



# General Assembly

Seventy-eighth session

**104**<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting  
Tuesday, 27 August 2024, 10 a.m.  
New York

Official Records

*President:* Mr. Francis . . . . . (Trinidad and Tobago)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.*

## Agenda item 121 (continued)

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

**The President:** Members will recall that, pursuant to decision 77/559, of 29 June 2023, the Assembly continued intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary meetings during the current session. In a letter dated 23 August 2024, I circulated a draft oral decision on that issue, as follows:

“The General Assembly,

“Decides 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; and the commitment of Heads of State and Government representing the peoples of the world to instil new life in the discussions on the reform of the Security Council;

“Decides to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly at its seventy-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, 67/561 of 29 August 2013, 68/557 of 8 September 2014, 69/560 of

14 September 2015, 70/559 of 27 July 2016, 71/553 of 19 July 2017, 72/557 of 29 June 2018, 73/554 of 25 June 2019, 74/569 of 31 August 2020, 75/569 of 22 June 2021, 76/572 of 12 July 2022, and 77/559 of 29 June 2023, building on the informal meetings held during its seventy-eighth session, as reflected in the letter dated 29 April 2024 from the Co-Chairs, and on the document entitled “Revised Co-Chairs’ Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters”, circulated on 2 August 2024, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015, to help to inform its future work;

“Welcomes the active engagement, initiatives and intensive efforts of the President of the General Assembly, and notes 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;

“Welcomes the holding of structured dialogues on models presented by Member States and Groups of States, appreciates the active participation of the Member States and notes their usefulness to increasing the overall convergences and better understanding of individual proposals;

“Notes the contribution on Security Council Reform from the IGN to the Pact of the Future;

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“Decides 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-ninth session of the General Assembly, if Member States so decide;

“Also decides to include in the agenda of the seventy-ninth 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.”

We shall now proceed to consider the draft oral decision. In that regard, may I remind delegations that explanations of position are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

**Ms. King** (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the L.69 group, a diverse, pro-reform group of cross-regional developing countries in favour of justice, sovereignty and equity in the reform of the Security Council.

Allow me to begin by expressing our deep gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to the co-Chairs for the exemplary commitment to the intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) on Security Council reform. With the introduction of the structured dialogues this session, the co-Chairs breathed new life into a process that has remained stagnant for far too long. Although the L.69 would like to see a tangible product born out of these presentations, we thank the Groups and delegations that have so far participated in the dialogues and those that intend to do so in the future.

In addition, it would be remiss of us not to thank the co-Chairs for their unyielding efforts to find a compromise within the IGN on its contribution to the Pact for the Future. While we note that the language is not as ambitious as we hoped, we also acknowledge the difficulties faced by the co-Chairs in finding a compromise amid a broad spectrum of views and expectations. To that end, we congratulate the co-Chairs on their sterling efforts.

The rollover decision, the only formal outcome of the IGN, presents an opportunity for us to lay a transformational foundation for the next session of the intergovernmental negotiations. That is why the L.69 always supports a substantive document, and not a mere technical rollover, which deprives us of the

opportunity to hit the ground running during the next session. Within that context, we welcome the language that reflects our recent progress, namely, the structured dialogues, an innovative initiative introduced this session. We also appreciate the language on the IGN’s contribution to the Pact for the Future, which was indeed a noteworthy achievement. That achievement cements our commitment to creating a more representative, inclusive, transparent, efficient, effective, democratic and accountable Security Council.

Our work is only now beginning. It is our hope that we can muster the political will that will now be necessary to transform such language so that it does not exist solely within the pages of yet another intergovernmental negotiated outcome document. We acknowledge the progression from the introduction of language on the repository and webcasting to this moment. Noting the removal of its reference, we hope that that speaks only to the acceptance of the establishment of that practice as an ongoing regular aspect of the process. The initial introduction of those resources was lauded by the IGN as a step that would enhance participation in the discussions on Security Council reform, strengthening the Member State-driven nature of the process, and it did. We therefore expect the preservation of those tools, which will remain beneficial to the IGN and to the overall effectiveness, transparency and credibility of the process.

While we recognize this session of the IGN as a significant one in recent years, occurring in the lead-up to the Summit of the Future and the adoption of the Pact for the Future, we remain concerned about the slow pace at which the process is unfolding. The persisting absence of a consolidated text, which contains actionable language that facilitates defined progress, remains a crucial fault line in the IGN. We strongly believe that the presentations during this session represent a critical opportunity and a starting point for the drafting of a comprehensive text that can catapult our discussions forward during the next session. As has been previously noted, such a text merely documents our progress, identifying the areas of convergence and low-hanging fruit, and identifying the areas of divergence that necessitate greater consideration to achieve the widest possible political acceptance. That tried-and-tested, give-and-take mechanism is the medium through which we can successfully achieve reform.

In that vein, we underscore that while we may differ on the timeline for the commencement of text-

based negotiations, there is no delegation or Group that has rejected the eventual need for it in our process. A consolidated text does not mean that we have an agreement; it is one that will still be subject to substantive negotiations. Still, it is an approach that we have yet to adopt within the IGN. In the absence of such an approach, the status quo will persist and piecemeal resolutions of the General Assembly, regardless of how well-intentioned or innovative, remain insufficient for the transformation that is indeed needed.

We once again thank you, Mr. President, and the co-Chairs for steering us during this session of the IGN and for your constructive efforts throughout our discussions. It is time for us to commit to making meaningful progress on an issue that has long been recognized as crucial for an efficient, effective and accountable Security Council. The world is watching, especially our youth, and it is becoming increasingly impatient. The L.69 group remains committed to the process and stands ready to begin substantive negotiations on this critical topic. Peace profound and enduring respect.

**Mr. Sowa** (Sierra Leone): I am honoured to speak on behalf of the States members of the African Union. I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this plenary meeting of the General Assembly dedicated to adopting the draft oral decision under agenda item 121, "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council". We acknowledge your insightful remarks and thank you for your outstanding guidance and leadership of the General Assembly during its seventy-eighth session. Furthermore, we are grateful for your encouragement and dedication to infuse vitality into the intergovernmental negotiations process. We would like to express our appreciation for the hard work of the co-Chairs, His Excellency Tareq Albanai, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait to the United Nations, and His Excellency Alexander Marschik, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Austria to the United Nations. They have facilitated this year's rigorous reform process and provided us with their revised elements paper on convergences and divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters.

At today's meeting, we wish to register our deep appreciation to all Member States, interests and

regional groups for their unwavering support and empathy for the Common African Position and the fight to correct the historical injustice against Africa. Let me also register Africa's sincere gratitude to the co-Chairs and welcome the general convergence that has emerged from the IGN session, as reflected in the revised co-Chairs' elements paper under the section on general convergences and divergences:

"There is a wider recognition and broader support by Member States for the legitimate aspiration of the African countries to play their rightful role on the global stage, including through an increased presence in the Security Council, as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration, adopted by the African Union in 2005. Redressing the historical injustice against Africa is viewed as a priority, and several delegations emphasized that Africa should be treated as a special case."

That is reaffirmed in the final text, in paragraph 1 (a), of the IGN inputs to the Summit of the Future Pact for the Future, emphasizing the need to

"redress the historical injustice against Africa as a priority and, while treating Africa as a special case, improve the representation of the underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups, such as Asia-Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean".

Such assertions in those two critical documents are a crucial demand of the African Union Heads of State and Government, and it is a promising development in the reform process that this view is included in the Pact for the Future. We now have an opportunity to translate that decision into action during the upcoming Summit of the Future, potentially achieving concrete results in the reform process. We must demonstrate the necessary political will to reform the United Nations, ensuring its pivotal role in global governance and establishing a world order based on the principles of fairness and universalism.

Africa will continue to urge all Member States, interests and regional groups to demonstrate their renewed commitment to correcting the historical injustice done to Africa. Africa's prioritization in the reform of the Security Council is key to creating a more inclusive, democratic, transparent, accountable, legitimate and efficient organ.

Going forward, the African Group anticipates engaging constructively with all Member States and interest groups. We aim to build on the progress made during the seventy-eighth session of the IGN in the next session to create common ground and minimize the remaining divergences that still exist.

We appreciate the co-Chairs' recognition in their document of the widespread support from a substantial number of Member States for the enlargement of both the permanent and the non-permanent membership categories of the Security Council in the revised elements paper. In addition, we look forward to seeing the wide and broad support garnered in favour of the Common African Position be taken into consideration at the next IGN session, especially concerning the allocation of seats in both the permanent and the non-permanent categories of the Security Council, with particular emphasis on treating Africa as a special case and priority in the IGN process. There is no gainsaying that that will make the Council more broadly representative, efficient and transparent in both permanent and non-permanent categories, thus enhancing its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions.

Let me also seize this opportunity to equally commend you, Mr. President, for circulating the draft oral decision indicating that the positions of and proposals made by Member States, as reflected in the framework document and its annex circulated by the President of the sixty-ninth session and the revised co-Chairs' elements paper on convergences and divergences, be rolled over to the seventy-ninth session.

The African Group remains committed to reforming the Security Council, and we will continue to engage in the IGN process in building consensus, in the spirit of decision 62/557 and other relevant General Assembly decisions, for a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, taking the interconnectedness of the five clusters into account. We hope that the documents rolled over to the seventy-ninth session will be built upon in good faith and a transparent manner through a membership-driven process.

We extend our sincere appreciation to all Member States, interests and regional groups for their steadfast support of the Common African Position, as outlined in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. Collaboration with all is vital to advancing the progress made in support of our shared Common African

Position. We invite all members to join us in correcting the historical injustices inflicted upon the African continent and its people.

I will conclude by expressing Africa's gratitude for the efforts of all Member States in committing to an open and fair process that resulted in a unanimous decision. The Committee of Ten of the African Group has unanimously agreed to adopt this draft oral decision by consensus to prioritize unity and trust among the membership and to further the reform of the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the 2005 World Summit Outcome (resolution 60/1) and decision 62/557.

**Mr. Ganesh** (Singapore): Singapore thanks the co-Chairs for their tireless work and effort during this session.

It proved to be a particularly difficult session, as the intergovernmental negotiations was tasked to draft input for the Pact for the Future that was acceptable to all. We went through six revisions, and that speaks to the co-Chairs' patience and persistence, as well as the efforts of Member States to reach a compromise on the input despite the differing views. This year, the co-Chairs gave the various proponents the opportunity to present their models, and Member States had the opportunity to discuss and respond to the presentations. Those discussions contributed to a better understanding of the various positions. However, it is clear that, despite many rounds of discussions, significant gaps remain between the various proposals. Still, we must keep taking incremental steps towards building convergence and consensus. As the latest co-Chairs' elements paper notes, a large number of our leaders and ministers referred to the need for reform of the Council, and that renewed urgency resulted in a high number of meetings, as well as novel interactive discussions.

Singapore's position on Security Council reform is clear: expansion in both categories; no veto for new permanent members; and all members of the Council should reaffirm their commitment to the Charter of United Nations and international law and commit not to using the veto if party to a dispute, in accordance with Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations. We have also made clear that any model eventually chosen must not reduce the opportunity for small States to be elected to the Council. However, we are disappointed that not all elements of our position made it into the paper.



Nevertheless, we welcome this year's opportunity to discuss cross-regional seats and the fact that this year's elements paper once again reiterates the need for increased representation of small and medium-sized States, including small island developing States. The co-Chairs have done an excellent job, given the difficulty of the task. From Singapore's perspective, the *raison d'être* for reform is to enhance the Council's representativeness, accountability and ability to discharge its primary role to maintain international peace and security. We therefore support the rollover of our work to the seventy-ninth session, and we urge fellow Member States to take stock of this session's discussions and consider how to move the process forward.

**Mr. Pieris** (Sri Lanka): May I thank you, Mr. President, for the leadership made available to us during your tenure and for the guidance and manifest humanity with which you approached your onerous duties, which Sri Lanka endorses as exemplary. May I also thank the co-Chairs for their tireless efforts in putting together a balanced draft decision in a turbulent environment in the history of the General Assembly.

As we gather today to adopt the draft decision, we stand at a pivotal moment to advance the reform of this essential institution. The effectiveness and legitimacy of the Security Council depend on its capacity to represent the diverse perspectives and needs of the international community. It is therefore crucial to steer the intergovernmental negotiations process for evaluating and improving the current system to ensure that it is inclusive, transparent and reflective of the global landscape. As we know, the process employs several strategies to ensure its effectiveness and legitimacy in representing the diverse perspectives and needs of the international community. It adapts to global changes. It engages with regional organizations. It endeavours to maintain transparency and accountability. It effectively maintains peacekeeping and support missions. It focuses on human rights and humanitarian issues. It engages in regular reviews and reforms its structure and processes. The question is: should it be doing more to address contemporary challenges? The answer is yes. We must accept, without dimmer, that we need to do more to remain effective in addressing the contemporary global challenges.

Approaching the question of equitable representation in the expansion of the Security Council involves a multifaceted global strategy. I think that it is important that we take a few key considerations into

account. We believe that there must be inclusivity, and we must ensure that all regions are represented fairly. We must strive to strike a geographical balance and create a framework that recognizes and balances representation across the different geographical regions. We must maintain a diversity of interest and acknowledge the political, economic and cultural diversity of Member States, ensuring that various interests and viewpoints are included in the decision-making process. We must establish clear criteria for new members, focusing on contributions to international peace and security, a commitment to the principles of the United Nations and the ability to contribute to the Council's work.

It is probably time that we consider temporary membership as opposed to permanent membership — in other words, a mix of permanent and rotating members to allow for flexibility and adaptability in representation. We must advocate consensus-building and encourage dialogue and negotiation among Member States. It is equally important that we move to ensuring accountability and transparency and engaging in a regular review by establishing a process for the regular review of the composition and functioning of the Council. We must also involve civil society and the broader public in discussions about Security Council reform in order to reflect diverse viewpoints and enhance the Council's legitimacy.

Sri Lanka firmly believes that incorporating democratic principles in the reform of the Security Council is a *sine qua non*. Effective integration of the democratic values necessitates ongoing substantive engagement among Member States while maintaining a mutually reinforcing and complementary relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. In other words, there must be a healthy symbiosis between the two organs. That balance is crucial to respecting their distinct functions, authority and competencies, as outlined in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly with regard to international peace and security.

In our view, the adoption of this draft decision represents a significant step forward in the long-standing efforts to reform the Security Council. Since 1992, noble, notable milestones have marked this journey: the establishment of the Open-ended Working Group on Security Council reform in 1993 and the key developments in 1998 and 2008 that set the stage for intergovernmental negotiations.

By 2009, there was a broad consensus, as we will remember, on the necessity of reform to ensure that the Security Council operates inclusively, transparently, efficiently, effectively and accountably. Sri Lanka supports the key principles endorsed throughout the reform process, including enhanced transparency, efficiency and accountability within the Security Council. The recent meetings of the intergovernmental negotiations underscore the urgent need for reform to adapt the Council's working methods to contemporary challenges. A comprehensive review of the Council's procedure is necessary, focusing on several key areas.

Continued discussions are essential to reassess and refine the system to ensure a more inclusive and balanced participation within the Security Council. The meaningful involvement of all members in the Council's activities and its subsidiary organs, along with enhanced dialogue on various aspects, is crucial to addressing the diverse perspectives and challenges effectively.

We believe that the open-ended nature of the discussions will facilitate a structured dialogue on the proposed models for Security Council reform submitted by Member States, regional groups and other groupings. We believe that a detailed examination of individual proposals will enhance understanding of the concepts, their impacts and the consequences, helping to converge around a broadly acceptable approach to reform through thoughtful reassessment.

Sri Lanka appreciates the President's active engagement and initiatives that facilitated the structured dialogue on the proposed models. Those efforts have significantly advanced the convergence and understanding of the various proposals. We support the convening of the Open-ended Working Group during the seventy-ninth session of the General Assembly to advance equitable representation and ensure fair opportunities for all countries.

**Mr. Polyanskiy** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank you, Mr. President, for presenting the draft oral decision to roll over the consideration of the issue of Security Council reform to the seventy-ninth session of the General Assembly. In our view, it adequately reflects the content of this year's discussions on reform issues. Two documents are being rolled over to the next General Assembly session: an updated co-Chairs' paper and a framework document, both of which reflect the aspirations of most Member States.

We support the adoption of the draft oral decision in the form in which it is presented.

We are convinced that the current intergovernmental negotiations session has introduced new elements that are important for understanding the outline of an eventual reform. First of all, we are talking about discussing specific models for the updated Council. We hope that this session will encourage all participants in the intergovernmental negotiations to put forward their own models. We are convinced that debating the positions of Member States in a competitive environment, which still differ, sometimes diametrically, will help to bring them closer together.

Now is the time to reaffirm our commitment to the intergovernmental negotiations format and to support the draft oral decision, as presented by the President. That is the only way in which we can maintain consensus in a process that is important to us all, enabling us to preserve what we have achieved not only this year, but in all previous years. In that regard, we call on all members to join the consensus. We count on their support.

The political significance of Security Council reform is beyond doubt. It is clear that, in that context, it is extremely important to continue to seek a solution that would enjoy significantly more support from Member States than the formally required two-thirds of the vote. Ideally, it would be supported by consensus. We all understand the danger of attempts to find a solution without taking the entire range of positions into account.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Permanent Representatives of Kuwait and Austria, Tareq Albanai and Alexander Marschik, for the work accomplished.

**The President:** We have heard the last speaker in explanation of position before adoption.

The Assembly will now take action on the draft oral decision.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft oral decision?

*The draft oral decision was adopted*  
(decision 78/561).

Before giving the floor for explanations of position after adoption, may I remind delegations that explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

**Mr. Massari (Italy):** On behalf of the Uniting for Consensus group, I wish, first of all, to express our gratitude to you, Mr. President, for your enabling role throughout the Security Council reform process during the seventy-eighth session. We highly appreciate the fair and balanced approach that you have constantly observed. We fully concur with the summary of the process that you outlined in your opening statement.

We would also like to reiterate our appreciation to the co-Chairs, Ambassador Albanai and Ambassador Marschik, for their dedicated stewardship during this year's intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) cycle. Thanks to their earnest stewardship, they enabled Member States to engage in fruitful and focused discussions on the five clusters and their interlinkages, as outlined in decision 62/557. This session saw significant progress, including a very productive discussion on concrete models for Security Council reform. The co-Chairs managed the substantive IGN discussions in an exceptional manner, both during the so-called structured dialogue on the models and in the context of the more informal Taxel talks. They efficiently revised the elements paper on convergences and divergences, taking into account the discussions and deliberations that occurred during this session of the IGN. More recently, they made extraordinary efforts to find common ground to achieve an IGN contribution to feed into the Pact for the Future.

As a pro-reform group, Uniting for Consensus has consistently engaged in this process with a proactive and constructive approach, maintaining an open and inclusive dialogue with all delegations and negotiating actors. On 18 March, we published and presented an updated Uniting for Consensus model of reform of the Security Council and responded to all questions and queries from other groups and Member States with complete transparency and openness.

However, as strong advocates for transparency and fairness in the process, we regret the lengthy and unprecedented dragging out of the rollover process. The IGN could have been rolled over weeks ago if it had not been held hostage by one delegation, which inappropriately linked the rollover to the consultations on the input for the Pact of the Future. Such actions are unfortunate and divisive, undermining the credibility of the process, the authority of the President of the General Assembly and the co-Chairs of the IGN. Ultimately, they jeopardize the IGN, which remains the

only legitimate and inclusive forum for negotiations on this crucial issue.

The Security Council reform negotiations process is not over, and we look forward to its smooth continuation during the next session of the General Assembly. Beyond our firm convictions on the substance of the reform, we are of the opinion that the common goal of the entire membership should be to foster consensus for a credible and effective reform of the Security Council. That is the only way to increase public trust in this institution and, ultimately, to strengthen multilateralism, which is much needed in the challenging times that we are living in.

In that spirit, the Uniting for Consensus group fully supports oral decision 78/561, which facilitates a smooth transition of these important negotiations to the seventy-ninth session. We look forward to a continuation of the IGN as the one and only forum in which we can further narrow our differences, find greater convergences and, ultimately, agree on a formula for a reformed Council that benefits all Member States, rather than just a few, and that reflects the realities of the twenty-first century.

**Mr. Danese (Brazil):** I am speaking on behalf of the members of the Group of Four (G-4), namely, Germany, India, Japan and Brazil.

We are at a pivotal moment in the decades-long effort to reform the Security Council. The recent global crises have highlighted the Council's increasing ineffectiveness and lack of legitimacy, brought about by a composition that no longer reflects today's geopolitical landscape. It is promising to see a growing consensus within the United Nations on the need for urgent reform. The latest intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) cycle showed significant support for the models based on the expansion of the two categories of membership.

We extend our sincere gratitude to the IGN co-Chairs for their efforts in reinvigorating and strengthening the IGN process. They have truly laboured with creativity and dedication to steer the process forward. We acknowledge and appreciate the circulation of the latest revision of the elements paper. As we indicated in previous discussions, our assessment is that that document, while important, has clearly reached its limit in helping to advance the process. The convergences section has grown over the past years, based more on linguistic devices than on truly new and real convergences. We clearly reiterate our firm position that the elements paper is a text of exclusive responsibility and authorship of the

co-Chairs. It does not constitute language agreed upon at the intergovernmental level.

At the same time, this IGN cycle has produced two promising developments: the discussion of models and the negotiation of a contribution to the Pact for the Future. The debate on models proved useful, revealing concrete possibilities for a deeper understanding of Member States' positions. That approach provides an important avenue for tangible progress in our deliberations. We look forward to the submission of further models and efforts to develop a consolidated model. The IGN contribution to the Pact for the Future circulated last week, while falling short of what is needed, thereby not reflecting the reality of our discussions, still provides useful elements for moving the process forward. We emphasize that the negotiation of the IGN contribution to the Pact for the Future through text-based negotiations demonstrated the potential of such an approach to achieve outcomes that garnered sufficient critical mass. We underscore yet again the urgent need for such a regular and time-proofed working method to be applied at the IGN.

The IGN must deliver what it has been failing to deliver for many years, that is, serious consequential member-driven negotiations. While the summit is expected to provide some tools to move the process forward, if they are not timely and fully utilized, it may be inevitable to conclude that the IGN framework is irreversibly unfit — or, worse, that it is an impediment to reform. In that case, Member States will demand novel ways and strategies.

That will be even more evident as the Organization celebrates its eightieth anniversary and recalls that the last and only Security Council reform took effect 60 years before. The time for decisive action is now. The G-4 stands ready to participate in this transformative process towards a more representative, legitimate and, therefore, effective Security Council.

**Mr. Alrowaiei** (Bahrain) (*spoke in Arabic*): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the States members of the Group of Arab States. At the outset, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and for your ongoing support for the intergovernmental negotiation process and pushing towards the desired reform of the Security Council. I would also like to thank the co-Chairs of the intergovernmental negotiations, His Excellency Ambassador Tareq Albanai, Permanent Representative

of the State of Kuwait, and His Excellency Ambassador Alexander Marschik, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Austria, for their fruitful efforts in leading the negotiations.

There is no doubt that these eight meetings of the intergovernmental negotiations, as well as the interactive dialogues and informal meetings, held throughout the current session, enriched the discussions on this important issue.

During this session, the co-Chairs' innovative approaches, including a direct live broadcast of the meetings, updating the dedicated website and launching structured dialogues on models proposed by States and Groups, contributed to deepening understanding and collaboration among Member States, particularly with regard to the various visions introduced for reform. We also commend the tireless efforts made by the co-Chairs to bring views closer together in a positive atmosphere in order to arrive at a final text for input by the intergovernmental negotiations to the Pact for the Future, which reflects our common determination to move forward towards reform the Security Council.

In that context, the Arab Group welcomes today's adoption of oral decision 78/561 by consensus, which will ensure a smooth transition to the next session. It will also enable Member States to continue to work collectively in order to find a common understanding that provides the necessary groundwork for reaching a consensual solution, leading to a genuine and comprehensive reform of the Security Council.

The Group maintains that intergovernmental negotiations are the only forum for reaching an agreement on the expansion and reform of the Security Council, in accordance with decision 62/557, which calls for, *inter alia*, a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States, while preserving the principle of Member States' ownership of the negotiations.

The Arab Group appreciates the efforts made during this session to develop the co-Chairs' amended elements paper on convergences and differences. While that paper shows that there is a convergence of positions towards many elements on the reform of the Council, it stresses that we have more work to do in order to bring the views closer and reduce the gap with regard to many other elements.



Allow me to reaffirm the position of the Arab Group, which calls for permanent Arab representation with full powers in the category of permanent seats in the event of any future expansion of the Council. In addition, fair representation requires proportionate Arab representation in the category of non-permanent seats in the expanded Security Council.

In conclusion, the Arab Group looks forward to continuing the discussions of the intergovernmental negotiations at the next session and stresses its determination to continue to participate actively and positively with a view to achieving genuine and comprehensive reform of the Security Council in a transparent and constructive spirit.

**Ms. Patel** (India): I take floor to explain the position of my delegation on the adoption of oral decision 78/561, on rolling over the intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) on Security Council reform to the seventy-ninth session of the General Assembly.

India aligns itself with the statements delivered by the representative of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, on behalf of the L.69 group, and by the representative of Brazil, on behalf of the Group of Four. In addition, my delegation would like to make the following points. They relate to the urgent need to finally start text-based negotiations; observations on the inputs shared with the broader United Nations Summit of the Future process; and some contradictory individual references included in this year's convergences.

Before taking up those issues, my delegation would like to express appreciation for the efforts made by the co-Chairs to instil some progress in the IGN process. They include the initiatives relating to creating the digital repository and webcasting taken in the previous cycle and the facilitation of discussions on the models of Security Council reform held in the current cycle. While we appreciate such efforts by the co-Chairs, it is clear that progress in this process continues to be incremental at best and far from what most delegations aim for, given the importance and urgency of this issue.

Our first point relates to the urgency of the text-based negotiations. For more than a decade and a half, India, along with a large number of delegations, has been highlighting the critical need for text-based negotiations in the IGN, just as it has done for all other multilateral processes on any important issue. Given the growing global crises impacting the Council's effectiveness, it is increasingly untenable that the

IGN on Security Council reform is the only process in the United Nations in which text-based negotiations continue to be stalled after such a long time.

That brings us to our second point. Due to an absence of due process, the elements paper, though well-intentioned, only remains a subjective summary of the co-Chairs. This year's elements paper also includes some new contradictory references. For instance, a reference to cross-regional groupings has been included under the convergences section of the elements paper, even though an accompanying qualifying footnote itself states that that reference does not enjoy consensus at all. It is therefore inaccurate and misleading to continue to include that under convergences and in the text shared with the Summit of the Future process. That inclusion risks being perceived as an arbitrary decision, not reflecting the broader sentiment of discussions. That will not be helpful going forward.

We now come to our third related point, which concerns the special circumstances of the IGN process providing inputs for the Summit of the Future text. The negotiations to finalize the Pact for the Future under the upcoming Summit of the Future are ongoing. The modalities resolution 76/307 for the Summit of the Future mandates a consensus on the text being finalized. Paragraph 4 of the Summit modalities resolution states:

“Decides that the Summit will adopt a concise, action-oriented outcome document entitled ‘A Pact for the Future’, agreed in advance by consensus through intergovernmental negotiations”.

My delegation is constrained to state that the text shared as the final input by the IGN co-Chairs for the Summit of the Future does not enjoy the widest possible acceptance among delegations. The input, finalized without a due negotiating process, does not accurately reflect the sentiment of Member States. We look forward to working with Member States on that in the Summit process, including on the reference to Security Council reform. There is a clear global sentiment in favour of expansion in both categories of membership.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that, at this stage, the ongoing exercise aimed at expanding convergences appears to have run its course in contributing to any meaningful progress. Urgent text-based negotiations are the need of the hour. We continue to call for a constructive approach that aims to build on the views expressed by the majority of Member States, including on expansion in both categories of Security

Council membership and a time-bound commencement of text-based negotiations at the earliest. We hoped that those aspects would be clearly reflected in the IGN inputs for the Summit of the Future. We would still argue for such discussions to finalize the Summit of the Future inputs.

Coming back to the IGN process itself, it is now apparent to us that, in its current form and modalities, that is, without application of the General Assembly rules of procedure and without a single negotiating text, the IGN risks losing legitimacy if it continues indefinitely. In the context of the crucial importance of the overall reform of the Security Council and in view of the multiple challenges faced by multilateralism itself, India would like to underscore the need for the credibility of the IGN process. It is important that we introspect within the IGN on why there is little progress on the outcomes achieved so far and what should be the road map ahead. We must not allow this to be an exercise in perpetuity only on paper. Time is running out.

**Ms. Shino (Japan):** Japan fully aligns itself with the statement delivered by the representative of Brazil on behalf of the Group of Four. Let me emphasize some important points in my national capacity.

Given the many ongoing and imminent challenges to international peace and security, Security Council reform is now more urgent than ever. To make the Council truly reflect contemporary realities, we must redouble our collective efforts to advance negotiations based on a concrete text, like any other negotiation in the United Nations, without further delay.

In that regard, the intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) during this session of the General Assembly have been productive. We had intensive discussions on specific models of reform and negotiated on a text to be submitted to the Summit of the Future process. It is a notable advancement that, for the first time in the history of the IGN, Member States discussed a text consisting of tens of paragraphs on the substance of the reform. Japan once again appreciates all the coordination and facilitation efforts by the co-Chairs and their entire team.

While those are historic achievements, what is more important is how to advance the negotiations, building upon those steps, after the Summit of the Future. On the one hand, the text submitted to the Pact for the Future includes many important actions to be taken, such as working towards developing a consolidated

model through a structured dialogue; highlighting the importance of limiting the scope and use of the veto, especially in cases of preventing or ending genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes; recognizing the historical injustice against Africa; and looking towards 2030 as a timeline to enlarge the Council to be more representative, just to name a few.

On the other hand, it is deeply regrettable that the text fails to mention the expansion of both permanent and non-permanent categories, which has long been supported by a significant number of Member States throughout the IGN process. That omission is unfair and inappropriate because it does not reflect the real discussion. It is understood that taking into account the discussions held in the IGN process refers to the majority support for the expansion in both categories, as demonstrated in the models presented, the 2015 framework document and countless statements made by Member States and groups.

This year's Summit of the Future is a landmark opportunity, and next year is the eighth anniversary of the United Nations. To bring to bear substantial progress, we are eager to see the submission of more models and to engage in efforts to create a consolidated model in the next IGN cycle. It will be another important year to boost the momentum to advance reform at this critical time for international peace and security. We look forward to fruitful discussions with fellow Member States at the upcoming Summit and beyond.

**Mr. Jadoon (Pakistan):** My delegation aligns itself with the explanation of position delivered by the representative of Italy, on behalf of the Uniting for Consensus group. We wish to make a few remarks in our national capacity.

Pakistan welcomes the adoption of oral decision 78/561 today to roll over the negotiations on Security Council reform within the intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) process. As they say, better late than never. We commend your support to the process, Mr. President, as well as that of our co-Chairs, the Permanent Representatives of Austria and Kuwait. They have done exceptional work to advance the process of Security Council reform at the seventy-seventh and seventy-eighth sessions of the General Assembly

Last year, we agreed on enhancing the transparency and inclusivity of the IGN process through webcasts and the repository of its documents. This year, the activist approach of the co-Chairs led to a significant

expansion in the convergences and a reduction in divergences on the five interlinked clusters. The co-Chairs were also successful in promoting consensus despite the obstructions from one particular country on the language to be inserted on Security Council reform in the Pact for the Future.

My delegation welcomes some of the significant convergences, as reflected in both the revised elements paper and in the language for the Pact. Those include agreements, first, that the IGN process is the legitimate and most appropriate platform to pursue Security Council reform; second, that all five clusters are strongly interlinked, and therefore negotiations should be based on the principle that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed; third, on the need for increased representation of developing countries and small and medium-sized States, including small island developing States, in the Council; fourth, on the expansion of two-year non-permanent seats; fifth, to treat Africa as a special case to redress the historic injustice against it; six, to ensure the equitable geographical representation of all regions, including cross-regional groups, such as the Arab and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) groups; and, seven, that if the veto cannot be abolished, it must be restricted and must not be used against proposals to prevent or end genocide and other mass atrocities.

The IGN discussions and informal interactions also revealed an emerging recognition that the regional approach, as proposed by Africa, the Uniting for Consensus group and the Arab and OIC groups, offers the most likely avenue to develop the widest possible agreement on Security Council reform. We trust that, at the IGN sessions next year, Member States will be able to build further on the important convergences. In particular, we should fully explore the regional approach to Security Council reform, including through further and more active consultations with and among cross-regional and subregional groups, including the African Union, the Group of Arab States and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

My delegation would like to caution, however, that the intention to develop a consolidated model for Security Council reform still faces significant difficulties. Such a common model can be developed only once there is full convergence on the five interlinked clusters for Security Council reform. The discussions on the language for the Pact for the Future illustrated the difficulties in text-based negotiations in

the absence of convergence on the five clusters. Text-based negotiations cannot commence, nor can artificial deadlines be set, until there is full convergence on the five clusters. The work of the IGN next year should therefore focus mainly on reducing the persisting divergences on the five clusters. In particular, there is not yet convergence on the exact size of an expanded Council, the question of the veto or the various categories of membership that have been proposed. Clearly, there is no agreement on new permanent members, but a combination of regional seats, based on the African proposal, and the long-term or re-electable seats proposed by the Uniting for Consensus group may provide the possible basis for convergence.

It is regrettable that the adoption of the oral decision was linked by one delegation to the negotiations on the language for the Pact for the Future. Such crass tactics, pressuring the President and the co-Chairs, caused delay in the adoption of the oral rollover decision until today. They deserve to be repudiated by the Assembly. That episode, however, revealed which among Member States is responsible for impeding and obstructing the progress on Security Council reform.

**Mr. Dai Bing** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, the co-Chairs of the intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) on Security Council reform, and the Permanent Representatives of Austria and Kuwait for their joint efforts in successfully accomplishing the tasks set for the current session of the IGN. We highly appreciate the important leadership role played by you, and we sincerely thank the co-Chairs for their excellent work and contributions.

The IGN is the only legitimate platform for discussing the issue of Security Council reform. During this year's negotiations, in the light of the latest developments on the international landscape, Member States reflected in-depth on the objectives, principles and other key issues of Security Council reform and further identified the right direction of the reform. Focusing on the five reform clusters and considering the five specific reform models submitted by the countries and groups concerned, the parties frankly expressed their views on how to effectively rectify issues such as the unfair composition of the Council, underrepresentation, the unreasonable structure, the imbalance of power, et cetera, tackling their root causes, and were guided by their wisdom to seek consensus. It is fair to say that the current session of the

IGN has been innovative and has made progress in both form and content, which is objectively reflected in the co-Chairs' paper.

We note that, under the leadership of the co-Chairs, the enthusiasm of Member States for participating in the IGN has increased. There is growing consensus among the parties, and they are looking at each other's differences more rationally. All that has laid a good foundation for Member States to continue the negotiations at the next session of the General Assembly.

Against that backdrop, the consensus adoption in the General Assembly of oral decision 78/561, on the technical rollover of the IGN, will help to carry the positive momentum of the current IGN into the next session. That meets the shared expectation of Member States.

Security Council reform is a matter of great concern to all countries and parties. During the current session of the IGN, we were still debating on a number of substantive issues, including the text on Council reform in the Pact for the Future. The final submission of the text reflected the greatest convergence of Member States' positions, which was not easily achieved. With regard to those issues with deep and principled differences, we will maintain strategic patience and rationality and continue our in-depth discussions at the next session of the General Assembly, which is a process of accumulating consensus.

One thing is clear: there is a growing and overwhelming consensus in the IGN that the reform process must contribute to enhancing the unity of

Member States, that the results of the reform must benefit all Member States, that it must be ensured that the reform moves in the direction of effectively increasing the representation and the voice of developing countries, and that Africa's demand for redressing the historical injustices be given priority and special treatment.

China looks forward to continuing to work with all parties at the next session of the IGN so as to advance Security Council reform towards forging the broadest possible consensus reflecting the common interests of Member States, in line with the long-term development of the United Nations.

**The President:** We have heard the last speaker in explanation of position.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to His Excellency Tareq Albanai, Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations, and His Excellency Alexander Marschik, Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations, who ably and patiently conducted the discussions and complex 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. I am sure that members of the Assembly join me in extending to them our sincere appreciation.

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 121?

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.*