Charter.*
- *It should guarantee that the opinions of Member States of the United Nations obtained in thematic public debates be reflected in the adopted relevant resolutions and presidential statements, in lieu of the current practice of adopting resolutions and delivering presidential statements without any reference to such debates.*
- *Subsidiary bodies of the Council should work in such a way that they provide sufficient and opportune information on their activities to all members of the United Nations. It should ensure that non-member states*

have access to subsidiary bodies, including the right to participate in their discussions.

- The Council's agenda should equally reflect all States' needs and interests in an objective, rational, non-selective and non-arbitrary manner.
- Imposing sanctions should only be considered after all means have been exhausted for a pacific solution of disputes in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, and long- and short-term effects of such sanctions have been carefully pondered. Sanctions should not be applied "preventatively" in cases of mere violation of International Law or international principles and standards.
- The Security Council should continue to strengthen its relationship with the Secretariat of the United Nations and the countries that contribute troops to peacekeeping operations, *inter alia*, by means of a sustained, periodic and opportune interaction. Meetings with countries contributing troops should be convened not only when mandates will be established, but also during their implementation, when a change, renewal or completion of a mission's mandate is analyzed, or if a sudden worsening of the situation on the ground occurs.
- Resort to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not pose a threat to international peace and security should be avoided. The Council should fully apply the provisions in the Charter as applicable, including chapters VI and VIII, before referring to Chapter VII, which should be the last option if ever necessary.]

d) The question of the veto:

- [It is indispensable to eliminate the veto immediately for being an anachronistic and undemocratic privilege.
- While its elimination is attained, other mechanisms should be implemented in order to limit its use to the extent possible.]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [It is necessary to attain a balanced and efficient relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, based on strict respect to the provisions of the Charter and in accordance with the respective mandates of these bodies.
- Likewise, all resolutions of the General Assembly that clarify the relationship of the Security Council with the General Assembly and the main bodies should be observed. In Article 24

of the Charter, the Security Council is not provided with competence to address issues which fall within the functions and powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, especially those related to the establishment of standards, legislation, administrative and budgetary matters and setting definitions.

- The President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly should hold monthly consultations in a regular basis. If any specific situation arises, such consultations should be more frequent.
- It is necessary to guarantee the Security Council's accountability to the General Assembly. It should submit to the General Assembly a broad and analytic yearly report, assessing its work and including those cases in which the Council has not reached any decisions, as well as the remarks by its members during the review of the items of its agenda.
- The Security Council should submit special reports for the consideration of the General Assembly under articles 15(1) and 24(3) of the Charter of the United Nations, which have unfortunately never been submitted.]
- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
  - [Cuba endorses a process of reform of the Security Council with a broad and comprehensive approach that addresses all substantive issues including membership, number of members, regional representation, working methods, decision making and the veto.
  - The reform of the Security Council must not be a postponed or ignored goal. A real reform of the United Nations will not be possible without a true reform of the Security Council.
  - Urgent practical actions are a must.
  - Cuba does not endorse the setting of artificial deadlines which only hampers the regular process of negotiation. Nor do we support procrastination tactics aimed at delaying concrete results. In practical terms, that would be equivalent to perpetuating the status quo of the Security Council. Remaining inactive and postponing indefinitely the reform of the Security Council is not an acceptable option for Cuba.
  - The increasing tendency in the Security Council towards expansion of what poses a threat to international peace and security should be stopped.]

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

Framework Document

Inputs by LATVIA

a) Categories of membership:

Security Council membership should be enlarged in both categories – permanent and non-permanent.

b) Regional representation:

The enlargement should ensure equitable geographic distribution of both permanent and non-permanent seats reflecting current political realities. Due to considerable increase of the Eastern European Group (EEG) membership (since 1991 the EEG has more than doubled its membership), any enlargement of the Security Council should ensure an enhanced representation of the EEG by the allocation to the EEG of at least one additional non-permanent seat in the enlarged Security Council.

Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate representation of small and medium size Member States.

c) (ii) Working methods of the Council:

Latvia supports improvement of the Security Council working methods in order to increase transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness of its work, thus, enhancing also its legitimacy and the implementation of its decisions. The Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format open to all Member States of the United Nation and make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues.

The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.

d) The question of the veto:

The discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances should be continued. Proposals made by some Member States on a voluntary code of conduct regulating the use of the veto in cases of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide certainly merit positive consideration.

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

The annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly should provide an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work.



RECEIVED

APR 28 2015

PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

PERMANENT MISSION OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

TEL: (212) 688-1656  
PAX: (212) 688-4924

245 EAST 49TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NY 10017

UN/SC/404

April 22, 2015

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2015 forwarding your talking points and requesting Member States to populate the Framework document which you had disseminated at the intergovernmental negotiations meeting held on 11 and 12 February, 2015.

In view thereof, I am pleased to forward on behalf of the African Union Committee of Ten on United Nations Security Council Reform, inputs of the African Union Member States into the Framework document.

This preliminary input represents the Common African Position on United Nations Security Council reform as contained in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sixte Declaration.

We take note of your letter of 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2015. We also acknowledge with appreciation your reference to the principles that will govern the intergovernmental negotiations.

The African Union Committee of Ten remains available for any clarification or further elaboration of the Common African Position submitted in the attached Framework document. I confirm your Excellency that we will continue to engage in the intergovernmental negotiations in good faith and in the interest of moving the process forward in accordance with decisions 62/567, 63/565 and 64/568.

Please accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Vandi C. Minah  
Permanent Representative  
Coordinator of the AU Committee of Ten  
on United Nations Security Council Reform

H.E. Mr. E. Courtney Rattray  
Ambassador/Permanent Representative  
of Jamaica to the United Nations  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
New York

### Frame work Document

#### Inputs Submitted by the Committee of Ten African States on UN Security Council Reform on Behalf of the African Union Member States

Issues of 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.

a) categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (11) seats; *with no less than two permanent seats for Africa*

- The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
- *[The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election]*

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (*not less than 15*) seats; with a total of 5 non-permanent seats for Africa

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats. .. *The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election*]

- [Any new category. .. ] - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats ... ]

b) Regional representation:

- *[A reform that will ensure Africa's legitimate right to fair and equitable geographical representation in the Security Council: taking into account the principles, objectives and ideals of the UN Charter for a fairer world based on universalism, equity and regional balance within the UN system]*

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (*not less than 26*) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council: · *[Africa favours a more accessible, democratic, representative, accountable, and more effective Security Council responding to the exigencies of the time and accordingly deems it imperative, inter alia:*

1. To increase the number of public meetings, in accordance with articles 31 and 32 of the Charter and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly non-Council members whose affairs are under discussion of the Council;

2. To allow for briefings by the Special envoys or Representatives of the Secretary General and the UN Secretariat to take place in public meetings, unless in exceptional circumstances;
3. To enhance its relationship with the UN Secretariat and troop contributing countries (TCC), including through a sustained, regular and timely interaction. Meetings with TCCs should be held not only in the drawing up of mandates, but also in their implementation, when considering a change in, or renewal of, or completion of a mission mandate, or when there is a rapid deterioration of the situation on the ground. In this context, the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations should involve TCCS more frequently and intensively in its deliberations, especially in the very early stages of mission planning;
4. To uphold the primacy of and respect of the Charter in connection with its functions and powers, and in that regard to desist from the practice of engaging and initiating formal and informal discussions on the situation in any Member state of the United Nations or on any issue that does not constitute a threat to international peace and security, and contrary to the provisions of Article 24 of the Charter;
5. To establish its subsidiary organs in accordance with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter, and that these organs should function in a manner that would provide adequate and timely information on their activities to the general UN membership;
6. To avoid any attempts to use the Security Council to pursue national political agendas and to ensure the necessity of non-selectivity and impartiality in the work of the Council, and the need for the Council to strictly keep within the powers and functions accorded to it by the Member States under the UN Charter;
7. To refrain from resorting to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not necessarily pose a threat to international peace and security, and to fully utilize the provisions of other relevant Chapters, where appropriate, including Chapters VI and Chapter VIII, before invoking Chapter VII which should be a measure of last resort, if necessary;
8. To avoid any recourse to the imposition or prolongation of sanctions or their extensions by the Security Council against any State under the pretext or with the aim of achieving the political objectives of one or a few States, rather than the general interest of the international community;
9. To formalize the Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, which have remained provisional for more than 60 years, in order to improve on its transparency and accountability]

**d) The question of the veto:**

- [Africa strongly believes that the veto should be abolished but so long as it exists, it should be extended to all members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must in this regard enjoy all prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto as a matter of common justice]

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

- [It is Africa's position that the two organs must work closely together within their respective sphere in the search for solutions to the plethora of challenges confronting the international community while seeking to foster harmonious interaction and ensuring cooperative relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly without encroaching on each other's mandates as spelt out in the Charter and to preserve the constitutional balance between them, and further proposes the following *inter alia*:
  1. to address the growing concerns by Member states of the gradual encroachment by the Security Council on and the erosion of the authority and mandate of the General Assembly by fully and speedily implementing the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 51/193, 58/126 and 59/313;
  2. Security Council's submission in keeping with Articles 24(3) of the United Nations Charter, more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly, consisting among other things, of assessment of the work of the Council, views expressed by its members as well as the rationale for taking action on issues before it;
  3. Security Council's submission in accordance with Articles 15 and 24 of the United Nations Charter, special subject-oriented reports to the General Assembly for its consideration and on issues of current international concern;
  4. Ensuring that members are fully informed of the nature and scope of the Security Council's activities not only through full informative press releases, but also by effectively communicating their views on issues of concern taken by Council in its informal consultations. Convening more formal meetings and informal consultations involving the interested parties prior to the adoption of decisions to allow for wider participation;
  5. The provisions of effective and timely flow and exchange of information between the two organs particularly through frequent and regular consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council to review work plans and consult on specific issues of mutual concern. Such meetings can enhance more direct and dynamic exchanges between the two organs;

6. Ensuring that the role and authority of the General Assembly including on questions relating to international peace and security be respected and to also guarantee the unfettered application of Articles 10-14 and 35 of the Charter and where appropriate Rules 7 to 10 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, which enable the General Assembly to take urgent action; all of which provide a strong basis for the General Assembly to assert itself and prevent the erosion of its powers by the Security Council.]

- Any other related matters: · [ ]

1

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<sup>1</sup> The C-10 of the African Union Member States welcome with appreciation the consistent support for and alignment of the L-69 with the Common African Position. The C-10 will continue to be committed to engaging with the L-69 and all like-minded groups with the view to narrowing down on areas of divergence and together create the necessary momentum for decisive progress.

## Framework Document

### *The United Kingdom*

**Issues of 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.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America, Brazil, Germany, India, Japan, and permanent African representation
  - The manner in which new permanent members are chosen would depend on the outcome of discussions about the scope of enlargement
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term
  - We support moderate expansion in the number of non-permanent seats

b) Regional representation: We do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the UN Charter, which makes clear that admission to the UN is extended to individual states.

New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council

- We support an enlarged Security Council to a level that will not negatively impact upon its effectiveness and ability to carry out its responsibilities as set out in the Charter.

(ii) Working methods of the Council

- We believe that this is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly

d) The question of the veto:

- There should be no expansion of the veto to new permanent members.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

- We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the UN can function as effectively as possible.

REPUBLICA DE CHILE  
MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES  
MISION PERMANENTE ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

No. 183 / 2015

The Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica, and has the honour to refer to the letter conveying the Framework Document for inputs from Member States within the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform.

Chile appreciates the efforts to revitalize the reform process of the Security Council, currently under your Chairmanship. In this regard, Chile is in favor of increasing the membership in the Security Council in its two categories, Permanent and Non-permanent, and supports in this regard regional representation, although determining exact numbers at this stage might limit States' negotiation ability.

Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly, supporting and encouraging greater transparency in the working methods of the Security Council, without extending the use of the veto to any new permanent member of an enlarged Security Council.

The Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation on Security Council reform the assurances of its highest consideration.

New York, 16 April 2015



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To

H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
On Security Council Reform  
United Nations  
New York

Framework Document  
As Populated by Member States

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...) seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[Chile supports an increase in the Permanent members of the Security Council but consider that at this point, establishing exact numbers or procedures might limit States' negotiation ability. Chile remains flexible on the number of new seats.]*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - *[Chile supports an increase in the Non-Permanent members of the Security Council. Determining exact numbers or procedures might limit States' negotiation ability. Chile remains flexible on the number of new seats.]*
- [Any new category...]
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*

b) Regional representation:

- *[Chile supports the regional representation on an enlarge Security Council with the goal of promoting consensus within the General Assembly.]*

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- *[Chile supports and encourages greater transparency in the working methods of the Security Council and maintains a flexible position with the goal of promoting consensus regarding different initiatives on this matter]*

d) The question of the veto:

- [Chile does not support the extension of the veto to the new members of an enlarged Security Council]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly]

• Any other related matters:

- [Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly]



PHÁI ĐOÀN THƯỜNG TRỰC  
CỘNG HÒA XÃ HỘI CHỦ NGHĨA VIỆT NAM  
TẠI LIÊN HỢP QUỐC

PERMANENT MISSION  
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

866 U.N. Plaza, 4th Floor, Suite 435  
New York, N.Y. 10017  
(212) 644-0594. (212) 644-0831  
(212) 644-2535. (212) 644-1564  
Fax (212) 644-5732

No: 117/HC-2015

The Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform and, with reference to the latter's letter dated 26 March 2015 requesting Member States to populate the framework document on Security Council Reform, has the honour to advise that Viet Nam supports the reform of the Security Council to ensure its representativeness, democracy, transparency and effectiveness, so that the Council can better fulfill its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Mission of Viet Nam has the further honor to attach herewith the Government of Viet Nam's response on the issues detailed in the above-mentioned letter of the Chair.

The Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform the assurances of its highest consideration.

New York, 21 April 2015



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Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform  
New York

**ANNEX**  
**Framework Document**  
*Viet Nam's inputs*

a) Categories of membership:

- The Security Council should be expanded in both categories of permanent and non-permanent members with a view to ensuring democracy, representativeness and effectiveness of the Council and the adequate representation of developing countries in both categories, commensurate with their proportion in the membership of the United Nations.

b) Regional representation:

- Additional members of the enlarged Council, including permanent and non-permanent seats, should be allocated in such a manner that would ensure equitable representation in the Council.
- Increase in the membership of the Council for each region should correspond to their respective proportion in the membership of the United Nations.

c) i) Size of the Council:

- The Size of the Council should ensure the aforementioned criteria for categories of membership and regional representation.

ii) Working methods of the Council:

- The working methods of the Council should be amended so as to ensure increased democracy, transparency, and effectiveness.
- Consultations between Council and non-Council members should be strengthened.
- The Council should conduct more public meetings, and the practice of holding closed meetings should be restricted.
- Non-Council members should be given access to the work of the Council, including its documentation and records.
- Consultation with and participation of Troop Contributing Countries in the work of the Council related to United Nations peacekeeping missions should be enhanced and institutionalised.
- The work of the Council should prioritise the utilization of Chapter VI measures to promote peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter.
- The Council should intensify cooperation and coordination with regional organizations in addressing issues related to the concerned organizations.

d) The question of the veto:

- The use of the veto should be restricted to only measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The Security Council should further its relationship with the General Assembly, the major organ with the participation of the entire membership of the United Nations, via increased consultations and reporting, especially on matters related to the majority of UN Member States.
- The Council, through its President, should report more regularly to the General Assembly.
- Participation in the preparation of documents and reports of the Council, including its annual reports, should be more open and accessible to non-Council members.

## Framework Document

*Submission by the following Member states of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM):*

*Bahamas*

*Barbados*

*Belize*

*Grenada*

*Guyana*

*Haiti*

*Jamaica*

*Saint Kitts and Nevis*

*Saint Lucia*

*Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*

*Suriname*

*Trinidad and Tobago*

**Issues of 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.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (Please see point 1 under any other related matters) seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats Election by the General Assembly by a vote of no less than two third of the Members of the General Assembly with due consideration to the requirements of Article 23 (1)]
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (Please see point 1 under any other related matters) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats Election process for non-permanent seats remain unchanged]
- [Any new category: One rotating seat for Small Island Developing States across all regions]

<sup>1</sup> “(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas “[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

– [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats. Same as currently obtains for non-permanent seats]

b) Regional representation:

- [Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Africa]
- Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Asia
- Expansion in non-permanent category for Eastern European
- Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for GRULAC
- Expansion in permanent category for WEOG
- One rotating seat for Small Island Developing States across all regions]

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (Please see point 1 under any other related matters ) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- [The Security Council should formalize its provisional rules of procedure as well as measures to improve transparency and increase the involvement of non-members in its work as appropriate and to enhance the Council's accountability.
- Each member of the Council should hold the presidency at least once during its membership.]

d) The question of the veto:

[Support abolition of the veto. However, in event of its retention, new permanent members should also have right to veto. There should be no distinction between permanent members.

➤

- While the veto is in existence, efforts must be made to limit its use to Chapter VII and also in the instance of the most serious crimes of international concern, crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide, etc.]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [In the Council reports to the General Assembly, both annual and special reports as provided for in article 15 and 24, the Council should give an account of its stewardship in regard to the prerogatives it exercises on behalf of Member States.
- More analytical and special reports as necessary.
- Permanent members should explain non concurrent votes to the wider UN membership.
- Elected members should be enabled to play a more active and effective role in the decision making process of the Council.
- The relationship between the Security Council and General Assembly should be characterized by cooperation and mutual support with full respect for their respective mandates. The Security Council should concentrate on areas within its mandate and avoid encroachment on matters which fall under the purview of the General Assembly.
- The General Assembly should be strengthened in its role as the chief deliberative, policy making and representative organ of the United Nations.
- In instances where open debates are held on issues being considered by the Council where non-members are invited

to participate it may be apposite for Council members to consider giving a hearing to the views of those invited members of the wider membership before themselves pronouncing on the issue being addressed.]

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
  1. [ The Member States listed above reserve their position on the additional and total numbers in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of a reformed Council.
  2. Any decision taken on reform should have the widest possible support of member states and at the very least, be in keeping with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 53/30.
  3. There should be a review of the decisions taken to reform the Security Council. Such a review should take place within a specified time maybe 10-15 years of any decision taken and ratified on reform.]

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



PERMANENT MISSION OF HUNGARY  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
NEW YORK

RECEIVED

APR 30 2015

PERMANENT MISSION OF HUNGARY  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

No. 64/2015/HUPM/NEW

New York, 28 April, 2015

H.E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
Permanent Representative of Jamaica  
to the United Nations  
New York

Excellency,

Regarding to Your letter dated 26 March, 2015 please find attached the framework document with the position and proposals of the Government of Hungary on the reform of the Security Council.

I would like to reiterate the commitment of Hungary to the Security Council reform, and building on our excellent relationship I look forward to our continued cooperation.

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

Encl.: Framework document

Yours sincerely,

Katalin Bogolyubova  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative



## Framework Document

### For inputs from Member States

Issues of 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.

#### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – not more than (11)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]
- Hungary supports the possible expansion of the permanent membership of the Security Council which shall be guided by the principle of equitable geographical representation, and shall reflect the political and socio-economic changes that took place during the last half century.
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – not more than (16) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]
- Hungary supports the enlargement of the non-permanent membership of the Council in order to provide more opportunity to regional and sub-regional groups to be represented continuously in the Council.
- Current election system is efficient.
- [Any new category...]
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]
- Should it find consensus, Hungary does not exclude an interim solution, where a new category of seats is created for longer periods than two years that can also be immediately renewable.

#### b) Regional representation:

- The enlargement of the Security Council shall be guided by the principles of Article 23. of the Charter, based on the equitable geographical representation of the regional groups.
- Hungary requests a second non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group.

<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

- Hungary does not reject, *a priori*, other supplementary models based on other criteria. If other categories are accepted the necessary adjustments in regional representation has to be carried out.

- c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of not more than (27) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Charter amendment has to be part of the package (Article 27 and 28 to 32).
- Will be defined by Charter amendments (Voting procedure) and the new Rules of Procedure.
- The new Rules of Procedure will have to be adopted by the Security Council and by the entry into force of the Charter amendments.

Concrete measures to be taken:

- The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (Article 27.)
- Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies is required on decision-making.
- Ways to address the workload of the Council, assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions.
- Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.

d) The question of the veto:

- Hungary supports all initiatives facilitating timely and decisive action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending mass atrocities, including those calling for voluntarily agreeing to refrain from using the veto.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Hungary supports measures which strengthen the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.
- Concrete measure could be the submission of an analytical annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

• Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- In order to facilitate the expected outcome (GA resolution), already at the beginning of the process we

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

should make a distinction between those measures which need the amendment of the Charter and those recommendations or proposals that do not require such action.

- In our view the zero draft of the General Assembly resolution should consist of two chapters:
  - The first chapter should contain the Charter amendments.
  - The second chapter should consist of the decision of the GA (eg. on relationship of SC and GA) and the recommendations for the Security Council (eg. Rules of Procedure).

## Framework Document

### Joint input by Belgium and Luxembourg

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of 11 seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - Election by the General Assembly of 6 new permanent members: 2 from Africa, 2 from Asia, 1 from GRULAC, 1 from WEOG
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of 14/15 seats: 4/5 from Africa, 3 from Asia, 2 from EEG, 3 from GRULAC, 2 from WEOG
  - In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from 15 to maximum 25/26, 2 of the 4/5 additional non-permanent members shall be chosen for a term of one year.

b) Regional representation:

- Any enlargement of the Security Council should take into account the concerns of small and medium-sized Member States, including the Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium-sized Member States on the Security Council.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of maximum 25/26 seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- The working methods of an enlarged Security Council need to be improved in order to strengthen transparency, accountability, legitimacy and to enhance the effectiveness of the Council's decisions. Provisions should inter alia be made to ensure that non-permanent members of the Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their two-year membership. More generally, an enlarged Council should not make it more difficult for non-permanent members to contribute actively to the work of the Council.

d) The question of the veto:

- An extension of the veto right to new permanent members would have a negative impact on the efficiency of the Security Council. New permanent members should not exercise their veto right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held 15 years after the entry into force of the amendments to the Charter.
- We support the French proposal of a code of conduct for the voluntary limitation of the use of the veto right in situations involving mass atrocity crimes. More generally, all Member States should commit to support timely action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Even an enlarged Council cannot reflect in its composition the universality of the General Assembly. It is therefore important to further strengthen the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly, including by making better use of annual and, when necessary, special reports submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly for its consideration, in accordance with article 24.3 of the Charter. The annual reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be both comprehensive and analytical in nature, so as to allow all Member States to assess how the Security Council has discharged the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which Member States have conferred on the Security Council. This would enhance the accountability and the transparency of the work of the Council.

• Any other related matters:

- The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed 15 years after their entry into force.

**Framework Document**  
*For inputs from Member States*

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- The Kingdom of the Netherlands is looking for common ground with regards to categories of membership. It is open to considering both an increase in permanent members and non-permanent members as well as intermediate solutions.

a) Regional representation:

- In particular the African Group should be better represented in a reformed Security Council.

b) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council

- The Security Council should be expanded in order to make it more broadly representative. At the same time, expansion of the UN Security Council should not hamper its effectiveness.
- Small and medium sized countries should continue to be adequately represented in the Council.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Expansion of the Security Council should not lead to a weakening of the position of non-permanent members.
- The Council should actively involve the countries it is discussing, as well as TCC's and PCC's involved.
- The Council should seek more transparency and involve non-members where possible (wrap-up sessions, open briefings).
- A forward looking approach should be fostered: the option of regular horizon scannings by the UNSG to the UNSC should be actively pursued
- The UN Security Council should make more use of the tools from Chapter VI of the Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes.

d) The question of the veto:

- In our reform efforts we should aim to minimize the use of the veto. We support the French initiative that aims to regulate the use of the veto.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The Security Council -also when enlarged- by nature does not have the universal composition of the General Assembly. In those instances where both the Council and the General Assembly

have a formal role to play, such as in the election of a Secretary-General, both organs should be able to play their role.

- Any other related matters<sup>1</sup>:
  - The Kingdom of the Netherlands is willing to start negotiations on Security Council reform on the basis of any text proposal, which is broadly supported in the UN General Assembly.

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<sup>1</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

5 May 2015

Excellency,

Refer to my letter dated 5<sup>th</sup> May on the same subject, I have the pleasure to forward to you, another letter dated 4 May, 2015 from H.E Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations and Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the Security Council reform forwarding positions of some Member States which were not submitted in the format of the Framework Document for consideration.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Sam Kutesa".

Sam K. Kutesa

PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS



767 THIRD AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017  
\*TELEPHONE (212) 935-7509  
FAX (212) 935-7607

OUR REF. NO.

YOUR REF. NO.

4<sup>th</sup> May, 2015

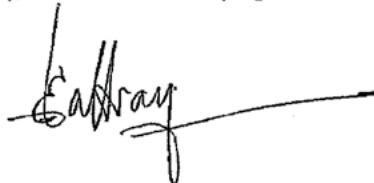
Excellency,

Further to my previous communication dated 4<sup>th</sup> May 2015, please find attached six letters conveying positions on Security Council reform received from Member States.

These positions were not submitted in the format of the framework document and in line with the requests of these delegations they have not been included. Instead, in the interest of an inclusive and transparent process, they are being provided herewith for consideration.

I would be grateful if you would undertake to have these letters circulated among the membership.

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



E. Courtenay Rattray  
Ambassador/Permanent Representative  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council reform

H.E. Mr. Sam K. Kutesa  
President of the 69<sup>th</sup> Session  
of the General Assembly  
United Nations, New York

## 中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团

### PERMANENT MISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

350 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

TEL.: (212) 655-6100

April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015

Your Excellency,

With reference to the informal briefing session of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform on March 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015 and your letter dated that day, I would like to reiterate China's position on Security Council reform and make the following points regarding the framework document and the broad approach contained in your letter.

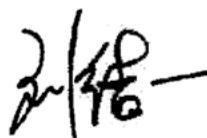
According to decision 62/557 adopted by the General Assembly as well as the consensus of Member States, the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform should be driven by Member States, and the positions of Member States should form the basis of the Negotiations. However, these principles and consensus are not reflected in your framework document and the broad approach.

Security Council reform bears on the common interests of all Member States and the long-term interests of the United Nations. Any solution or reform model should enjoy general agreement among Member States. The five clusters of key issues concerning Security Council reform are interrelated. The position of Member States on these key issues embodies intrinsic and logical interconnections between these key issues. Hence such position should not be disintegrated nor should its integrity be compromised. Without the mandate or consent from Member States, the positions of Member States should not be simplified, nor the options for Negotiations be reduced, otherwise the very basis for the Negotiations would be altered.

China has taken an active and constructive part in the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform. We expect the Chair of this mechanism to earnestly uphold the membership-driven principle and to work in an open, inclusive and transparent manner. The position of China on Security Council reform has been reflected in the Rev.2 Document, a compilation of positions of Member States submitted by the former Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform.

Based on the above position, China will not populate the framework document you have disseminated. I herewith enclose the Position of China on the Security Council Reform. It is expected that this position be fully respected in its entirety and not disintegrated in any way.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "2/10 -".

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations

(Translation)

## Position of China on the Security Council Reform

China firmly supports necessary and reasonable reform of the Security Council to enhance its authority and efficiency, strengthen its capacity to respond to global threats and challenges, and enable it to better discharge its responsibilities entrusted by the *Charter of the United Nations*. Security Council reform is multifaceted, covering not only issues such as enlarging the Council's membership and strengthening representation, but also increasing efficiency and improving working methods. Security Council reform should give top priority to increasing the representation of developing countries, especially that of African countries. The reform should enable more countries, the small and medium sized countries in particular, gain more opportunities to take turns to serve in the Security Council and participate in its decision making process.

Member States are still seriously divided on the Security Council reform. No general agreement has been reached on any solution so far. Member states still need to engage in patient consultations to find a solution that accommodates each other's interests and concerns.

New seats of the Security Council should be reasonably distributed. The principle of geographic balance should be adhered to, with representation of different civilizations and cultures taken into

of coordination and cooperation between the General Assembly and the Security Council. The *Charter of the United Nations* has clearly defined the functions and powers of the General Assembly and the Security Council. These two principal organs should discharge their respective responsibilities mandated by the *Charter of the United Nations* and complement each other.

Security Council reform bears on the common interests of all Member States and the long-term interests of the United Nations. Any solution or reform model should enjoy general agreement among Member States. The five clusters of key issues concerning Security Council reform are interrelated, and should not be addressed in isolation of each other. It is imperative to stick to the approach of a package solution. The “piecemeal” or “step-by-step” approach is not conducive to accommodating the interests and concerns of Member States. Security Council reform should not be carried out at the expense of the unity of Member States. All member States should remain committed to the intergovernmental negotiations process, adopt a flexible and pragmatic attitude, gradually build mutual trust and meet each other halfway. No solution on which Member States are seriously divided or approach that may cause division among Member States will have China’s Support.

Постоянный представитель  
Российской Федерации  
при Организации  
Объединенных Наций

Phone: (212) 861 4900  
Fax: (212) 628 0252



Permanent Representative  
of the Russian Federation  
to the United Nations

136 East 67<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, NY 10065

№ 1264

Нью-Йорк, 14 апреля 2015 г.

Ваше Превосходительство,

В соответствии с Вашей просьбой, озвученной на неформальной встрече по реформе СБ ООН 26 марта, представляю позицию России по ключевым аспектам этого вопроса, которые, как мы считаем, неразрывно взаимосвязаны и не могут рассматриваться по отдельности.

Реформа СБ – один из наиболее важных вопросов в повестке дня Всемирной организации. В условиях, когда позиции основных групп государств – тех, что поддерживают идею расширения Совета в обеих категориях, и тех, кто ее не поддерживает, – остаются диаметрально противоположными, продвинуться в процессе переговоров можно только путем поиска компромисса. В этой связи мы готовы рассмотреть любой разумный вариант расширения СБ, включая так называемую «промежуточную модель», которая по сути является компромиссной моделью, при условии, что данная опция получит максимально широкую поддержку в ООН.

Его Превосходительству  
г-ну Кортни Раттрею  
Постоянному представителю Ямайки при ООН  
Координатору межправительственных переговоров  
по реформе СБ ООН

г.Нью-Йорк

Россия поддерживает более широкое представительство развивающихся стран из Африки, Азии и Латинской Америки в реформированном СБ.

Считаем важным сохранять компактный характер СБ, с тем, чтобы он мог адекватно и быстро реагировать на новые вызовы. Поэтому количество членов в расширенном Совете не должно превышать разумный уровень «чуть более двадцати».

Совершенствование рабочих методов СБ должно осуществляться в транспарентном ключе через существующие механизмы, включая неформальную рабочую группу Совета по документации и другим процедурным вопросам, при должном внимании к конструктивным идеям государств-членов ООН. Вместе с тем, лидирующая роль в этом процессе должна принадлежать самому Совету Безопасности как единственному легитимному «владельцу» собственных рабочих методов.

Прерогативы нынешних постоянных членов СБ ООН, включая использование права вето, должны остаться неизменными при любом варианте реформы.

Межправительственные переговоры по реформе СБ должны осуществляться в спокойной, транспарентной и инклюзивной атмосфере, без искусственных ограничений по времени. Даже если консенсус по этому вопросу будет невозможен, в любом случае политически важно гарантировать поддержку подавляющего большинства государств-членов – значительного большего, чем юридически необходимые две трети голосов в ГА.

Примите, Ваше Превосходительство, уверения в моем весьма высоком уважении.



В.Чуркин

Courtesy translation

Excellency,

Pursuant to your request made at the informal meeting on the Security Council reform on March 26, 2015 I have the honour to provide herewith Russia's position on key aspects of this issue, which we believe are inextricably interlinked and cannot be considered separately.

The reform of the UN Security Council is one of the most important issues on the agenda of this world organization. In the situation when positions of the main groups of states – those who support the idea of the UN Security Council's expansion in both categories and those who do not – remain polar, one can advance in the negotiating process only by searching for a compromise. In these circumstances we are prepared to consider any reasonable option of expanding the Security Council including the so-called "intermediate solution", which is actually a compromise solution, provided that this option enjoys the widest possible consent at the UN.

Russia supports broader representation of the developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America on the reformed Security Council.

It is important to maintain compact composition of the Security Council in order for it to provide an adequate and prompt reaction to new challenges. The number of members in an enlarged Security Council should not exceed a reasonable level of low twenties.

Improvement of the working methods of the Security Council should be done in a transparent way through existing mechanisms, including the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions, with a due consideration of constructive ideas of Member States. However, the leading role in this process should belong to the Security Council itself as the only legitimate master of its own procedures and working methods.

The prerogatives of the current Permanent Members of the Security Council, including the use of veto, should remain intact under any variant of the Council reform.

The intergovernmental negotiations on the UN Security Council reform should proceed in a calm, transparent and inclusive atmosphere free from artificial deadlines. If a consensus on this issue is not possible to achieve, then in any case it will be politically necessary to secure the support by the overwhelming majority of the Member States – a substantially greater number than the legally required two thirds of votes at the General Assembly.

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



APR 16 2015

**Lao People's Democratic Republic  
Peace Independence Democracy Unity Prosperity**

Permanent Mission of the Lao  
People's Democratic Republic  
to the United Nations

**Fax Cover**

**To: H.E Courtenay Rattay, Ambassador/Permanent Representative of Jamaica to UN,  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Reform**

**From: Permanent Mission of Lao PDR to UN**

**Pages including cover: 3**

**Date: April 16, 2015**

Lao People's Democratic Republic is of the view that the UN has played a crucial role in maintaining international peace and security and promoting the socio-economic advancement of member States for seven decades. Yet, as the global situation evolves ever more complex and unpredictable, the UN increasingly needs more robust and effective institutions. As such, United Nations need to be reformed. In our opinion, the UN reform must be comprehensive, transparent, inclusive and balanced and pursued in an effective and accountable manner. Among other reforms, we must also reform the Security Council, so that it can be a more democratic and representative organ, by expanding both the permanent and non permanent membership of the Council, taking into account interest of both developing and developed member States of the United Nations, in order that it will be able to better preserve and promote international peace and security. ~

**Framework Document**  
**For inputs from Member States**

Issues of 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.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats..]
- [Any new category..]
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]

b) Regional representation:

- [...]

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- [...]

d) The question of the veto:

- [...]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [...]

• Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- [...]

<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS

April 16, 2015

Dear Ambassador Rattray:

Thank you for your commitment to advancing a member-state driven process to seek broad consensus on Security Council reform through an open, inclusive, and transparent approach, under the 62/557 framework. I appreciated the opportunity member states had to participate in the briefings that you convened on February 11 and March 26, and welcome continuing discussions with you and fellow member states at the IGN.

The United States would like to furnish the following points in response to your March 26 request for input on our views on Security Council reform:

- The United States is open in principle to a modest expansion of both permanent and non-permanent members, though any consideration of an expansion of permanent members must take into account the ability and willingness of countries to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and to the other purposes of the United Nations. We believe that consideration of new permanent members must be country-specific in nature. We remain opposed to any alteration or expansion of the veto.
- The United States is committed to continued engagement with other UN member states on Security Council reform, and we believe that the IGN is the most appropriate forum for these discussions. It is critical that any reform proposal enjoy broad consensus among member states. Though we believe that the Council should deepen its exploration of how its working methods can be made more inclusive and transparent, the Charter is clear that the Security Council must remain the master of its own rules and procedures.

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

Sincerely,

Samantha Power  
Ambassador

Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Chairman  
Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security  
Council Reform.  
767 Third Avenue  
New York, NY, 10017.

Excellency,

With reference to the letter of the President of the General Assembly dated 27 March 2015, circulating your letter and its annexes ("Framework Paper" and speaking points), wherein you have requested providing you with the positions of Member States on the question of Security Council reform in respect of the five Key issues of the reform.

In this regard, I am pleased to write to Your Excellency on behalf of the Arab Group, and would like to indicate the following:

The Arab Group reaffirms that the Intergovernmental Negotiations is the only forum for reaching an agreement on the expansion of membership and reform of the Security Council, in accordance to General Assembly Decision 62/557, establishing the basis of the negotiations, and affirming its ownership by member states. This is in addition to the importance of the interconnectedness of all substantive issues of the negotiations, and their having common elements. This proves the futility of seeking partial solutions, and stresses the essentiality of reaching a comprehensive solution for the reform of the Security Council, according to General Assembly Decision 62/557, that shall enjoy the widest political acceptance, in order to preserve the unity of the general membership of the Organization.

The Arab Group also wishes to emphasize that the Intergovernmental Negotiations is based on positions and proposals by the Member States, as stipulated by General Assembly decision 62/557, which was unanimously adopted. Therefore, any streamlining of the positions and proposals of the Member States concerning the expansion of the membership and the reform of the Security Council should be agreed upon by all the states and groups that presented the proposals.

There is a need to reach an agreement first, concerning the principles and criteria that will govern the negotiations relating to the five issues stipulated by General Assembly Decision 62/557, before embarking on any drafting process that entails the merging of positions and proposals of Member States, with a view to achieve the highest level of clarity concerning the procedural issues before moving along to the following phase of substantive aspects.

Hence, the position of the Arab Group is the same, as listed in the compiled negotiating text (Rev.2), demanding a permanent Arab representation in any future expansion of the permanent seats category in the Security Council.

The Arab Group also stresses the importance of taking into account the appropriate representation of all geographic and regional groups in the Security Council. Here we would like to point out that the Arab Group represent a population of about 350 million people, and comprises 22 Member States, equivalent to 12% of the entire UN membership, and despite of this, the Arab Group is not represented in the category of states with permanent seats in the Council. Therefore, we would like to emphasize that the size of an enlarged Security Council need to have the geographic and regional groups appropriately represented in both categories of its membership.

Since, enhancing and developing the working methods and procedures of the Security Council, to bring about greater effectiveness and transparency in its work, has become necessary. Therefore, agreeing on permanent rules of procedure, instead of the provisional ones, that has been used for decades, must be considered, as well as, increasing the number of sessions the Security Council holds, that are open to all Member States. Furthermore, a role must be found for concerned states in the process of decision making on issues of concern addressed by the Council. Such sessions should provide genuine opportunities for the participation of the general membership in the ongoing debates of the Security Council. The number of closed sessions and consultations must be reduced to a minimum level, thus, holding such sessions become extraordinary. The resolutions and statements under discussion by the Security Council, must also become available to, and consulted with the concerned states, in addition to the participation of those states in the discussion of issues in the Security Council that concern them, in accordance with Article 31 of the UN Charter.

The arbitrariness in the use of the veto right, by the five permanent members of the Council, has contributed in many cases to undermining the credibility of the decision-making process in the Council. It also led in some cases, to paralyzing and preventing the Security Council from discharging its

**primary responsibilities, in taking appropriate measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. The use of the veto by the permanent members over the past years, has reflected the keenness of these states to use the veto right to defend their own narrow national interests or the interests of their allies.**

**The Arab Group also affirms the need to deal with the veto right issue from a comprehensive perspective, that includes all the key issues, according to General Assembly Decision 62/557, and the need for this issue to remain part and parcel of the Intergovernmental Negotiations.**

**As a main UN body, the General Assembly undertakes multiple and important roles at all levels, including providing recommendations to the Security Council on matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, according to Article 11 of the Charter. Therefore, the question of Security Council reform should addressed within a comprehensive vision, that aims to continue the reform process of all United Nations bodies, and aspire to bring about further integration and equilibrium to the work of the Organization, and the need to focus on the relationship between the Security Council and other UN bodies, such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, without encroaching on their purviews, and ascertain that the role of the Security Council is limited to performing the tasks assigned to its by the Charter of the United Nations, which is the maintenance of international peace and security.**

**H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray**

**Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the UN**

**Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform**



PERMANENT MISSION OF ITALY TO THE UNITED NATIONS

One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza  
885 Second Avenue  
New York, NY 10017  
Tel: + 646 840 5388  
Fax: + 212 486 1036

*"Uniting for Consensus"*

New York, May 1, 2015

Excellency,

On behalf of the Uniting for Consensus Group, I wish to thank you for your letter dated April 14, 2015, which, *inter alia*, includes some clarifications of the questions raised by the UfC in its letter of April 10, 2015. While the UfC appreciates your prompt response, we continue to be concerned about both the "framework document" and the process envisaged.

With regard to the choice of the document that should form the basis for text-based negotiations, we believe that the authority to deem which text is suitable or practical rests solely with Member States. In this regard, we reiterate our preference for Rev-2, which is the only text that until now enjoys consensus as a starting point for negotiations. We must not be deterred by the complexity or the dense nature of documents when the results we aim to achieve are as significant as the reform of the Security Council.

Likewise, in our view, there is no ambiguity that "executive authority" in the negotiating process rests with Member States. Decision 62/557 clearly establishes the membership-driven nature of the negotiations, both in terms of process and content of reform. In addition to being informed that every phase of the process will be marked by intensive consultations, we would have liked to be reassured that Decision 62/557 would be implemented both in letter and spirit. We reiterate our call for full transparency around such authority, or "operational flexibility", which remains a source of concern for the UfC group.

---

H.E. Ambassador E. Courtenay Rattray  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform  
The United Nations  
New York

Copy:

- H.E. Mr. Sam Kutesa
- President of the 69th Session of the General Assembly
- All Permanent Missions to the United Nations

Furthermore, and as many delegations including the UfC have pointed out, it is imperative to build convergence amongst Member States on the basic principles and criteria of reform. Recognizing that nuances and differences amongst positions of Member States persist, the UfC believes that at this key juncture in the process our efforts should be directed toward developing common understandings and shared approaches that will serve to narrow rather than widen the gap within the membership.

The UfC has always engaged constructively in the Inter-Governmental Negotiations on Security Council reform on the basis of Decision n. 62/557. Our consecutive proposals of 2005 and 2010 underscore our efforts to move the process forward, as well as the flexibility and compromise for which the UfC stands and expects from the rest of the membership. The UfC has also shared innovative ideas on Security Council reform in order to build convergence amongst different views. In 2014 we decided to include in our common position a new category of membership, based on longer term non-permanent seats, with the possibility of an immediate re-election, to allow for fair and equitable representation. At the same time, we continue to support an increase in the number of two-year non-permanent seats, for a Security Council of up to 26 Member States.

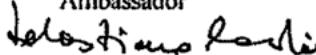
Any reform of the Security Council should aim to establish a more effective, representative, accountable, transparent and democratic Council. The UfC believes that an expansion limited to elected seats is the only way to achieve it. Elections are irreplaceable in ensuring a democratic Council that is accountable to all Member States on equal footing. Small and Medium-size states, which represent the vast majority of the UN membership, should benefit from a reform outcome that recognizes their right to vote, to have their voice heard on a regular basis, and not on a single unrepeatable occasion. A democratic reform should address the current imbalance in regional representation, in response to the claims and aspirations of African, Asian and Latin American countries. The UfC is also willing to consider arrangements to guarantee adequate representation to other specific categories of countries, which cut across traditional UN regional groups.

While considering an abolition of the veto to be ideal, we reiterate our readiness to consider formulas on how to best limit its use. The UfC has been a strong proponent of actions to enhance transparency and effectiveness in the Security Council, and of strengthening the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council. For this reason, we continue to believe that improvements in the working methods of the Council remain an integral component of reform.

This letter, in its entirety, represents some of the key elements of our position on the process and content of the Security Council reform, which we deem as inseparable.

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

Sebastiano Cardi  
Ambassador





THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

4 June 2015

Excellency,

I have the pleasure to forward to you a letter dated 4 June, from H.E Mr. Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica and Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform informing of the steps being undertaken after the last interactive dialogue sessions held on 14 and 15 May, 2015.

I encourage you to support the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations to move the process forward.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sam K. Kutesa'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large 'S' and 'K' at the beginning.

PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS



767 THIRD AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017  
TELEPHONE (212) 935-7509  
FAX (212) 935 7807

OUR REF NO.

YOUR REF NO.

4<sup>th</sup> June, 2015

Excellency,

It is my honour to write to you in my capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on Security Council Reform following the productive interactive dialogue sessions held on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of May. These meetings helped us to gain a fuller understanding of, and additional clarity on, the positions and proposals of Member States. The presentations of Member States and particularly the questions and answers also helped to shed light on specific nuances in positions and points of interconnection between the five key issue areas detailed in General Assembly Decision 62/557.

I take the opportunity to again outline below the steps for the next stage of the process in building a workable negotiation text, as detailed in my closing remarks:

- Identify and seek to merge overlaps in the proposals and positions contained in the Framework Document, as well as sharpen the language where necessary;
- This work will be undertaken through intensive bilateral consultations with Member States throughout the next few weeks;
- The text that is being developed will contain the full spectrum of positions which were submitted to the Framework Document. It will also be made fit for negotiating purposes.

During this time, I actively encourage all Member States to continue to engage with each other as individual delegations, or as groups, to seek convergences in their positions and proposals. In light of our most recent interactive discussions, I would be happy to receive combined language or amendments Member States may wish to make to their own positions.

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

-2-

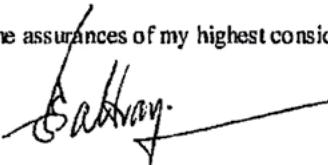
All Permanent Representatives and  
Permanent Observers to the  
United Nations  
New York  
4<sup>th</sup> June, 2015

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Although there are no further meetings of the IGN envisioned during this particular stage of our work, I welcome continued dialogue with any Member State or grouping of States.

I am pleased to note that we have recently received two additional submissions to the Framework Document. In this regard, as our work progresses, Member States or groupings of States that may not yet have done so are still encouraged to submit their positions and proposals for reflection in the text.

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



E. Courtenay Rattray  
Ambassador/Permanent Representative  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform

**69/560. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 104th plenary meeting, on 14 September 2015, the General Assembly, on the proposal of its President.<sup>33</sup>

(a) Decided to reaffirm the central role of the General Assembly concerning the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(b) Also decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its seventieth session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009, 64/568 of 13 September 2010, 65/554 of 12 September 2011, 66/566 of 13 September 2012, 67/561 of 29 August 2013 and 68/557 of 8 September 2014, building on the informal meetings held during its sixty-ninth session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States reflected in the text and its annex circulated by the President of the General Assembly in his letter dated 31 July 2015, while welcoming the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, including the selection of "United Nations reform" as one of the main areas of focus for the sixty-ninth session of the Assembly, and noting with appreciation the active role and concrete efforts of the Chair undertaken in a consultative manner with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Security Council;

(c) Further decided to convene the intergovernmental negotiations at its seventieth session, building on the work undertaken during the sixty-ninth session;

(d) Decided to convene 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 during the seventieth session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;

(e) Also decided to include in the agenda of the seventieth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council".

**Statement by President of the 69<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly on the Adoption of a Decision on Security Council Reform**

New York – 14 September 2015

Excellencies,

Distinguished delegates,

As I said in my acceptance speech and reiterated numerous times throughout this past year, reform of the Security Council was an important priority for me during this 69th session. It is therefore heartening, that on this last day of the session we have gathered to consider this important decision.

I pay tribute to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica for his steadfast leadership throughout the process. I commend his efforts to make the negotiations as participatory, consultative and transparent as possible.

Excellencies,

The United Nations of today comprising 193 Member States is vastly different from what it was at its founding 70 years ago, with only 51 Member States. What remains fundamentally unchanged, however, is that it is an important Organization, which we should reform to meet the challenges of our time in order to improve the lives of humanity.

We should continue to make the Organization more responsive, improve its efficiency and effectiveness.

Yet, to reach the noble objectives enshrined in the Charter, we must be willing to take bold steps to transform the United Nations, including the Security Council, in a way that reflects the geo-political realities of the current world.

Indeed, today's decision is an important step towards that ultimate objective.

Nevertheless, there is a great deal of work that remains to be done. As I stated in early February, past meetings of intergovernmental negotiations on the reform of the Security Council had been characterized by repetition of well-known positions and statements.

I am delighted that, during this session, a platform was provided for all Member States to exchange views and ideas on their positions and proposals on this matter. Most Member States went further and populated the framework document, which culminated into a text and its annex as circulated in my letter dated 31 July 2015.

During this session I have consulted groups and individual Member States regularly. Ensuring that the work on Security Council reform is done in an open and transparent manner has been a

cornerstone of my efforts. For the first time since the IGN began, all the letters and documents arising from our on-going work have been posted on website of the President.

**Excellencies,**

It is the responsibility of each one of us to ensure continued progress in this reform effort, and to maintain a constructive and flexible approach moving forward. It is essential that we build on the work that has been done in this session as indicated in the draft decision.

In doing so, we will make a contribution towards the ultimate objective of reforming the Security Council as agreed by world leaders in 2005.

I thank all Groups and individual Member States for their commitment on this important issue and urge you to keep the momentum moving forward during the upcoming session.

I thank you.

# UN Security Council reform is possible.

Compromise to achieve  
broad-based consensus is  
needed.

Uniting for Consensus is  
committed to this approach.



There is widespread agreement that comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is in the collective interest of Member States and the United Nations system as a whole. Member States have put forward important ideas and initiatives that merit consideration in our reform debate. However, on fundamental aspects wide divergences among Member States persist and consensus on these critical issues remains elusive.



Member States have nevertheless agreed on certain fundamental principles. For example, the five elements of UNSC reform – as identified in GA Decision 62/557 – are well understood. Equally, many Member States, from across regional groups, have clearly indicated that credible and viable reform of the Council requires a comprehensive approach, addressing each of the core issue areas simultaneously.



Our goal remains a more representative, democratic, accountable, transparent and effective UN Security Council - one that can take timely decisions in support of international peace and security.



To achieve this, and as we have worked in the past, text-based negotiations must continue to be driven by Member States themselves, based on a text that has already garnered consensus from the entire membership. The Uniting for Consensus group (UfC), like many others, has always supported Rev2, and believes that it is a basis on which negotiations should commence. It is in our collective interest and it is our collective responsibility to move this process forward.



The 70th anniversary of the United Nations should not serve as an artificial deadline that could ultimately constrain, or even derail negotiations. Rather it is an important opportunity for all Member States to recommit themselves to negotiate in good faith and in the spirit of compromise.



In 2014, UfC announced its support for a new category of membership, based on longer term non-permanent seats, with the possibility of an immediate re-election to allow for fair and equitable representation and rotation. UfC also continues to support an increase in the number of two-year non-permanent seats.



The new category of longer term non-permanent seats and an appropriate increase in two-year non-permanent seats could guarantee better representation among regional groups as well as Small States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Such an increase in the membership of the Council could also provide avenues to account for the aspirations of cross-regional and sub-regional groups.

Re-election and rotation of seats would be left to the autonomous arrangements within each regional group.



While outright abolition of the veto would be ideal, in the immediate term our negotiations should address how to best limit the use of veto in circumstances that include, but are not limited to, mass atrocities.



We could support a UNSC of up to 26 members in total - a Council that is more representative of the international community as a whole while preserving the principles of democracy and accountability to Member States.

The legitimacy of the Council depends not only - or even primarily - on its composition, but on its transparency, accountability and effectiveness. It is not just about who takes decisions, but most importantly the inclusive and democratic nature of decision-making.

Transparency in the work of the Security Council should be enhanced through, for instance, better access to information, an increase in open briefings, and greater interaction with the General Assembly and other interested parties, including TCCs/PCCs and regional and sub-regional organizations.



Specific guidelines are already envisaged in the UN Charter: for example, the requirement that the Council reports on a regular basis to the Assembly, and through "special reports" on specific occasions .

The main objective of such procedures is to make executive bodies accountable to the Assemblies that elect them. Accountability is therefore enshrined in the Charter, and should be fully implemented.





THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

17 May 2016

Excellency,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 17 May 2016 from H.E. Ms. Sylvie Lucas, Permanent Representative of Luxembourg, Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN), informing Member States of the upcoming meeting of the IGN on Wednesday 1 June 2016.

I take this opportunity to encourage the active support and participation of Member States in the proceedings of these meetings.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mogens Lykketoft".

Mogens Lykketoft



New York, 17 May 2016

Excellency,

I very much welcome the constructive spirit with which Member States have engaged in our meetings of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN) this session covering all five key issues set out in General Assembly Decision 62/557.

As indicated over the last months, and set out at the end of the meeting on 2 May, I have been reviewing how best to follow up on the substantive convergences that have emerged from our meetings on the two key issues of the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly, and the size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council.

To that end, I have been studying carefully the statements made by Member States on 3 and 22 February and the positions and proposals of Member States reflected in the text and its annex circulated by the President of the General Assembly in his letter dated 31 July 2015 on these issues.

The attached elements paper attempts to reflect the main elements of convergence that emerged from our discussions on these issues and will help us to build on the informal meetings held during the session, as well as on the positions and proposals of Member States reflected in the above-mentioned text and its annex, as mandated by the General Assembly.

We will hold a meeting of the IGN on 1 June 2016 at 10am in Conference Room 2, to have a substantive discussion on the elements paper. There will be no formal list of speakers.

While this elements paper covers solely the two key issues of the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly, and the size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council, we remain mindful of the comprehensive nature of the reform of the Security Council, encompassing all five key issues set out in General Assembly Decision 62/557.

In order to move the reform process forward, I encourage Member States to engage further in genuine dialogue with one another and to undertake the hard work needed to bridge diverging positions on all key issues of Security Council reform, including the more difficult key issues of categories of membership, regional representation and the question of the veto.

I look forward to your continued constructive participation in our discussions on 1 June. As always, in the lead up to our meeting, my door remains open to all.

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

Sylvie Lucas  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform

**Elements of convergence on two key issues of Security Council reform: the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly, and the size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council**

The following elements of convergence have emerged from the positions and proposals of Member States presented in the informal meetings held in the seventieth session of the General Assembly and reflected in the text and its annex circulated by the President of the General Assembly in his letter dated 31 July 2015, on the key issues of “the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly” and “size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council”:

**Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly**

- 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. In this regard, it is important to:
  - 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,
  - Continue the practice of regular meetings between the President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly,
  - Strengthen the cooperation and communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in particular through the submission by the Security Council of annual reports of a more analytical nature and of special reports to the General Assembly, in full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Charter,
  - 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:

- Holding open sessions, open briefings and open debates,
- Holding informal interactive dialogues and Arria-formula meetings,
- Further enhancing consultations between the Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries throughout all phases of Council-mandated peacekeeping operations.

## Size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Council

### Size of an enlarged Council

- An enlarged 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 discussions 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.

*(This would entail amendments to Article 23 (1) and 23 (2) of the Charter.)*

### Working methods of the Council

- Majority required for decision-making: Decisions of an enlarged Council should be made by an affirmative vote of approximately 60% of its members<sup>1</sup>, in line with the existing ratio, 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 the veto”.

*(This would entail amendments to Article 27 (2), 27 (3) and to Article 109 (1) of the Charter.)*

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<sup>1</sup> Examples:

- If an enlarged Council consists of 21 members, 13 votes (61.9%) would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 22 members, 13 votes (59.09%) would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 23 members, 14 votes (60.86%) would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 24 members, 14 votes (58.33%) would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 25 members, 15 votes (60%) would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 26 members, 16 votes (61.54%) would be required
- If an enlarged Council consists of 27 members, 16 votes (59.25%) would be required

*In each case, the number of votes coming closest to 60% has been identified.*

- While recognising the ongoing efforts of the Council towards keeping its working methods under consideration in its regular work, with a view to ensuring their effective and consistent implementation, the Security Council should be invited to consider the following measures:
  - Adapting its working methods to ensure a transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council in light of the increase in its membership,
  - Adapting the working methods of its subsidiary organs in light of the increase in its membership,
  - Ensuring the full participation of all members of the Security Council in its work, including the holding of the Presidency of the enlarged Council by non-permanent members at least once during their tenure,
  - Undertaking a revision of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, in light of the increase in its membership, to reflect these measures and further considering the formal adoption of its rules of procedure.

**IV. Decisions****70/559. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters**

At its 113th plenary meeting, on 27 July 2016, the General Assembly, on the proposal of its President:

(a) Decided to reaffirm the central role of the General Assembly concerning the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(b) Also decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its seventy-first session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009, 64/568 of 13 September 2010, 65/554 of 12 September 2011, 66/566 of 13 September 2012, 67/561 of 29 August 2013, 68/557 of 8 September 2014 and 69/560 of 14 September 2015, building on the informal meetings held during its seventieth session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015, and using the elements of convergence circulated on 12 July 2016 to help to inform its future work, while welcoming the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, and noting with appreciation the active role and concrete efforts of the Chair undertaken in a consultative manner with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Security Council;

(c) Further decided to convene 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 during the seventy-first session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;

(d) Decided to include in the agenda of the seventy-first session of the General Assembly the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council".



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

27 June 2017

Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN), H.E. Mr. Ion Jinga, Permanent Representative of Romania and H.E. Mr. Mohamed Khaled Khiari, Permanent Representative of Tunisia, circulating the final version of the document entitled "Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration on the question of equitable representation and increase in the membership in Security Council and related matters".

I welcome this outcome, which I consider as a step in the right direction.

I would like to convey my appreciation to all Member States for the constructive way in which they engaged in the IGN process this year and for the support shown to the Co-Chairs, and more generally for their willingness to continue moving the process forward. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Ambassador Jinga and Ambassador Khiari for the very effective and innovative manner in which they led the IGN throughout this session.

I am confident that the rich discussions held during this session and the final outcome will help maintain the momentum in taking the IGN forward towards the much-needed comprehensive reform of the Security Council.

As in previous years, a draft roll-over decision will be circulated shortly for consideration by Member States and for adoption by the General Assembly in due course.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Peter Thomson".

Peter Thomson



PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMANIA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS



PERMANENT MISSION OF TUNISIA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

23 June 2017

Excellency,

Following the IGN meetings held in the 71<sup>st</sup> session of the UN General Assembly, please find attached herewith the final version of the document entitled: "Elements of commonality and issues for further consideration on the question of equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters."

We were honoured for having been entrusted with the task of guiding this process during this 71<sup>st</sup> session and we are grateful to the Member States for their continued support granted to us in fulfilling our mission as Co-Chairs of the IGN.

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

**H.E. Dr. Ion Jinga**  
Permanent Representative of Romania  
Co-Chair, IGN 71<sup>st</sup> Session

**H.E. Mr. Mohamed Khaled Khiari**  
Permanent Representative of Tunisia  
Co-Chair, IGN 71<sup>st</sup> Session

Co-Chairs IGN GA71

**ELEMENTS OF COMMONALITY  
AND ISSUES FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION**

**On the question of equitable representation and increase in the membership  
of the Security Council and related matters**

**I. Background and Current Context**

On 11 December 1992, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 47/62 on "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", by which it: *"1. Requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit, not later than 39 June 1993, written comments on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council; 2. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for its consideration, a report containing comments made by Member States on the subject; 3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council"".*

On 3 December 1993, the General Assembly adopted the Resolution 48/26 on "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council", by which it: *"1. Decides 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 Security Council; 2. Requests the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly before the end of its forty-eighth session; 3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-ninth session an item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters"".*

On 23 November 1998, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 53/30 on "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters", stating that: *"The General Assembly, Mindful of Chapter XVIII of the Charter of the United Nations and of the importance of reaching general agreement as referred to in resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, determines not to adopt any resolution or decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters, without the affirmative vote of at least two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly".*

"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.

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 the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform 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 intergovernmental negotiations officially started in early 2009, and continued since then in informal plenary of the General Assembly.

During the GA 71<sup>st</sup> session, the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN) *"built on the informal meetings held during its 70<sup>th</sup> session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015 and using the elements of convergence circulated on 12 July 2016"*, as stipulated by Decision 70/559 of July 27, 2016.

Following the IGN GA71 meetings of 6-7 February, 7-8 March 2017, 3-4 April 2017, 8-9 May 2017 and 12-13 June 2017, the following commonalities and issues for further consideration related to all five key issues listed by Decision 62/557 have been identified:

## II. Commonalities

### 1. General

- a) The reform of the United Nations Security Council is in the interest of Member States and the United Nations system as a whole.
- b) The reform of the Security Council is a Member States driven process.
- c) 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"*.
- d) Member States consider that reform of the Security Council shall *"ensure a transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council"*, as mentioned in the elements of convergence of 12 July 2016.

- e) To improve the prospects for early reform, a continued, substantive and enhanced engagement is of utmost importance.
- f) 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.
- g) The reform of the Security Council should reflect the realities of the contemporary world.
- h) All five key issues are strongly interconnected and therefore negotiations should be based on the principle: "*nothing is agreed until everything is agreed*".
- i) The IGN process should build on the work done in previous years, so that convergence will increase gradually, with a view to garner the widest possible political acceptance.

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

- a) The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly should be mutually reinforcing and complementary, as per the UN Charter. Following discussions during the IGN GA71, the elements of convergence identified by the IGN GA70 under the "Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly" may also be considered commonalities.
- b) The previous deliberations of the AHWG on the revitalization of the work of the GA, including resolution 70/305 of 13 September 2016, might also be taken into consideration when updating the progress on this issue.

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

- a) The reform of the Security Council should lead to an expansion of the Council and therefore certain areas of working methods need to be addressed as a result of expansion.
- b) In line with the elements of convergence identified during the IGN GA70, Member States consider that an enlarged Security Council should consist of a total of members in the mid-20s, within an overall range of 21-27 seats.
- c) Member States acknowledged the need to ensure an increase in membership that would allow for equitable representation, as well as cross-regional balances, while maintaining the effective and operational character of the Council.
- d) Member States attach great importance to adapting the Security Council working methods to any increase in its membership, in order to ensure a transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council.

## **4. Categories of membership**

In an enlarged SC, 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. The Council's expansion in other categories (permanent, longer term

seats, transitional options) remains to be agreed through negotiations by the Member States.

## 5. The question of veto

The question of veto is a key element of the SC reform.

## 6. Regional representation

- a) The enlargement of the Council should serve to improve the representation of underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups.
- b) A fair and equitable geographical distribution should be ensured in an expanded Council's membership.
- c) Due attention has to be paid to the equitable representation of developing countries, including small states.
- d) Africa should be equitably represented in a reformed Security Council.

## III. Issues for further consideration

The list of issues for further consideration is not an exhaustive one.

### 1. General

- a) Although a large variety of opinions on the Security Council's reform persist, particularly in relation to the following three clusters: categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation, many member states express a desire to move to the next phase.
- b) Taking into account art 23.1 of the UN Charter, should contributions of Member States to the maintenance of peace and security be reflected in the duration of their presence in the Council?
- c) More discussions are needed on how to take into account the principles of democracy and representation in pursuing the objective of a more democratic SC.

### 2. The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly

In addition to the elements of convergence identified during IGN GA70 session, further ways to enhance the accountability of an enlarged Council to the UN membership and to increase the transparency of the Security Council's work in relation to the General Assembly have to be explored.

### 3. Size of an enlarged Council and Working Methods of the Council

- a) In line with the element of convergence identified during the IGN GA70 referring to "*ensuring the holding of the Presidency of the enlarged Council by non-permanent*

*members (NPM) at least once during their tenure", concrete ways for holding the rotating presidency in an enlarged Security Council need to be examined.*

- b) When discussing the size of the Security Council, Member States expressed different views on how to ensure a balance between the representativeness and effectiveness of an enlarged Council. Ensuring such a balance is also an element of convergence identified by the IGN GA70.
- c) The appropriateness of the ratio between the number of SC non-permanent members and the number of permanent members could be examined.

#### **4. Categories of membership**

- a) The UN Charter mentions only two categories (permanent and non-permanent), but GA decision 62/557 refers to "*categories of membership*" without specifying them, which leaves it to the member states to decide if additional categories may be created.
- b) During discussions in IGN GA71 and in previous IGN sessions, Member States expressed preference for one or more of the following options, in a reformed Security Council:
  - Enlargement of the SC with both permanent and 2-year term non-permanent members;
  - Enlargement of the SC with 2-year term non-permanent members and creation of a new category of longer-term non-permanent members with possibility of re-election;
  - Enlargement of the SC with 2-year term non-permanent members.
- c) While bearing in mind the close connections between all five key issues, categories of membership might be discussed in parallel with regional representation, the size of the Security Council and the question of veto.
- d) The possibility of accommodating the options mentioned in III.4.b. in an enlarged Security Council could also be explored

#### **5. The question of veto**

- a) More in-depth discussions are needed to explore how the veto impacts the work and the effectiveness of an enlarged Security Council.
- b) During discussions in IGN GA71 and in previous IGN sessions, the following options were mentioned:
  - If new permanent members are approved:
    - the veto might be expanded to all permanent members; or
    - new permanent members might not benefit from the veto, which will be kept only by the current P5; or
    - the veto might be extended to new permanent members after a reviewing period.

- Progressive restraint / abolition of veto.
- Voluntarily refrain from the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocity crimes.

- . **Regional representation**

- a) What might be the appropriate ratio between the number of SC members and GA members?
- b) What might be the appropriate ratio between the number of SC non-permanent members and number of countries in regional groups?
- c) The question of whether a country represents only itself in the SC, or its region, or the whole of UN membership needs further clarifications. UN Charter, Article 24, para 1: *"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."*
- d) In an enlarged Security Council, how to reflect the increasing role of regional groups and regional organizations in international relations, particularly in the fields of peace and security?
- e) Further clarification is needed on the role of regional groups in selecting new members.
- f) In relation with equitable representation, further clarification is needed on the concepts of "equitable geographic distribution" and "regional representation".
- g) More in-depth discussions are needed to clarify questions pertaining to cross-regional representation in an enlarged SC.
- h) While bearing in mind the close connections between all five clusters, regional representation might be discussed in parallel with the size of the SC and categories of membership.
- i) 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 II.1.d. with art. 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"*?

## IV. Decisions

**71/553. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council**

At its 92nd plenary meeting, on 19 July 2017, the General Assembly, on the proposal of its President:

(a) Decided to reaffirm the central role of the General Assembly concerning the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

(b) Also decided to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its seventy-second session, as mandated by Assembly decisions 62/557 of 15 September 2008, 63/565 B of 14 September 2009, 64/568 of 13 September 2010, 65/554 of 12 September 2011, 66/566 of 13 September 2012, 67/561 of 29 August 2013, 68/557 of 8 September 2014, 69/560 of 14 September 2015 and 70/559 of 27 July 2016, building on the informal meetings held during its seventy-first session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015, and using the elements of convergence circulated on 12 July 2016 and the elements of commonality and issues for further consideration circulated on 27 June 2017 to help to inform its future work, while welcoming the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, and noting with appreciation the active role and concrete efforts of the Co-Chairs undertaken in a consultative manner with a view to an early comprehensive reform of the Security Council;

(c) Further decided to convene 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 during the seventy-second session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;

(d) Decided to include in the agenda of the seventy-second session of the General Assembly the item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council".

United Nations

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**Seventy-second session**

Agenda item 122

**Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council****Letter dated 2 October 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General**

I have the honour of writing to you on behalf of the L-69, a diverse group of countries, made up largely of small States in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia and the Pacific, who are united by a common cause: to achieve lasting and comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council.

During the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform at the seventy-first session of the General Assembly, the L-69 Group presented the full particulars of our assertions that 183 Member States had participated in the intergovernmental negotiations or in the Assembly debate on the topic of Security Council reform, and that, since 2009, 164 Member States had called for a text to serve as the basis of negotiations (see annexes I and II).

I should be grateful if you would circulate the present letter and its annexes as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 122 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council.

*(Signed)* Inga Rhonda King  
Permanent Representative

**Annex I to the letter dated 2 October 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General<sup>1</sup>**

**List of Member States that have participated in the intergovernmental negotiations, or have made statements on the record, on the topic of Security Council reform in the General Assembly, since the beginning of the intergovernmental negotiations, in 2009**

On the basis of the statements made in the General Assembly, the intergovernmental negotiations and contributions to the framework document and its annex, we assert that 183 Member States have actively participated in the intergovernmental negotiations process since it commenced.

We have identified statements on Security Council reform (since the beginning of the intergovernmental negotiations process in 2009) for all Member States except the following 10 Member States: Albania, Andorra, Azerbaijan, Honduras, Kyrgyzstan, Israel, Tajikistan, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

It is important to note that 7 of these 10 Member States did, in fact, participate in the intergovernmental negotiations process, albeit not through statements that can be found, but rather by signing the letter sent to the ambassador of Afghanistan, Zahir Tanin, then the chair of intergovernmental negotiations, in 2009. In that letter, the Member States requested him to present “a text with options to serve as a basis for negotiations”. These seven Member States are Andorra, Honduras, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. This leaves only three Member States for which no record of participation has yet been found: Albania, Azerbaijan and Israel.

If these seven Member States were to be taken into account, the number of countries that have engaged in the process since the commencement of the intergovernmental negotiations would actually be 190.

The complete list of 183 countries, along with details of their statements in the General Assembly plenary, intergovernmental negotiation meetings and contributions to the framework document, follows (see enclosure).

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<sup>1</sup> The present annex is intended to be illustrative and does not provide an exhaustive list of statements by Member States in the General Assembly or in the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform.

**Enclosure****List of 183 countries with details regarding their statements in the General Assembly plenary and intergovernmental negotiation meetings, along with contributions to the framework document**

| <i>Country</i>      | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|---------------------|--|
| Afghanistan         | Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.  |
| Algeria             | General Assembly: November 2011 and November 2014.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Angola              | Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.        |
| Antigua and Barbuda | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
| Argentina           | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Armenia             | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Australia           | Intergovernmental negotiations: March 2009.<br>General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012 and November 2016.  |
| Austria             | Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2014.  |
| Bahamas             | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
| Bahrain             | General Assembly: November 2010.<br>General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Bangladesh          | General Assembly: November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Barbados            | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2014 and October 2015.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations (CARICOM): April 2017.  |
| Belarus             | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011 and November 2012.  |

| <i>Country</i>                   | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Belgium                          | General Assembly: November 2010 and October 2015.<br>General Assembly (Belgium and Netherlands): November 2011, November 2012 and November 2014.<br>General Assembly (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg): November 2016.                   |
| Belize                           | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
| Benin                            | General Assembly: November 2014.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: May 2017.                |
| Bhutan                           | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Bolivia (Plurinational State of) | Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.  |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina           | General Assembly: November 2013.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: 11 April 2014.   |
| Botswana                         | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Brazil                           | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (G-4): November 2014.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.                             |
| Brunei Darussalam                | Framework document.  |
| Bulgaria                         | Intergovernmental negotiations: May 2012.  |
| Burkina Faso                     | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Burundi                          | General Assembly: November 2014.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February and March 2017. |

| <i>Country</i>           | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>  |
|--------------------------|---|
| Cabo Verde               | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Cambodia                 | General Assembly: November 2014.  |
| Cameroon                 | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Canada                   | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March 2017.  |
| Central African Republic | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Chad                     | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Chile                    | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April and May 2017.  |
| China                    | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Colombia                 | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Comoros                  | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |

| <i>Country</i>                        | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Congo                                 | General Assembly: November 2012, November 2014 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.         |
| Costa Rica                            | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014 and October 2015.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Côte d'Ivoire                         | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Croatia                               | General Assembly: October 2015.  |
| Cuba                                  | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March, April and May 2017.   |
| Cyprus                                | General Assembly: November 2013.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: May 2014, February 2015 (statement at preliminary meeting) and May 2017.   |
| Czech Republic                        | Framework document.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February 2017.  |
| Democratic People's Republic of Korea | General Assembly: November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Democratic Republic of the Congo      | General Assembly: November 2012 and November 2014.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Denmark                               | General Assembly (Nordic Group): October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Djibouti                              | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Dominica                              | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.  |
| Dominican Republic                    | General Assembly: November 2010 and November 2011.   |
| Ecuador                               | General Assembly: October 2015 and November 2016.  |

| Country           | Date of statements or contributions to framework document  |
|-------------------|--|
| Egypt             | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| El Salvador       | General Assembly: November 2012.   |
| Equatorial Guinea | General Assembly: November 2011.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.       |
| Eritrea           | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Estonia           | Framework document.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February and March 2017.  |
| Ethiopia          | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Fiji              | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.  |
| Finland           | General Assembly (Nordic Group): October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| France            | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.                 |
| Gabon             | General Assembly: November 2016.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.       |
| Gambia            | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Georgia           | General Assembly: November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and May 2017.  |
| Germany           | General Assembly: November 2014.<br>General Assembly (G-4): October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March, April and May 2017.                              |

| <i>Country</i>             | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>  |
|----------------------------|---|
| Ghana                      | General Assembly: November 2010.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.      |
| Greece                     | Intergovernmental negotiations: 11 February 2015.   |
| Grenada                    | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
| Guatemala                  | General Assembly: October 2015.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March 2017.  |
| Guinea                     | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Guinea-Bissau              | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Guyana                     | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations (CARICOM): February, March, April and May 2017.           |
| Haiti                      | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
| Hungary                    | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2013 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Iceland                    | General Assembly (Nordic Group): October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| India                      | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Indonesia                  | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Iran (Islamic Republic of) | General Assembly: November 2011 and October 2015.   |
| Iraq                       | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |

| <i>Country</i>                   | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Ireland                          | General Assembly: November 2013.<br>Framework document.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and May 2017.   |
| Italy                            | General Assembly: November 2011.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations (Uniting for Consensus Group): February, March, April and May 2017.              |
| Jamaica                          | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April and May 2017.   |
| Japan                            | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and May 2017.   |
| Jordan                           | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Kazakhstan                       | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012 and October 2015.  |
| Kenya                            | General Assembly: October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and April 2017. |
| Kiribati                         | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2013.  |
| Kuwait                           | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011 and November 2012.<br>General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations (Arab Group): February, April and May 2017.                                     |
| Lao People's Democratic Republic | Framework document.  |
| Latvia                           | General Assembly: November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February 2017.   |

| <i>Country</i> | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|----------------|--|
| Lebanon        | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Lesotho        | General Assembly: November 2010 and November 2012.   |
| Liberia        | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Libya          | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
|                | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Liechtenstein  | General Assembly: November 2012, November 2014 and November 2016.  |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Lithuania      | Framework document.  |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February 2017.   |
| Luxembourg     | General Assembly (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg): November 2016.   |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, April and May 2017.  |
| Madagascar     | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Malawi         | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Malaysia       | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Maldives       | General Assembly: November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Mali           | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Malta          | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012 and November 2016.  |
|                | General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |

| <i>Country</i>                   | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>  |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Marshall Islands                 | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2013.   |
| Mauritania                       | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Mauritius                        | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.   |
| Mexico                           | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Micronesia (Federated States of) | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010 and November 2013.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March and April 2017.  |
| Monaco                           | Framework document.   |
| Mongolia                         | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012 and November 2013.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March and April 2017.   |
| Montenegro                       | General Assembly: November 2012.  |
| Morocco                          | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March and May 2017.   |
| Mozambique                       | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Myanmar                          | Framework document.   |
| Namibia                          | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.   |
| Nauru                            | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.  |

| <i>Country</i> | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|----------------|--|
| Nepal          | General Assembly: November 2014.   |
| Netherlands    | General Assembly: November 2010.   |
|                | General Assembly (Netherlands and Belgium): November 2011, November 2012, November 2014 and November 2016.                                   |
| New Zealand    | General Assembly: November 2011 and November 2016.   |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: March, April and May 2017.   |
| Nicaragua      | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Niger          | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
| Nigeria        | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
|                | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016. |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Norway         | General Assembly (Nordic Group): October 2015 and November 2016.   |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations (Nordic Group): February 2017.  |
| Oman           | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Pakistan       | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
|                | General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Palau          | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.  |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February 2016.   |
| Panama         | General Assembly: October 2015 and November 2016.  |
|                | Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |

| <i>Country</i>        | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|-----------------------|--|
| Papua New Guinea      | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010 and November 2014.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.   |
| Paraguay              | Intergovernmental negotiations: February 2016.   |
| Peru                  | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and May 2017.   |
| Philippines           | General Assembly: November 2010 and November 2011.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March 2017.  |
| Poland                | General Assembly: October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.  |
| Portugal              | Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2009.<br>General Assembly: November 2013.  |
| Qatar                 | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March and April 2017.   |
| Republic of Korea     | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Republic of Moldova   | Intergovernmental negotiations: March 2017.  |
| Romania               | General Assembly: November 2010 and October 2015.  |
| Russian Federation    | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.  |
| Rwanda                | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Saint Kitts and Nevis | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.  |

| <i>Country</i>                   | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Saint Lucia                      | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.<br><br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March 2017.   |
| Saint Vincent and the Grenadines | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.<br><br>Intergovernmental negotiations (on behalf of L-69): February, March, April and May 2017.  |
| Samoa                            | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.  |
| San Marino                       | General Assembly: November 2011, October 2015 and November 2016.<br><br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015, November 2016.<br><br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and April 2017. |
| Sao Tome and Principe            | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Saudi Arabia                     | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Senegal                          | General Assembly: November 2011.<br><br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Serbia                           | Framework document.  |
| Seychelles                       | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Sierra Leone                     | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br><br>Intergovernmental negotiations (African Group): February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Singapore                        | General Assembly: November 2013 and November 2016.<br><br>General Assembly (S-5): November 2011.<br><br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Slovakia                         | General Assembly: November 2016.   |
| Slovenia                         | General Assembly: November 2011 and November 2013.   |

| Country         | Date of statements or contributions to framework document  |
|-----------------|--|
| Solomon Islands | General Assembly: November 2011 and November 2014.<br>General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: April 2017.   |
| Somalia         | General Assembly: October 2015.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| South Africa    | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March, April and May 2017. |
| South Sudan     | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Spain           | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012 and November 2014.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015, November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.  |
| Sri Lanka       | Intergovernmental negotiations: 11 February 2015.  |
| Sudan           | General Assembly: November 2011.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Suriname        | General Assembly: September and October 2015.<br>General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.   |
| Swaziland       | General Assembly: November 2010.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Sweden          | General Assembly (Nordic Group): October 2015 and November 2016.   |

| <i>Country</i>       | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>   |
|----------------------|--|
| Switzerland          | General Assembly: November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (S-5): November 2010 and November 2011.   |
| Syrian Arab Republic | General Assembly: November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Thailand             | General Assembly: November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: May 2017.  |
| Timor-Leste          | Framework document.  |
| Togo                 | General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Tonga                | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February 2017.  |
| Trinidad and Tobago  | General Assembly (CARICOM): November 2011, November 2013, November 2014 and October 2015.  |
| Tunisia              | General Assembly: November 2011, November 2012, November 2014 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Turkey               | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>General Assembly (Uniting for Consensus Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017. |
| Tuvalu               | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.  |
| Uganda               | General Assembly: October 2015.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Ukraine              | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March and April 2017.  |

| <i>Country</i>                                       | <i>Date of statements or contributions to framework document</i>  |
|--|---|
| United Arab Emirates                                 | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | General Assembly: November 2010, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.  |
| United Republic of Tanzania                          | General Assembly: November 2012.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: May 2017. |
| United States of America                             | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February, March, April and May 2017.   |
| Uruguay  | General Assembly: November 2016.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: March, April and May 2017.  |
| Vanuatu  | General Assembly (Pacific Small Island Developing States): November 2010.   |
| Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)                   | General Assembly: November 2010, November 2011, November 2012 and October 2015.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February and March 2017.   |
| Viet Nam   | General Assembly: November 2014 and October 2015.<br>Intergovernmental negotiations: February and April 2017.   |
| Yemen  | General Assembly (Arab Group): November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.   |
| Zambia   | General Assembly: November 2011, October 2015.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |
| Zimbabwe   | General Assembly: November 2011.<br>General Assembly (African Group): November 2010, November 2011, November 2012, November 2013, November 2014, October 2015 and November 2016.  |

*Abbreviations:* CARICOM, Caribbean Community; G-4, Group of Four; S-5, Small Five Group.

**Annex II to the letter dated 2 October 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General**

**Number of Member States that have called for a text to serve as the basis of negotiations since the beginning of intergovernmental negotiations, in 2009**

By our calculation, 164 countries are in favour of a text as the basis for negotiations.

On 23 December 2009, 138 countries wrote to the chair of the intergovernmental negotiations requesting a text with options to serve as a basis for negotiations (see enclosure).

It is a matter of record that the African Group, through the African Union Committee of Ten Heads of State and Government (C-10), has called for text-based negotiations. Therefore, we have added the following 20 countries from the African Group, which are not reflected in the 138 that signed the letter, to the number of Member States that have called for text-based negotiations, thereby bringing the number to 158: Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Namibia, Niger, Republic of the Congo, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone and South Sudan.

In addition and as a matter of record, Kiribati, as a Pacific small island developing State, and the Netherlands, as a member of Benelux, as well as Afghanistan, New Zealand, Panama and Sweden, are known to be in support of text-based negotiations and are also not included in the letter of 23 December 2009.

Thus, one can safely assert that a total of 164 Member States are in favour of commencing text-based negotiations.

## Enclosure

### **Letter dated 23 December 2009 to the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council**

The General Assembly decided in its decision 63/565 B to immediately continue the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at the sixty-fourth session, building on the progress achieved during the sixty-third session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States. The General Assembly resumed the intergovernmental negotiations on 8 December 2009.

We would like to request you, in your capacity as Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, to present to Member States, before the second exchange of the fourth round, a text with options to serve as a basis for negotiations reflecting the progress achieved in the intergovernmental negotiations at the informal plenary during the sixty-third session, as manifested in the note by the President of the General Assembly (A/63/960), as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States.

This would enable the informal plenary of the General Assembly to immediately embark upon negotiations on the basis of such a text, in order to identify areas of convergence and to find a solution that can garner the widest possible support among Member States.

The present letter has been signed by the following Member States. Additional signatures may be forthcoming.

## Signatures of Member States, as at 4 January 2010

|                                       |                                  |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Andorra                               | Honduras                         |
| Angola                                | Hungary                          |
| Antigua and Barbuda                   | Iceland                          |
| Australia                             | India                            |
| Bahamas                               | Indonesia                        |
| Bahrain                               | Iran (Islamic Republic of)       |
| Bangladesh                            | Iraq                             |
| Barbados                              | Ireland                          |
| Belgium                               | Jamaica                          |
| Belize                                | Japan                            |
| Benin                                 | Jordan                           |
| Bhutan                                | Kazakhstan                       |
| Bolivia (Plurinational State of)      | Kuwait                           |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina                | Kyrgyzstan                       |
| Botswana                              | Lao People's Democratic Republic |
| Brazil                                | Latvia                           |
| Brunei Darussalam                     | Lesotho                          |
| Bulgaria                              | Liberia                          |
| Burundi                               | Liechtenstein                    |
| Cambodia                              | Lithuania                        |
| Cape Verde                            | Luxembourg                       |
| Central African Republic              | Madagascar                       |
| Comoros                               | Malawi                           |
| Côte d'Ivoire                         | Malaysia                         |
| Croatia                               | Maldives                         |
| Cuba                                  | Marshall Islands                 |
| Cyprus                                | Mauritania                       |
| Czech Republic                        | Mauritius                        |
| Chile                                 | Micronesia (Federated States of) |
| Democratic People's Republic of Korea | Monaco                           |
| Denmark                               | Mongolia                         |
| Dominica                              | Mozambique                       |
| Dominican Republic                    | Myanmar                          |
| Ecuador                               | Nauru                            |
| El Salvador                           | Nepal                            |
| Estonia                               | Nicaragua                        |
| Ethiopia                              | Nigeria                          |
| Fiji                                  | Norway                           |
| Finland                               | Oman                             |
| France                                | Palau                            |
| Gabon                                 | Papua New Guinea                 |
| Gambia                                | Peru                             |
| Georgia                               | Philippines                      |
| Germany                               | Poland                           |
| Ghana                                 | Portugal                         |
| Greece                                | Romania                          |
| Grenada                               | Rwanda                           |
| Guatemala                             | Saint Kitts and Nevis            |
| Guinea                                | Saint Lucia                      |
| Guinea-Bissau                         | Saint Vincent and the Grenadines |
| Guyana                                | Samoa                            |
| Haiti                                 | Saudi Arabia                     |

|   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Seychelles                                | Trinidad and Tobago                |
| Singapore                                 | Tunisia                            |
| Slovakia                                  | Turkmenistan                       |
| Slovenia                                  | Tuvalu                             |
| Solomon Islands                           | Uganda                             |
| Somalia                                   | Ukraine                            |
| South Africa                              | United Arab Emirates               |
| Sri Lanka                                 | United Kingdom                     |
| Sudan                                     | United Republic of Tanzania        |
| Suriname                                  | Uruguay                            |
| Swaziland                                 | Uzbekistan                         |
| Switzerland                               | Vanuatu                            |
| Tajikistan                                | Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) |
| Thailand                                  | Viet Nam                           |
| The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia | Zambia                             |
| Timor-Leste                               | Zimbabwe                           |
| Togo                                      |                                    |
| Tonga                                     |                                    |



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

21 May 2018

Excellency,

Following the fourth meeting of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on the question of the equitable representation on and the increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council, held on 1-2 May 2018, I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the IGN Co-Chairs, H.E. Mr. Kaha Imnadze, Permanent Representative of Georgia and H.E. Ms. Lana Zaki Nusseibeh, Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates, circulating the updated version of the document entitled "Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration".

The letter also includes the agenda of the fifth meeting of the IGN, to be held on 6-7 June 2018, at Conference Room 1.

I was pleased to observe a high-level participation and commitment by the Member States during the fourth meeting of the IGN and I look forward to your active participation in the forthcoming meetings.

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



Miroslav Lajčák

To all Permanent Representatives  
and Permanent Observers to the United Nations  
New York



18 May 2018

Excellency,

We have the honour of addressing you in our capacity as Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform (IGN), and to confirm that the fifth informal meeting of the IGN will be held on 6–7 June 2018 in Conference Room 1.

In accordance with the requests we heard from a large number of Member States during our third and fourth meetings, the Co-Chairs have updated the document entitled “Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration”, originally circulated on 23 March 2018, and we have the honour of sharing this document with the membership (enclosed). In keeping with the Member-State-driven nature of the process, and as per previous practice, the changes that have been made in the document are rooted in the positions and proposals made by Member States.

A variety of proposals have been made during our third and fourth meetings on possible ways of further enhancing the document, many of which we have incorporated. Other proposals were raised and debated, but remain contested by the Membership. In order to ensure that the document which will be produced during the 72<sup>nd</sup> session reflects the views expressed during our informal meetings, and to safeguard the ownership of the document by the Membership, we, as Co-Chairs, have worked to incorporate the points that were least contested and reflect the widest possible agreement.

The Co-Chairs propose that during the fifth informal meeting of the IGN on Security Council Reform, Member States provide comments and concrete feedback on this updated version of the document “Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration”. We would humbly suggest for the first day (6 June), that the discussion focus on the two remaining clusters, namely “Relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly” and “Size of an Enlarged Council and Working Methods of the Council”. On the second day (7 June), the interactive discussion could focus on how best to advance the IGN process and thoughts from Member States on steps to move forward.

The meeting on the second day will commence at 10:00 AM, as the topic will have already been announced.

We look forward to continuing our discussions at the next informal IGN meeting.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kaha Imnadze".

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lana Zaki Nusseibeh".

Kaha Imnadze

Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
of Georgia

Lana Zaki Nusseibeh

Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
of the United Arab Emirates

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

## Co-Chairs IGN GA72

### REVISED ELEMENTS OF COMMONALITY AND ISSUES FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION On the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

#### I. Background and Current Context

On 11 December 1992, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 47/62 on “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council”, by which it: “1. Requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit, not later than 39 June 1993, written comments on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council; 2. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for its consideration, a report containing comments made by Member States on the subject; 3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session the item entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council”.

On 3 December 1993, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 48/26 on “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council”, by which it: “1. Decides 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 Security Council; 2. Requests the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly before the end of its forty-eighth session; 3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-ninth session an item entitled “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters”.

On 23 November 1998, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 53/30 on “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters”, stating that: “The General Assembly, Mindful of Chapter XVIII of the Charter of the United Nations and of the importance of reaching general agreement as referred to in resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, determines not to adopt any resolution or decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters, without the affirmative vote of at least two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly”.

“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.

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 the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform 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 intergovernmental negotiations officially started in early 2009, and continued since then in informal plenary of the General Assembly.

During the GA 72<sup>nd</sup> session, the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN) “built on the informal meetings held during its seventy-first session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015 and using the elements of convergence circulated on 12 July 2016 and the elements of commonality and issues for further consideration circulated on 27 June 2017”, as stipulated by Decision 71/553 of July 19, 2017.

Following the IGN GA72 meetings of 1-2 February, 27-28 February, 27-28 March, 1-2 May and 6-7 June 2018, the following updates were made to the commonalities and issues for further consideration related to all five key issues listed by Decision 62/557:

## **II. Commonalities**

### **1. General**

- a) The reform of the United Nations Security Council is in the interest of Member States and the United Nations system as a whole.
- b) The reform of the Security Council is a Member States driven process.
- c) 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”.

- d) Member States consider that reform of the Security Council shall “ensure a transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council”, as mentioned in the elements of convergence of 12 July 2016.
- e) To improve the prospects for early reform, a continued, substantive and enhanced engagement is of utmost importance.
- f) 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.
- g) The reform of the Security Council should reflect the realities of the contemporary world.
- h) All five key issues are strongly interconnected and therefore negotiations should be based on the principle: “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed”.
- i) The IGN process should build on the work done in previous years, so that convergence will increase gradually, with a view to garner the widest possible political acceptance.

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

- a) The previous deliberations of the AHWG on the revitalization of the work of the GA, including resolution 71/323 of 8 September 2017, might also be taken into consideration when updating the progress on this issue.
- b) 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. In this regard, it is important to:
  - 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,
  - Continue the practice of regular meetings between the President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly,
  - Strengthen the cooperation and communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in particular through the submission by the Security Council of annual reports of a more analytical nature and of special reports to the General Assembly, in full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Charter,
  - 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:
    - o Holding open sessions, open briefings and open debates,
    - o Holding informal interactive dialogues and Arria-formula meetings,

- Further enhancing consultations between Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries throughout all phases of Council-mandated peacekeeping operations,
- Further strengthening cooperation with regional and sub-regional organizations and arrangements.

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

The reform of the Security Council should lead to an expansion of the Council and therefore certain areas of working methods need to be addressed as a result of expansion.

#### Size of an enlarged Council

- a) An enlarged 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.

*(This would entail amendments to Article 23 (1) and 23 (3) of the Charter of the United Nations.)*

#### Working Methods of the Council

- a) Majority required for decision-making: the number of affirmative votes required should be in line with the current practice<sup>1</sup>, with the exact number of votes required to merge from the discussions of Member States on the key issues of “categories of membership”, “regional representation” and “the question of veto”.

*(This would entail amendments to Article 27 (2) and 27 (3) and to Article 109 (1) of the Charter of the United Nations.)*

- b) While recognizing the ongoing efforts of the Council towards keeping its working methods under consideration in its regular work, with a view to ensuring their effective and consistent implementation, the Security Council should be invited to consider the following measures in light of the increase in its membership:

---

<sup>1</sup> Examples:

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

- Adapting its working methods to ensure transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council,
- Adapting the working methods of its subsidiary organs,
- Ensuring the full participation of all members of the Security Council in its work, including the holding of the presidency of the enlarged Council by non-permanent members at least once during their tenure,
- Undertaking a revision of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to reflect these measures and further considering the formal adoption of its rules of procedure.

#### **4. Categories of membership**

In an enlarged SC, 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. The Council's expansion in other categories (permanent, longer term seats, transitional options) remains to be agreed through negotiations by the Member States.

#### **5. The question of veto**

The question of veto is a key element of the SC reform.

#### **6. Regional representation**

- a) The enlargement of the Council should serve to improve the representation of underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups.
- b) An increase in membership should allow for fair and equitable representation as well as cross regional balances, while maintaining the effective and operational character of the Council.
- c) Due attention has to be paid to the equitable representation of developing countries, including small states and Small Island Developing States.
- d) Africa should be equitably represented in a reformed Security Council.

### **III. Issues for further consideration**

The list of issues for further consideration is not an exhaustive one.

#### **1. General**

- a) Although a large variety of opinions on the Security Council's reform persist, particularly in relation to the following three clusters: categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation, many member states express a desire to move to the next phase.

- b) Taking into account Article 23.1 of the UN Charter, the degree to which Member States' contributions to the maintenance of peace and security should be reflected in the duration of their presence in the Council remains to be further explored.
- c) More discussions are needed on how to take into account the principles of democracy and representation in pursuing the objective of a more democratic SC.
- d) In seeking to improve the working practice of the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council Reform, possible ways of enhancing the institutional memory and working methods of the IGN need to be further discussed.

## **2. The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly**

Further ways to enhance the accountability of an enlarged Council to the UN membership and to increase the transparency of the Security Council's work in relation to the General Assembly have to be explored.

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

- a) In line with the element of convergence referring to "ensuring the holding of the Presidency of the enlarged Council by non-permanent members (NPM) at least once during their tenure", concrete ways for holding the rotating presidency in an enlarged Security Council need to be examined.
- b) When discussing the size of the Security Council, Member States expressed different views on how to ensure a balance between the representativeness and effectiveness of an enlarged Council. Ensuring such a balance is also an element of convergence.
- c) The appropriateness of the ratio between the number of SC members and GA members as well as the number of SC non-permanent members and the number of permanent members could be examined.

## **4. Categories of membership**

- a) The UN Charter mentions only two categories (permanent and non-permanent), but GA decision 62/557 refers to "categories of membership" without specifying them, which leaves it to the member states to decide if additional categories may be created.
- b) During discussions in IGN GA72 and in previous IGN sessions, Member States expressed preference for one or more of the following options, in a reformed Security Council:

- Enlargement of the SC with both permanent and 2-year term non-permanent members;
- Enlargement of the SC with 2-year term non-permanent members and creation of a new category of longer-term non-permanent members with possibility of reelection;
- Enlargement of the SC with 2-year term non-permanent members.

- c) While bearing in mind the close connections between all five key issues, categories of membership might be discussed in parallel with regional representation, the size of the Security Council and the question of veto.
- d) The possibility of accommodating the options mentioned in III.4.b. in an enlarged Security Council could also be explored

## 5. The question of veto

- a) More in-depth discussions are needed to explore how the veto impacts the work and the effectiveness of an enlarged Security Council.
- b) During discussions in IGN GA72 and in previous IGN sessions, the following options were mentioned:
  - If new permanent members are approved:
    - the veto might be expanded to all permanent members; or
    - new permanent members might not benefit from the veto, which will be kept only by the current P5; or
    - the veto might be extended to new permanent members after a reviewing period.
  - Progressive restraint.
  - Abolition of veto, however some Member States argue 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 adopted by the African Union in March 2005.
  - Voluntarily refrain from the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocity crimes. Initiatives in this regard include the “Political statement on the suspension of the veto in case of mass atrocities” presented by France and Mexico during the 70<sup>th</sup> session of the GA and the “Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes” by the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) Group.

## 6. Regional representation

- a) The appropriate ratio between the number of SC non-permanent members and number of countries in regional groups needs further deliberations.
- b) The question of whether a country represents only itself in the SC, or its region, or the whole of UN membership needs further clarifications. UN Charter, Article 24.1: “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.”
- c) Member States expressed diverging views on the possibility of reflecting the increasing role of regional groups and regional organizations in international relations, particularly in the fields of peace and security.

- d) Further clarification is needed on the role of regional groups in selecting new members.
- e) The African Union reserves the right for the selection of Africa's representatives in the Security Council, based on its criteria for selection, as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus.
- f) In relation with equitable representation, further clarification is needed on the concepts of "equitable geographic distribution" and "regional representation".
- g) More in-depth discussions are needed to clarify questions pertaining to cross-regional representation in an enlarged SC especially for small states, Small Island Developing States and Arab States.
- h) While bearing in mind the close connections between all five clusters, regional representation might be discussed in parallel with the size of the SC and categories of membership. Africa's demand for equitable representation is inseparably linked to categories of membership and the question of the veto as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus.
- i) 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 II.1.d. 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".
- j) During discussions in IGN GA72 and in previous IGN sessions, some Member States expressed different views with regard to the distribution of additional seats among the regional groups. Many Member States stressed the close interconnectedness between these demands for regional representation and the categories of membership as well as the question of the veto. Views included, but are not limited to:

In case of expansion of non-permanent seats, including with a longer term, some Member States proposed:

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

In case of expansion of both permanent and non-permanent seats, some Member States proposed:

- 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.
- 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: 1; Arab States across regions: proportionate representation.

In case of creation of longer term non-permanent seats, some Member States proposed:

- New longer term non-permanent seats with a term length of 8 or 10 years to be equitable distributed among African States: 2; Asia-Pacific States: 2; Latin America and Caribbean States: 1; Western European and Other States: 1.
- Additional two-year non-permanent seats: for African States: 2; Asia-Pacific States: 1; Eastern European States: 1; Latin America and Caribbean States: 1.

# List of Abbreviations

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <b>AG</b>      | Advisory Group   |
| <b>AHWG</b>    | Ad Hoc Working Group   |
| <b>AU</b>      | African Union  |
| <b>C-10</b>    | Committee of Ten - The African Parliamentary Alliance for UN Reforms   |
| <b>CARICOM</b> | Caribbean Community. Refers to a group of 15 UN Member States and 5 Associate Members.   |
| <b>DPRK</b>    | Democratic People's Republic of Korea  |
| <b>ECOSOC</b>  | Economic and Social Council  |
| <b>GA</b>      | General Assembly. May also be abbreviated as UNGA.   |
| <b>G-4</b>     | Group of Four : Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan, who are collectively called the G-4   |
| <b>ICJ</b>     | International Court of Justice   |
| <b>IGN</b>     | Intergovernmental Negotiations   |
| <b>ODA</b>     | United Nation Office for Disarmament Affairs. May also be abbreviated as UNODA.  |
| <b>OEWG</b>    | Refers to 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 |
| <b>OIC</b>     | Organization of Islamic Cooperation  |
| <b>PGA</b>     | President of General Assembly  |
| <b>P5</b>      | Permanent Members of the Security Council China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States of America  |
| <b>PR</b>      | Permanent Representative   |
| <b>Rev</b>     | Revision   |
| <b>ROD</b>     | Roll Over Decision   |
| <b>S5</b>      | Small 5 Countries - Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland   |
| <b>SC</b>      | Security Council   |
| <b>SCR</b>     | Security Council Reform  |
| <b>SG</b>      | Secretary General  |
| <b>UFC</b>     | United for Consensus.  |
| <b>UN</b>      | United Nations   |
| <b>WTO</b>     | World Trade Organization   |

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