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Chairman: Mr. Carlet R. AUGUSTE (Haiti).

**AGENDA ITEM 23**

**Question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1, A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1) (continued)**

1. Mr. OSMAN (Morocco) said that with the recent admission of the new African States the African and Asian countries were badly under-represented in the principal organs of the United Nations, in which they should be allowed to make their full contribution to the solution of the vital problems with which the world was faced, not only in the economic and social fields but also in the political field. Over the years, the framework within which the United Nations operated had become too narrow and had ceased to correspond to the reality of modern times. A fundamental problem had thus been raised, demanding for its solution more than a mere readjustment. The effectiveness and the representative character of the entire Organization was at stake. In that connexion, he observed that the absence of the People's Republic of China seriously diminished the authority and universality of the United Nations, but there could be no doubt that the admission of the People's Republic of China would not be long delayed. However, the question of more equitable representation for the new Member States demanded an urgent solution, and the absence of the People's Republic of China—which was not the fault of the new States—should not be allowed to stand in the way of their desire to participate fully in the work of the Organization.

2. Article 108 of the Charter which governed amendments made no distinction between technical amendments and substantive amendments. Hence, agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council was an essential prerequisite for solving the problem of more equitable representation. Until such a measure of agreement could be reached, the only solution lay in the reallocation of the existing seats. It had been argued that the States now enjoying generous representation in the two Councils would be reluctant to give up their privileges. He urged them to show sympathetic understanding of African-Asian problems, and to realize that a friendly arrangement reallocating the existing seats was the only way of speedily correcting the present unrealistic situation.

3. With regard to the suggestion that for the time being attempts to increase membership should be confined to the Economic and Social Council, the African-Asian States had a vital interest in problems of peace and security also. Many of the problems which the Security Council had recently had to deal with had arisen in Africa or Asia. As to the suggestion that countries with a particular interest in a matter under consideration might be invited, under Article 69 of the Charter, to participate in the deliberations of the Economic and Social Council without the right to vote, he thought such participation would not only be inadequate, it would also aggravate the present discrimination between Members of the United Nations.

4. Any reallocation of existing seats or increase in the number of seats on the two Councils must be directed primarily towards the equitable representation of the African and Asian countries. The issue of a "reasonable" increase had been over-emphasized. He agreed with the representative of Guinea (192nd meeting) that even if the number of seats was increased, redistribution would also be needed in order to secure equitable geographical representation, and that there should be full consultation with the groups concerned.

5. In view of the urgency of the situation, the United Nations must make an energetic attempt to move with the times and to readapt itself to the realities of the international situation.

*Mr. Gamboa (Philippines), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

6. Mr. ELDEM (Turkey) said that of the two remedies proposed, the reallocation of the existing seats on the two Councils and an increase in the number of seats, his delegation continued to favour the second. To redistribute the existing seats would be to create an injustice while removing another. Adequate representation of all the regions of the world could only be ensured by increasing the membership of the two Councils, and that in turn could only be brought about by amending the Charter. Such an increase would be merely a formal amendment, a logical corollary to the increase in the membership of the Organization. The Turkish delegation could therefore not agree that it should be subject to the prior consideration of the admission of the People's Republic of China. Like the Senegalese delegation (190th meeting), it could not see what the problem of China had to do with the present question.

7. The Turkish delegation had examined carefully the two joint draft resolutions; they represented a laudable effort for which the representative of El Salvador and the representatives of the other Latin American countries deserved thanks. The Turkish delegation would vote in favour of both drafts.

8. Mr. IMRU (Ethiopia) said that if the world at large was to appreciate the full implications of the transformation that had taken place in Asia, and on the continent of Africa in particular, since the adoption of the Charter, it was vital that the new African-Asian Members should be fairly represented in all the principal organs of the United Nations. If the national sovereignty of the newly independent African countries was to be meaningful and substantial, they needed the sympathy and assistance of the world community as well as an opportunity to share in its deliberations. Many African peoples were shedding local and tribal prejudices to assume the task of building national States, with the international obligations and privileges which that implied.

9. The present antiquated system of allocating the seats on the two Councils was not in line with reality; it was in fact a relic of the era of colonialism, and the situation should be redressed without delay—indeed at the current session. At a time when the Security Council was devoting so much attention to African affairs, it was particularly imperative that the African continent should be properly represented in it. Similarly, the under-developed regions of the world, of which Africa and Asia formed the greater part, were the Economic and Social Council's chief concern.

10. If the United Nations was to remain the mainstay of independent States, it must change with the times. Unless it was aware of the problems of the newly independent countries through close contact with them, it would become remote, bureaucratic and paternalistic. The perpetuation of the unsatisfactory system of representation now in force would undermine the United Nations effectiveness as the only organization for safeguarding mankind against war and promoting international co-operation in all fields.

11. It was universally recognized that the composition of the two Councils was no longer balanced or equitable, but there was disagreement as to the means whereby the situation was to be remedied. Increasing the membership of the two Councils, as advocated in the two joint draft resolutions was one way of ensuring more equitable representation, but it was not the only way. Even if the recommendation was adopted, the necessary procedure of ratification could cause delay. In the meantime, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council would still be required to take decisions affecting the interests of Africa. The possibility of re-allocating the existing seats should therefore be given urgent consideration. In fact, if the principle of equitable representation was really to be attained, it would be necessary both to re-allocate existing seats and to provide for an increase. The Ethiopian delegation therefore joined with the delegations of Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Morocco in urging the older Members of the United Nations to make some sacrifice of their own interests and give favourable consideration to a re-allocation of seats. At the same time, the necessary amendments to the Charter should also be pressed.

*Mr. Auguste (Haiti) resumed the Chair.*

12. Mr. UDOVICHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that during the present historic session of the General Assembly many Heads of State and political leaders had dwelt on the great political and social changes that had taken place in the modern

world, and the discrepancy between those changes and the structure and membership of the principal organs of the United Nations. Part of the broad programme of changes proposed by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev as a means of solving the most pressing problems of international life related to the obsolete structure of the United Nations.

13. Some representatives maintained that the question now before the Committee was a simple, technical issue. In fact, however, it was of great political significance, for it involved the allocation of seats in the principal organs of the United Nations to the new States of Africa and Asia which had emerged as full members of the international community as a result of the vast changes which had taken place in the colonial world. At the same time, the socialist countries had increased in number and power and the former great capitalist and imperialist countries, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, had declined in economic and military might. The structure of the United Nations no longer corresponded to the redistribution of world forces. It was time now for the Charter to reflect the real circumstances of 1960, and for the structure of the United Nations to be changed in accordance with the principle of equal representation for the three groups into which the world was divided.

14. It was important, therefore, to consider changes not only in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, but also in the Secretariat. The organization of the Secretariat was no longer in keeping with the requirements of the times, and its activities ran counter to the interests of many Members of the United Nations. The chief defects in the Secretariat were the concentration of power in the hands of the Secretary-General, and the principles governing recruitment. The post of Secretary-General should be abolished and its place taken by a committee of three persons having the confidence of the three groups of States into which the world was divided. With regard to staff recruitment, he said that about 65 per cent of the professional staff were citizens of the United States or its allies. The neutral countries of Asia, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, supplied about 7 per cent each out of the total number of professional staff. Africa supplied only about 3 per cent. With a quota of twenty eight posts allotted to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, only two citizens of the Republic were at present employed in the Secretariat. Nationals of the United States occupied sixty senior posts and nationals of the United Kingdom thirty-two. At the same time, some fifty-six countries were unrepresented in the Secretariat. No wonder the organs of the United Nations were sometimes referred to as branches of the State Department of the United States.

15. The structure of the Security Council also ought to be changed, so as to ensure the participation on an equal footing of representatives of the neutral, socialist and imperialist countries. No country or group of countries should be in a position to dominate the Security Council; its decisions should take full account of the interests of all three groups of countries, truly to reflect and represent the real relationship of international forces. Similar changes were needed in the Economic and Social Council.

16. Agreement on the reorganization of the main organs of the United Nations was impossible because

the United States denied the People's Republic of China its rights. The Charter could not be amended without the participation of the People's Republic, which was a permanent member of the Security Council. The amendment of the Charter was being prevented, not by the Soviet Union, as the Belgian representative had implied (192nd meeting), but by the group led by the United States, which included Belgium.

17. He sympathized with the eagerness of the new African States to exercise their rights; but he reminded them that the end of colonialism and their achievement of independence had been greatly assisted by the Chinese people's victory over imperialism. The African and Asian countries could use their influence to right the injustice done to China. He regretted that some countries, after voting to include the question of Chinese representation in the agenda of the General Assembly, had sponsored the two draft resolutions, which ignored the rights of China. Other delegations which had voted against the inclusion of the item now hypocritically advocated universality for the United Nations. It had been said that one injustice should not be remedied by another; but in the present instance there was only one injustice—that committed against China by the United States.

18. Both draft resolutions were full of the spirit of the cold war, and were aimed against the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. As Mr. Khrushchev had told the General Assembly (869th plenary meeting), the United Nations needed the People's Republic of China as much as that country needed admission to the United Nations.

19. Mr. RAMIREZ BOETTNER (Paraguay) said that the two draft resolutions which Paraguay had co-sponsored would give the new Members of the United Nations an opportunity to contribute to international co-operation, but would not affect the two Councils' functions or their voting procedure, or the rights of Members of longer standing. It was wrong to treat the matter as a political one, as an episode in the cold war. Small countries depended more than others on international organizations, and it was particularly important to them that such problems should be settled in a spirit of co-operation.

20. To increase the membership of the two Councils was the fairest solution. The redistribution of existing seats would create serious problems, because certain regions would gain at the expense of others. Those who were ready to give away the seats of others might show their generosity by giving up their own.

21. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan) said that the United Nations had become almost universal. It was agreed that African and Asian countries were under-represented in the two Councils which should be enlarged. Representatives disagreed only on the way in which that could be brought about.

22. By admitting new countries, the United Nations assumed an obligation to give them equitable representation in all its organs. The Committee should keep to the agenda item, which did not mention the representation of China or the reform of the Secretary-General's office. If those questions were relevant, their inclusion in the agenda item before the Committee should have been proposed in the General Committee.

23. Since it seemed impossible to amend the Charter in the near future, the existing seats should be re-distributed. He did not agree that there should be no re-allocation of seats now held by older members. After all, the Charter did not vest them with a right to the seats they held. Moreover, they could no longer claim the extra seats they had been given in 1946, when they had been responsible for many Non-Self-Governing Territories.

24. His delegation would not oppose the draft resolutions now before the Committee (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1, and A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1) but it doubted whether they were practical. It was pointless to set in motion the procedure for ratification when the Soviet Union had said in advance that it would block the amendment. He wondered why the idea of setting up the committee provided for in operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1404 (XIV) had been completely ignored.

25. Mr. HARARI (Israel) said that as there was no provision in the Charter for permanent membership of the Economic and Social Council it might be well to begin by taking steps to increase the membership of that body without trying to enlarge the Security Council at present. The new African Members should realize, however, that even if the Economic and Social Council was enlarged it would not be an easy matter to win election to it, as the experience of countries which did not form part of any particular grouping had demonstrated. His own country, for example, was one of thirty-seven Member States which had never been elected to any of the Councils, whereas others had been elected three or four times over. Before Members were re-elected the fair and logical thing to do would be to take into account the contributions which could be made not only by the newly-admitted Members but also by the thirty-seven to which he had referred. Israel, for example, felt that it could do particularly useful work on the Economic and Social Council. His delegation would vote in favour of one draft resolution (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1) and would abstain in the case of the other (A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1).

26. Mr. MOD (Hungary) agreed with the representative of India (191st meeting) that the question before the Committee was not one which could be settled merely by a vote, since that would not remove the existing obstacles to the requisite amendment to the Charter. It was incorrect to state that the problem was a purely technical one, for the world of 1960 bore little resemblance to that of 1945 and any amendment to the Charter would accordingly have far-reaching political implications. As the Charter drew no distinction between types of amendments, the proposed amendments would require ratification by a two-thirds majority of the membership, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. That was where the first obstacle was encountered. One of the permanent members was being prevented from taking its rightful place in the United Nations and those responsible were thereby making it difficult for the various organs to do really effective work and creating a situation in which it was impossible to amend the Charter. The issue before the Committee bore out the contention of the socialist countries and others that failure to recognize the People's Republic of China not only constituted discrimination against the Chinese people but was seriously undermining the

prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations. If the legitimate desire of the new African Member States for adequate representation was not being met, the fault lay solely with the bloc led by the United States. The second obstacle was that despite the so-called gentleman's agreement reached in 1946 the principle of equitable geographical distribution was not being observed. The countries of eastern Europe, for example, had on occasion been deprived of their representation on the Security Council so that other countries whose social systems were more to the liking of the United States might be elected in their stead. The third obstacle was the antiquated structure of the United Nations. Not only the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council but many other United Nations bodies ignored the principle of equitable geographical distribution and in all too many instances the Secretariat and the Secretary-General represented only the Western Powers. The fact that not one of the large number of persons dispatched by the Secretariat to the Congo was from a socialist country was a case in point. The regrettable developments in the Congo were in part due to the failure of the Secretariat to observe the principle of geographical distribution in determining which staff members were to be sent there.

27. As the two draft resolutions before the Committee made no mention of the existing obstacles to amendment of the Charter he would be unable to vote in favour of them. His delegation would continue its efforts to eliminate those obstacles so that the legitimate request of the new Member States to be allowed to participate in the work of the two Councils as well as other United Nations bodies would be satisfied.

28. Mr. SMITH (Canada) recalled that it had long been his delegation's contention that the African and Asian countries were not adequately represented on either the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council and that the only satisfactory way to correct the imbalance would be to enlarge the membership of those bodies to an extent consonant with the requirements of efficiency. Unfortunately the debates on the subject over the past five years had been diverted into fruitless examination of substitute half-measures and the Assembly had been prevented from taking action by the introduction of entirely irrelevant considerations. As had been noted by other speakers, if the legality of a particular Assembly decision reached without the participation of a certain Member was to be questioned, then in the interests of consistency every other Assembly decision taken since 1945 would likewise have to be questioned. The large number of new Members made it imperative to take action at the current session. He agreed with the Argentine representative that since Article 108 of the Charter provided for a two-stage procedure for amending the Charter, the Assembly should now concentrate on the first stage. Then, pending the completion of the second stage, the problem might be eased by the application of the provision in Article 69 of the Charter allowing the Economic and Social Council to invite any Member to participate without vote in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member. That could, however, be regarded only as an interim measure and should not be allowed to open the way to the establishment of a kind of second-class membership for any sovereign State.

29. It might be wise at present to concentrate on enlarging the membership of the Economic and Social Council rather than to try to alter the composition of the Security Council at the same time. As a functional body, the Economic and Social Council could give immediate practical assistance to developing States. Also, the fact that its membership was not restricted by specific Charter provisions or other formal conventions might make it easier to adapt to the political realities of the present than the Security Council, where major political differences inevitably entered the picture. Redistribution of the seats on the Economic and Social Council would not solve the problem, for it would merely substitute a new imbalance for the existing one. The suggestion was therefore bound to arouse the opposition of a formidable number of Member States which would naturally feel called upon to defend their own regional interests. Furthermore, it would give all areas a feeling of insecurity with regard to their entitlement to representation. In any case, as the representative of Guinea had rightly observed, redistribution without enlargement would not provide sufficient seats for a satisfactory representation of Africa and Asia. Finally, equitable geographical distribution could not be the sole criterion to be observed in the election of members, for the Council could not function efficiently unless a reasonable balance was maintained between the contributing and receiving countries. The distribution of seats should therefore take account of both regional and functional considerations.

30. In view of the foregoing, his delegation was prepared to support the draft resolutions which the Committee had before it. If the proposals they embodied received overwhelming support at the present stage the resulting moral pressure might well be sufficient to persuade all the great Powers to ratify them.

31. With regard to the good offices committee advocated by the Indian representative, his own delegation thought that it would only result in at least a year's delay in setting in motion the process of amending the Charter, after which still another year would have to elapse before the process of ratification could be completed. He could not agree with the Indian representative that the responsibility for solving the problem lay with the great Powers rather than with the membership at large, for the interests of all Members were affected.

32. The wide-ranging Soviet proposals for an alteration of the entire structure of the United Nations should not distract the Committee from the problem before it. Those proposals would clearly require a formal conference on Charter revision. As the Assembly had adopted a resolution (1381 (XIV)) under which that subject was to be discussed at the sixteenth session, the Soviet proposal might more appropriately be held over until that time. In the view of his delegation, the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations should be based on the geographical areas into which the world was divided and which corresponded to national traditions and interests, rather than on a division along the lines of massive power blocs. The latter classification was not only at variance with the principles of the Charter but would have the effect of confirming a totally artificial division of the world in terms of defensive

alliances or political differences. As the Committee was examining proposals concerning Charter amendment it should exercise great care to preserve the Charter as a document which embodied firm prin-

ciples but made provision for procedures elastic enough to meet the needs of the changing times.

The meeting rose at 1.21 p.m.