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## QUESTION OF AN INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

### Report of the Special Political Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Angel SANZ BRIZ (Spain)

1. The question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council was placed on the provisional agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in accordance with paragraph 1 of resolution 1404 (XIV) of 25 November 1959. At the 898th plenary meeting on 10 October 1960, the General Assembly included the question in the agenda of the session, and at the 904th plenary meeting on 13 October allocated it to the Special Political Committee for consideration and report.
2. The Special Political Committee considered the question at its 186th to 199th meetings inclusive, held between 31 October and 14 November 1960, and again at its 214th to 219th meetings held between 30 November and 7 December.
3. At the 190th meeting on 3 November, two joint draft resolutions were introduced.
4. The first (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1-5) relating to the membership of the Economic and Social Council was eventually co-sponsored by forty-six delegations: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Madagascar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Somalia, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Uruguay and Venezuela. At the 217th meeting the representative of Liberia withdrew his co-sponsorship (A/SPC/L.51/Corr.1). The

preamble to the draft resolution would have had the General Assembly have regard to the increase in the membership of the United Nations and to the functions of the Economic and Social Council, and consider that to ensure sufficiently broad participation in the work of that Council it was desirable to increase the number of its members. In the operative part, the Assembly was to adopt, and submit for ratification by the Members, amendments to Article 61 of the Charter increasing the membership of the Council to twenty-four, with eight members to be elected each year. It was to be provided further that the amendments should be inoperative unless, within three years from the date of their adoption, they were ratified as required by the Charter for entry into force. Finally, the Assembly was to urge all Members to ratify the amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes with the least possible delay, and to decide to fill the seats of the six additional members as soon as possible after the amendments had entered into force and, if necessary, to hold a special session of the General Assembly for that purpose.

5. The second draft resolution (A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1-3) relating to the membership of the Security Council was eventually co-sponsored by thirty-nine delegations: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Thailand, Togo, Upper Volta, Uruguay and Venezuela. The preamble would have declared that the General Assembly, having regard to the increase in the membership of the United Nations and to the functions of the Security Council, considered it desirable to increase the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council in order to give due regard to the contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and the other purposes of the Organization of Members of the United Nations not permanent members of the Security Council and to equitable geographical distribution. The operative paragraph would have had the Assembly adopt, and submit for ratification to the Members, amendments to Articles 23 and 27 of the Charter, to increase from eleven to thirteen the number of members of the Security Council and from six to eight the number of non-permanent members, and to increase from seven to eight the number of votes required for the

adoption of decisions by the Council. The amendments were to be inoperative unless, within three years from the date of their adoption by the Assembly, they were ratified as required by the Charter for entry into force. Finally, the Assembly was to urge all Members to ratify the amendments in accordance with their respective constitutional processes with the least possible delay, and to decide that the two additional non-permanent members of the Security Council should be elected as soon as possible after the amendments had entered into force, and that, if necessary, it would hold a special session of the General Assembly for that purpose.

6. At the 197th meeting on 10 November, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, India and Iraq submitted a draft resolution (A/SPC/L.53/Rev.1). The preamble would have had the General Assembly, inter alia, recall the provisions of resolution 1404 (XIV) and recognize that under the Charter any amendments required ratification by two-thirds of the Members including all the permanent members of the Security Council. The operative part would have had the Assembly: (1) recommend that a committee to include, inter alia, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics be set up immediately for the purpose of finding a satisfactory solution taking into account the views expressed in that connexion in the Assembly; (2) express the fervent hope that the said committee would find a solution and also recommend the proper means of implementing it; and (3) request the committee to report to the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.

7. At the 199th meeting on 14 November, the Committee agreed without objection to a motion by India under rule 117 of the rules of procedure to adjourn consideration of the item in order to allow time for efforts to harmonize the draft resolutions that had been presented.

8. When the Committee resumed consideration of this question at its 214th meeting on 30 November, it had before it an amendment (A/SPC/L.54 and Add.1) to the draft resolution relating to the Economic and Social Council (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1-5) and another (A/SPC/L.55 and Add.1) to the draft resolution relating to the Security Council (A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1-3).

9. The amendment to the first draft resolution (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1-5) was co-sponsored by thirteen delegations: Cameroun, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia, Togo and Tunisia (A/SPC/L.54 and Add.1). It would have inserted the words "Part A" before the

first preambular paragraph, modified the third preambular paragraph to include the consideration that to ensure sufficiently broad participation in the work of the Economic and Social Council it was essential to ensure the equitable redistribution of existing seats and to increase the membership of the Council, and reduced from three to two years, in operative paragraph 1, the time-limit within which the amendments should be ratified by the Members. It would have added a new part B under which the Assembly was to decide that immediate steps should be taken for the redistribution of the existing seats in the Economic and Social Council, to be effective at the present session, so as to ensure equitable geographical distribution and, in particular, to reflect the increased membership of the United Nations.

10. The amendment to the draft resolution relating to the Security Council (A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1-3) was co-sponsored by twelve delegations: Cameroun, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia and Togo (A/SPC/L.55 and Add.1). It, too, called for: (1) insertion of the words "Part A" before the first preambular paragraph, (2) modification of the third preambular paragraph to include the consideration that to ensure sufficiently broad participation in the work of the Security Council it was essential to ensure the equitable redistribution of existing seats and to increase the membership of the Council, (3) reduction, in operative paragraph 1, from three to two years of the time-limit within which the amendments should be ratified by the Members, and (4) addition of a new part B under which the Assembly was to decide that immediate steps should be taken for the redistribution of the existing seats in the Security Council, to be effective at the present session, so as to ensure equitable geographical distribution and, in particular, to reflect the increased membership of the United Nations.

11. At the 215th meeting on 1 December, the Committee, by 45 votes to 3, with 30 abstentions, adopted a motion by the representative of Ireland under rule 119 of the rules of procedure to adjourn the meeting until the following afternoon in order to allow an opportunity for further efforts to produce a text which could command wider support. On a similar motion by the representative of Pakistan, the 216th meeting on 2 December was also adjourned, by 34 votes to 8, with 34 abstentions.

12. At the 217th meeting on 5 December, the Committee began to vote on the draft resolutions and amendments before it, as follows:

The thirteen-Power amendment (A/SPC/L.54 and Add.1) to the forty-five Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.51 and Corr.1, and Add.1-5) was first voted on in parts.

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The amendment to insert the words "Part A" before the preamble was adopted by 45 votes to 26, with 21 abstentions.

The amendment to the third preambular paragraph was adopted by a roll-call vote of 48 to 32, with 16 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Haiti, Hungary, Israel, Norway, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The amendment to operative sub-paragraph 1 (d) was adopted by 51 votes to 9, with 29 abstentions.

The amendment to insert the words "Part B" following operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 44 votes to 26, with 23 abstentions.

In a separate vote, the word "immediate" in Part B was adopted by a roll-call vote of 49 to 43, with 4 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Cuba, Cyprus, Israel, Thailand.

In a separate vote, the words "to be effective at this session" in Part B were adopted by a roll-call vote of 49 to 43, with 4 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Cuba, Cyprus, Israel, Thailand.

Part B as a whole was adopted by 37 votes to 35, with 20 abstentions.

The Committee then proceeded to vote by division on the forty-five Power joint draft resolution (A/SPC/L.51 and Corr.1 and Add.1-5) as amended.

The preamble of Part A, as amended, was voted upon separately, and was adopted by 47 votes to 41, with 5 abstentions.

The operative part of Part A, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 76 to 19, with 1 abstention. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Iraq, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Cuba.

The joint draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was rejected by a roll-call vote of 41 to 38, with 17 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, China, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America.

13. At the 218th meeting on 6 December, the Committee continued voting on the draft resolutions and amendments before it, as follows:

The twelve-Power amendment (A/SPC/L.55 and Add.1) to the thirty-nine-Power draft resolution was first voted upon in parts.

The first amendment to insert the words "Part A" before the preamble and the amendment to the third preambular paragraph were voted upon jointly and were adopted by 44 votes to 32, with 16 abstentions.

The amendment to operative sub-paragraph 1 (e) was adopted by 48 votes to 3, with 41 abstentions.

In a separate vote, the words "immediate" and "to be effective at this session" in Part B were adopted by a roll-call vote of 49 to 42, with 5 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Cuba, Cyprus, Haiti, Israel, Thailand.

Part B of the amendment, as a whole, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 40 to 37, with 19 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

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Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Haiti, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Poland, Romania, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Committee then proceeded to vote on the thirty-nine-Power joint draft resolution (A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1-3) as amended.

In a separate vote, the words "thirteen" and "eight" in operative sub-paragraph 1 (a) were adopted by a roll-call vote of 42 to 32, with 21 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Burma, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Sudan, Uruguay, Yemen.

The operative paragraphs of part A as a whole, as amended, were adopted by 73 votes to 14, with 6 abstentions.

The joint draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was rejected by a roll-call vote of 42 to 36, with 17 abstentions, as follows:

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In favour: Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen.

Against: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, China, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Turkey.

14. At the 219th meeting on 7 December, the representative of India, on behalf of his own delegation and the delegations of Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, and Iraq, withdrew the draft resolution (A/SPC/L.53/Rev.1) which they had sponsored jointly.
15. The Committee, therefore, has no recommendation to make to the General Assembly on the present agenda item.

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