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

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Gamboa (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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 A/SPC/L.52) (continued)

1. Mr. GRYAZNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, in his delegation's view, the question under discussion could be usefully examined only with due regard to the quantitative and qualitative changes that had taken place in the world since the establishment of the United Nations. In Europe and Asia the socialist countries now had 1,000 million inhabitants, or a third of the world's population. In addition many peoples in Africa and in Asia had in the past few years succeeded in freeing themselves from the colonial yoke and in constituting themselves independent States whose combined population accounted for more than one-third of the world total. In 1945 the United Nations had numbered only three African States among its Members; there were now twenty-six independent countries on that continent. The influence exerted by those countries on world politics was increasing steadily, whereas the Western bloc had in recent years lost its former position in both the economic and the military sphere. Yet the structure of the United Nations and of its organs, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretariat, had remained unchanged and no longer corresponded to the new distribution of forces in international life. As in the past, the countries of the West, united in various political and military blocs led by the United States, dominated the United Nations. That group used the United Nations to serve its petty interests and imposed its will on other States.

2. In the Security Council, for example, neither the socialist countries nor the neutral countries were adequately represented. The Western countries, especially the United States, were doing their utmost to prevent the countries of Eastern Europe from occupying the non-permanent seat in the Council to which they were entitled under the "gentleman's agreement" of 1946. The seat which belonged to the East European countries had been occupied since 1952 by representatives of other parts of the world. At the General As-

sembly's fourteenth session, that seat had been shared between Poland and Turkey (857th plenary meeting), a country which did not belong to Eastern Europe. As for the countries of the African continent, they had only one representative on the Security Council. The situation was the same in the Economic and Social Council. Hence in examining the question of an increase in the membership of the two Councils it was impossible to consider only the quantitative aspect, for the time had come to make qualitative changes in the structure of the United Nations.

3. In so doing it was necessary to uphold the principle of equal representation for the socialist group, the capitalist group and the group of neutral countries. A mere increase in the membership of the two Councils would not give the desired results, for the group of countries, led by the United States, which now dominated the United Nations would turn the situation to its own advantage, a development which would harm the other groups of States, worsen relations among countries and impair the authority of the United Nations.

4. His delegation considered the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council to be vitally connected with that of the reform of the Secretariat. Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, had rightly stated at the 882nd plenary meeting on 3 October 1960 that the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations should be replaced by an executive organ composed of one representative from each of three States belonging to the three groups he had mentioned. It was not enough to adopt sound resolutions; much depended on how they were implemented by the executive organ. The latter could implement them, hamper their implementation, or even act on diametrically opposite lines. Events in the Congo were an example of the last-mentioned case. The Secretary-General had acted in a manner contrary to the resolutions^{1/} of the Security Council. Instead of supporting the legal Parliament and Government of the Congo—the Government at whose request the United Nations contingents had been sent to the country—the Secretary-General had used those contingents to interfere in the domestic affairs of the new State, thus serving the interests of the colonialist circles.

5. Those events had occurred because the executive organ of the United Nations was headed by a man who represented the interests of only one group of countries. It was time to put an end to that state of affairs and to prevent the United Nations from becoming, more and more, the tool of the aggressive policy of a group of States. As Mr. Khrushchev had stated, the socialist countries sought no privileges for themselves, but objected to privileges being used against them by other

^{1/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September, 1960, resolutions S/4387, S/4405 and S/4426.

countries. It was therefore necessary to reorganize the structure of the United Nations on a basis of equal representation for the three groups of States and thereby make it possible to ensure the peaceful coexistence of all States, regardless of their political and social structure. Notwithstanding the need for that reform, the Soviet Government's proposal had met with opposition from the Western countries. Mr. Khrushchev had been accused of seeking to undermine, through his proposal, the very foundations of the United Nations. The Western countries, by their ferocious defence of the existing United Nations machinery, proved that that machinery and the Secretary-General himself expressed their points of view and served their interests. The real purpose of the Soviet proposals to remedy that situation was to strengthen the United Nations by making it truly universal. If the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council were so composed that the three groups of countries were equally represented, the resolutions adopted by those organs would be applied equally by all Member States as common resolutions binding on all. If, on the contrary, one group of countries imposed its will on the others, the resolutions adopted would appear to be imposed from outside and to be directed against the interests of those other countries. In such a case the resolutions would have no moral force and would be in a sense illegal, for no group of States could compel another to adopt and ratify decisions taken in such a fashion. The result would be a lessening of the authority of the United Nations and a worsening of international tension.

6. His delegation had no objection in principle to an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council—provided that the question of reorganizing the Secretariat was examined at the same time—but considered that, when such action was taken, the provisions of the Charter should be strictly observed. Article 108 provided *inter alia* that amendments to the Charter should come into force when they had been ratified by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. It was well known that, through the fault of the United States and its allies, China, a permanent member of the Security Council and one of the founding Members of the United Nations, was at present prevented from participating in the work of the United Nations and its organs. It was reasonable to ask, therefore, how the idea of amending the Charter could be seriously considered unless the People's Republic of China took part in the discussions. The Government of the People's Republic of China obviously would not ratify amendments to the Charter adopted without its participation and consent; consequently such amendments would have no legal effect. Only when the People's Republic of China had been reinstated in its legal rights could positive results be achieved in the matter of the various amendments to the Charter which were required. Moreover, the fact that the People's Republic of China, with a population of 650 million, was unable to participate in the work of the United Nations, and that its place was occupied by irresponsible individuals opposed to the real interests of the Chinese people, afforded further evidence that certain Western countries were imposing their will on other States and transforming the United Nations into an instrument of their selfish policy.

7. His delegation unreservedly supported the position of the USSR delegation with regard to the reform of the United Nations. That position was not inconsistent, as

had been alleged. During the discussion the representatives of some countries had insisted that the first requirement was to increase the membership of the Economic and Social Council. That, they had argued, was a purely technical matter which would not require amendment of the Charter. Such assertions were incorrect. The Economic and Social Council was one of the principal organs of the United Nations. Whatever the nature of the amendments proposed, they had to be adopted strictly in accordance with the Charter procedure. His delegation had the greatest respect for the legitimate claims of the countries of Africa and Asia which had recently freed themselves from colonialism, and which wished to be represented as fully as possible in the various organs of the United Nations. It could not, however, accept the idea that the membership of the Economic and Social Council could be increased immediately through submission of a draft resolution and its adoption by a two-thirds majority of the Member States. How such an amendment would thereafter be ratified had not been stated. Article 108 of the Charter, to which reference had been made in that connexion, could not be split up, for it formed one indivisible whole. In conclusion he believed that, with the support of the new Member States of the African continent, the United Nations would be able to settle satisfactorily the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China.

8. Mr. WILCOX (United States of America) said that his country was strongly in favour of General Assembly action during the present year to increase the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Such action was urgently necessary for a number of reasons. In the first place, while membership of the United Nations had nearly doubled in fifteen years, that of the two Councils had remained unchanged. Secondly, the countries which were most under-represented were the new Members from Africa and Asia; those countries came with new ideas and new enthusiasm and in the interests of the United Nations itself they must participate more fully in its various activities. Thirdly, the enlargement of the two Councils had been repeatedly discussed and had been too long postponed, for no good reason. Today, with the admission of seventeen new Members, such procrastination was becoming intolerable. Fourthly, only slight amendments to the Charter were required to increase the membership of the two Councils. With a little goodwill on the part of the five permanent members of the Security Council, those amendments could be ratified and the new seats filled within a few months. Fifthly, enlargement of the Councils seemed the fairest and most practical means of increasing representation for the African and Asian countries. Re-allocation of the existing seats would deprive some States of the adequate representation they now had, and would lead to serious voting disputes. Enlargement of the Councils, on the other hand, would help the Organization to keep abreast of the development of the international community.

9. The Charter had put the United States and the other permanent members of the Security Council in a privileged position by giving them the right to prevent any changes in the Charter. But no one at the time had looked upon that right as an instrument for thwarting the will of the great majority or for obstructing adjustments of the Organization to changing circumstances. Though legally entitled to block such a measure, the United States was in fact, today as in the past,

ready to support a reasonable increase in the membership of the Councils.

10. Faced with such a simple problem, Members should not let themselves be confused by false arguments or accept conditions which were irrelevant to the question.

11. During the past thirteen years, the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the economic and social field had grown faster than those in any other field. The programmes were continually expanding and called for increasing support. An enlargement of the Economic and Social Council was imperative if the challenge of new responsibilities was to be met. The United States delegation had always considered the proposed measure not as a political step, but essentially as a technical adjustment designed to make the Council more effective, by giving the nations of Africa and Asia a voice befitting their numbers and their ability to contribute to the common efforts. As to the Security Council, the Charter had vested it with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and the events of the past six months showed that the Council was playing an increasingly important part in the consideration of international disputes. Accordingly, greater representation of Africa and Asia in it was essential.

12. Most of the members of the Committee knew why the United Nations had not reached a constructive solution to the problem in past years. But there was no point in engaging in recriminations over the past. The United Nations must turn resolutely towards the future and become a more effective instrument for ensuring order and stability under world law. It would be an important step in the right direction if the new Members of the Organization were given a more equitable representation in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

13. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) recalled that the question of an increase in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations had been included in the agenda of the eleventh session at the suggestion of the delegations of several Latin American countries and of Spain. In the discussions on the subject at the time it had been found that, apart from the question of the International Court of Justice, all the delegations consulted, including those of permanent members of the Security Council, favoured a considerable increase in the membership of the principal United Nations bodies. There were merely slight differences of opinion as to the number of members for the Economic and Social Council. Some countries, such as the United Kingdom, advocated a very slight increase, while others wanted the membership expanded to twenty-four. The delegations were unanimous in holding that the two Councils should be enlarged, and they all agreed that the membership of the Security Council should be increased from eleven to thirteen, giving five permanent and eight non-permanent members. But it had been found impossible to amend the Charter because the Soviet Union had made it clear that it would block any amendment so long as the People's Republic of China was not seated in the United Nations.

14. It seemed, however, that the Soviet Union's stand had slightly altered. At the present session, the USSR representatives had advocated replacing the Secretary-General by a triumvirate representing the three

blocks into which they considered—mistakenly—that the world was at present divided. If the Soviet Union considered that the present structure of the Secretariat should be changed, it presumably envisaged the possibility of amending the appropriate provisions of the Charter. But it had never insisted that the problem of China's representation must be solved before the structure of the Secretariat could be modified.

15. In view of the efforts made for the past five years, and the considerable increase in the membership of the United Nations, a serious attempt must be made to settle the question of the composition of the principal United Nations bodies, and thus to give the new Members the same opportunities as the older ones. An attempt must be made to solve the problem during the present year by the procedure which would be most normal, namely, by amending the Charter.

16. Accordingly, a large group of delegations had submitted two draft resolutions, one relating to the Economic and Social Council and the other to the Security Council. The first draft resolution (A/SPC/L.51) proposed that the membership of the Economic and Social Council should be increased from eighteen to twenty-four, while providing for continuity in the Council's work by means of a rotation system in the election of the six new members. The second draft resolution (A/SPC/L.52) would increase the membership of the Security Council from eleven to thirteen and modify the voting procedure accordingly. Both texts specified that the amendments were to be inoperative unless they were ratified within three years. Experience in the case of the League of Nations showed that, when agreements were drawn up between a large number of States, some States took a long time to ratify them, so that the status of the agreements sometimes became confused. If after three years the amendments had not been ratified, another solution would have to be sought, but there was reason to hope that if the great majority of Member States supported the amendments it would not be difficult to obtain ratification by two-thirds of the Members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

17. The only difficulty was the Soviet Union's attitude. However, that country had acknowledged the need to amend the Charter and the objection it raised did not seem to be an insuperable obstacle, since it ignored the argument in the case of a change in the structure of the Secretariat. Besides, Article 108 did not stipulate that the assent of all the permanent members of the Security Council was necessary before the Assembly could take a decision on amending the Charter, and it was to be hoped that the moral weight of a decision taken by two-thirds of the Member States would be sufficient to obtain the necessary ratifications. The sponsors of the two draft resolutions, especially the countries of Latin America, considered that amendments to the Charter constituted the normal procedure for satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the new Member States. Any method which would harm some in order to benefit others must be renounced, for all Member States should work in a spirit of solidarity towards a common goal. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the countries which would be affected by reallocation of the seats were those which, like the Latin American countries, had fought the most actively for an increase in the membership of the United Nations. Also, the States which had been Members of the Organization for a longer period had made a valu-

able contribution to the work of the Economic and Social Council, the Security Council and the other United Nations bodies.

18. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), exercising his right of reply, said that in spite of what the Salvadorian representative seemed to think, the Soviet Union's stand had not changed, as was clear from the Soviet representative's statement in the Special Political Committee's 186th meeting. It should be repeated: only when a satisfactory solution was found to the problem of the representation of China would it be possible to amend the provisions of the Charter relating to the composition of the principal organs of the United Nations. Any amendment of the Charter therefore required that China's legitimate rights should be restored. Nor was it a purely technical problem, because any kind of amendment necessarily involved a change in the whole structure of the Organization. That was why his delegation could not support the two draft resolutions which had just been submitted.

19. The Soviet delegation protested against the attempts by certain representatives to blame the situation on the Soviet Union. The United States claimed to be sincerely interested in increasing the membership of the principal organs of the Organization, but it was the United States that had again brought the question of Chinese representation to a deadlock. To accuse the Soviet Union was therefore unfair. The blame must be laid at the door of those who had followed the United States and voted against the representation of the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union would like to repeat categorically that it would not support any step to amend the Charter until the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China had been restored. It also protested against the United States delegation's attempt to exploit the sincere and justified desires of certain Member States which belonged to no military blocs and were fighting side by side with the progressive peoples of the world for the triumph of peace and freedom.

20. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador), exercising his right of reply, said he had simply recalled that representatives had unanimously supported an increase in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations, and that the Soviet Union had declared that it would not support any such amendment until the People's Republic of China was admitted to the Organization. That was not the change to which he had referred; it was Mr. Khrushchev's proposal to replace the Secretary-General by three persons representing the three groups of countries into which the world was allegedly now divided. Such a step would clearly require an amendment of the Charter. But the Soviet Union had never said that the problem of Chinese representation would have to be solved before the structure of the Secretariat was changed. At the eleventh session of the General Assembly when the Latin American countries had started the movement for an increase in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations, all the permanent members of the Security Council, including the Soviet Union, had supported the idea.

21. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on a point of order, said that he wished to remove any uncertainty about the Soviet Union's adamant position: it could not agree to any amendment

of the Charter until the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China had been restored.

22. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) was in favour of an increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. At every session, for several years, the United Nations had welcomed new Member States with a warmth which the Malagasy delegation remembered gratefully. It should allow them to participate fully in all its activities, to contribute to its policies and to carry out its decisions. As there was no disagreement about the principles involved there, the Malagasy delegation solemnly appealed to all peoples, great and small, not to stand in the way of a change which the whole Assembly wanted, by bringing up irrelevant questions. The Malagasy delegation realized the importance of the problem and had joined the sponsors of the two draft resolutions recommending amendment of the Charter (A/SPC/L.51 and A/SPC/L.52). It hoped that the drafts would be enthusiastically adopted and that implementation would follow rapidly.

23. Mr. HENDRANINGRAT (Indonesia) recalled that in the past five sessions the question had been carefully considered by all Member States conscious of the need for amending the Charter because of the rapid development of the world situation. The discussions and the resolutions adopted showed that a majority supported an increase in the membership and an equitable geographical distribution of seats in both Councils. The discussion at the fourteenth session had cleared up some misunderstandings, but it had not led to a result satisfactory to the majority or in keeping with the efforts made in the Committee. The Indonesian delegation hoped that specific proposals could now be sent to the Assembly.

24. His delegation's views were consistent with the principles of the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung (Indonesia) in April 1955. It supported strongly any step to improve the United Nations. The President of the Republic of Indonesia had made those views clear on 30 September 1960, when he had told the 880th plenary meeting of the General Assembly that all bodies of the United Nations, except the Assembly itself, reflected the world of 1945 and did not reflect the rise of the socialist countries, nor the rocketing to independence of Africa and Asia.

25. The admission of a large number of new Members since the fourteenth session made the present distribution of seats in the Security Council an anachronism, and everyone admitted that the African-Asian group, which made up forty-five of the ninety-nine Members of the United Nations, was badly under-represented. There were serious anomalies in the present composition of the Council. Ceylon represented the Commonwealth, so that Asia was not represented. That was also true of Africa, since Tunisia really represented the Middle East. Asia and Africa, which played a decisive part in world politics, were thus not properly represented in that vital organ. Moreover, the Eastern European seat had been occupied by Japan, an Asian country, in 1958 and 1959. Poland had the seat for 1960, and Turkey, another Asian country, for 1961.

26. With the present structure of the two Councils, the new countries had no chance to play their proper part in the Organization. If more countries were not given an opportunity to take part in the work of those organs on the same footing as the older Members, the normal

development of the United Nations, and the stability it involved, would be harmed. It was the task of the United Nations to bring about greater stability in the international community, and its first step should be to make representation in both Councils reflect the growth of the Organization.

27. The Indonesian delegation advocated not only a numerical increase in representation; it also wanted the equitable geographical distribution called for in Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter. The composition of the Councils should be broadened, so as to ensure a balance of interests and to bring the Organization into line with reality through a radical change in the geographical and political distribution of States. The African-Asian group today made up nearly half the States Members of the United Nations.

28. Before making any specific suggestions, the General Assembly should state its views on an increase in the membership of the Councils and on the procedure to be followed to amend the Charter for the purpose. It was agreed that the increase would mean changes in the Charter, and the Indonesian delegation agreed with the great majority of the Committee that the necessary changes should be made under Article 108 and not under the much more complicated procedure for review laid down in Article 109.

29. He hoped that the question would not be placed on the agenda session after session, and that it would not become an instrument of the cold war or a bargaining counter. The attitude of those who would make the settlement of the question conditional upon the representation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, though understandable, was inimical to all efforts to improve the United Nations, and might cool the enthusiasm and goodwill of the majority of Member States, in particular the African-Asian countries. The Indonesian delegation therefore appealed to those who were against amending the Charter to reconsider their attitude. In doing so it did not abandon its view that the only true China should be represented in the United Nations, as the President of the Republic of Indonesia had reiterated at the 880th plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

30. Mr. N'GOUA (Gabon) considered that there was no better way to strengthen the independence of the newly admitted States than to associate them fully with the work of the United Nations by giving them the representation to which they were entitled. The argument put forward by the USSR seemed hard to defend. To maintain the prior condition regarding Communist China and to add to it a further condition concerning structural changes was tantamount to the indefinite postponement of the problem raised by the admission of many new Members to the United Nations. However praiseworthy the desire to seat the People's Republic of China might be, his delegation could not agree, on either political or legal grounds, to a linking of the two problems.

31. The new Members wished to be regarded as fully-fledged Members and could not agree to being refused geographical representation on a fallacious procedural pretext which in the long run would only deepen the regrettable cleavage of the United Nations into hostile blocs. In its anxiety to see world peace preserved, his delegation was bound to favour all measures that helped to bridge, rather than widen, the gaps separating Member States and it would therefore vigorously support any draft resolution increasing the membership of the

Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. In the words of the Nigerian representative (187th meeting), it was now, not tomorrow, that the African countries should be granted effective representation in those two Councils.

32. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) remarked that the Committee's task was a delicate one and would serve as a test for the conscience of the United Nations. He trusted that common sense would prevail and that those who placed their hopes in the United Nations would have reason to maintain those hopes. The new African States appreciated the welcome that had been extended to them, but feared that their position in the United Nations might remain a merely symbolic one unless they were given an opportunity to play the part that was expected of them. They were demanding greater responsibilities, not for reasons of pride or prestige, but because they wished to help to improve international co-operation. That co-operation sometimes called for a fresh approach: all too often the simplest problems were examined in the light of utterly extraneous considerations. The cold war had intruded upon the present debate, and the sacred principles on which the United Nations was based were in danger of being overshadowed by a competition of which the outcome could not be foreseen.

33. Since the United Nations had been founded its membership had almost doubled. That constituted a new element to be taken into account. To maintain the existing number of seats in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council was prejudicial to the new States—a look at the map showed that certain regions were under-represented—and violated the principles of the Charter, which was founded upon the sovereign equality of all Member States.

34. The new States would not be beguiled by eloquent speeches, nor would they let themselves be bogged down in a procedural morass. They would base their judgement on facts and results. Although he had tried to understand the reasons advanced against an increase in the membership of the Councils, he could not see why such a simple question was so hard to settle. While entertaining the greatest respect for continental China, as indeed for any people striving to realize its national aspirations, he wondered what the problem of China had to do with the question under discussion. He was afraid that at any moment other countries might raise similar difficulties. Someone might insist, for instance, that all countries under colonial domination should attain independence before certain provisions of the Charter could be changed. Everyone agreed that the problem of China was a vexing one and that in the interest of peace a speedy solution must be found. But to bring up that problem on every occasion was not the best way to solve it, and he wondered whether the Chinese themselves would be pleased to learn that because of them the legitimate claims of the African-Asian States were not being satisfied. Similarly, the reorganization of the Secretariat had nothing to do with the question of enlarging the two Councils.

35. He therefore felt that the question under discussion could easily be solved if it were freed from passion and from political motives. If nothing were accomplished during the current session, the United Nations should examine its conscience. Mention had been made of the long time required for the necessary procedure, but such arguments were sometimes a cloak for delaying tactics. It should be possible for the

necessary amendments to be ratified within a relatively short space of time, whatever the respective constitutional processes of the various countries might be. If the right of veto, which had been defended as the only way of ensuring justice and law in the United Nations, was going to prevent the fair representation of the new States, it would be serving an unjust cause. The new States were as much interested as the great Powers in preserving peace, and many of the measures adopted by the Security Council affected, directly or indirectly, the future of the African peoples, as could be seen in the case of the Congo, for example. Commonsense and

justice required that those peoples should be represented on the body that decided their fate. The question of economic development was likewise one which primarily concerned the under-developed countries, and it would thus be normal for them to be represented for that reason in the Economic and Social Council. In spite of every difficulty, the African countries hoped that the United Nations would live up to its high ideals and not disappoint the millions of human beings who placed their hopes in it.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.