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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 and 2, L.52 and Add.1 and 2) (continued)**

1. Mr. MILLAN (Philippines) said that the failure to enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to match the increase in the membership of the United Nations was patently unfair to Africa and Asia. His delegation had decided to join in sponsoring the two draft resolutions before the Committee (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1 and A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1) because it believed that action to remove that inequity and expand the Councils in proportion to their greater tasks and responsibilities was urgently necessary.

2. The objections raised against the two draft resolutions were not fundamental. The principal opponents, the Soviet Union (190th meeting) and the Eastern Powers (191st and 193rd meetings), resisted the proposals because the necessary amendment of the Charter would be subject to ratification by the five permanent members of the Security Council, including China which they claimed to be illegitimately represented by the Nationalist Government. That objection was no longer valid, since the Soviet Union had proposed a re-organization of the Secretariat which also required an amendment of the Charter. It was moreover improper because it disregarded the United Nations many decisions concerning the representation of China and was manifestly unfair to the African and Asian countries, some of which had supported the Eastern Powers on the question of China.

3. The draft resolutions were also opposed by the Indian delegation (191st meeting), which favoured the expansion of the Council but believed that the matter should be left to the permanent members of the Security Council, other than Nationalist China. While the suggestion was undoubtedly prompted by good intentions, it was bound to misfire. The Soviet Union was no more likely to listen to the Western Powers than to the "uncommitted" African and Asian countries.

4. His delegation supported the draft resolutions because the expansion of the Councils would improve the machinery for peace. It would enable the Organization to adapt itself to a changing world, and would give the African and Asian countries a proper voice

in the discussion of the world's political, economic and social problems.

5. Peace was indivisible and although the African and Asian countries were not atomic Powers, they should be properly represented in the Security Council whose decisions might determine their own survival or destruction. Although the Charter called for equitable geographical distribution, the principle could not be respected in practice when there were only six non-permanent seats.

6. It was no less important to enlarge the Economic and Social Council. Its work was of particular interest to the African and Asian countries and it was natural that they should wish a greater voice in its deliberations. The proposed increase in the membership of the Council was essentially technical in character and political or ideological considerations should not be allowed to frustrate it.

7. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) said that the enlargement of the Councils was becoming increasingly urgent. The membership of the United Nations had almost doubled and the gentleman's agreement of 1946 designed to apply the principle of geographical distribution in the Security Council no longer served that purpose. Both in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council the African and Asian countries were plainly under-represented.

8. Those facts were universally admitted, but some delegations continued to state that, despite the acknowledged need for reform, they could not approve the required amendments of the Charter. The delegations concerned had proposed that the General Assembly should discuss the strengthening of the independence of emerging States and approve a declaration on the independence of colonial countries, yet they made it difficult for the emerging States to use their independence. The absence of the People's Republic of China was wholly irrelevant to the rights of Africa and Asia.

9. In view of the need for action his delegation considered it unnecessary to set up a committee to study the possibilities of arriving at an agreement, as General Assembly resolution 1404 (XIV) had suggested. Tunisia had co-sponsored the first draft resolution (A/SPC/L.51) on the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council, but had not sponsored the second draft resolution (A/SPC/L.52) on the enlargement of the Security Council, because it thought that the Security Council should have fifteen members rather than thirteen. That was a point of detail which could be dealt with later.

10. The Charter must be amended in two steps. The first step was a technical one which involved the drafting of the amendment and its adoption by two-thirds of the General Assembly. The second was a political step, involving ratification of the amendment, and that required the consent of the five perma-

ment members of the Security Council. There was nothing to prevent the Assembly from taking the first step and asking the permanent members of the Security Council to ratify the amendments. The Committee should not resign itself to another failure.

11. Dato' MacINTYRE (Federation of Malaya) said that with the admission of seventeen new Members to the United Nations the need to increase the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council had become more urgent than ever. That the United Nations was not intended to be a static organization was indicated by the provision for amending the Charter set forth in Article 108. Yet if it was to progress and to remain efficient the composition of its various organs must be truly representative, allowing all Members to share the responsibilities of membership. His delegation was therefore in favour of enlarging both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. It was with regard to the latter, however, that it had particularly strong views. The most recently admitted Members were under-developed countries and it would be totally unrealistic if an organ designed to assist the under-developed countries did not allow them sufficient representation to make their views known. The urgency of the problem was such that no other consideration should be permitted to stand in the way of its solution. He therefore could not agree with those who maintained that it should be considered in relation to the question of the representation of China. The suggestion that the existing seats should be reallocated was unrealistic, for it would give increased participation to some sectors of the world community only by diminishing the participation of others. He would accordingly support the draft resolutions in the documents before them (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1 and A/SPC/L.52 and Add.1) and requested that his delegation should be added to the lists of sponsors.

12. Mr. HASAN (Pakistan) said the discussion had indicated a consensus that the present composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council was unrealistic, unbalanced and unjust. It did not reflect the increase in the membership of the Organization and deprived many countries and even whole regions of the opportunity to make their contribution to the maintenance of peace and security and the well-being of peoples throughout the world. The draft resolutions which his delegation was co-sponsoring in the Committee were modest proposals which would neither make the Councils unwieldy nor extend the number of States possessing the veto power. Although they set too remote a time-limit for ratification, the proposals seemed to offer the best means of initiating the process of increasing the membership of the Councils without making them unwieldy. The Economic and Social Council in particular should be expanded to reflect more fully the interests and needs of the under-developed countries, especially those which had attained their independence since the Second World War. An attempt to solve the problem by redistributing the existing seats might simply have the effect of increasing tension and ill-feeling in a world already dangerously divided. As the draft resolutions reflected the desire of an overwhelming majority in the Committee, he hoped that those who were opposed to them would reconsider their position, thus paving the way for wider participation by the newer Members in the work of the

United Nations two principal organs. The fact that it was wrong to keep a great nation like the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations did not justify a refusal to allow the African and Asian countries to play their full part in the work of the Organization.

13. Mr. MACHOWSKI (Poland) said that the time had come for a new approach to the item under consideration, taking into account the historic circumstances in which the fifteenth session of the Assembly was taking place. The participation of many Heads of State and Government and other leading statesmen in the deliberations in plenary session had thrown new light on a number of the agenda items, including the question before the Committee. That problem was rooted in the desire of the countries admitted since the establishment of the United Nations for adequate representation in all its organs. His delegation sympathized with that desire, as it had shown by supporting their applications for membership, voting in favour of candidates nominated by the African-Asian group and urging the adoption of proposals for increased representation of new Members in the subsidiary organs of the United Nations, where Charter amendment was not required.

14. The admission of new Members had considerably broadened the scope of the United Nations activities; the Organization was still short of universality, however, since not all States were included in its membership. The most notable absence was that of the People's Republic of China. Until it was accorded its rightful place the United Nations could not function normally, a fact which had been demonstrated repeatedly in the course of the Committee's search for a solution to the problem of adequate representation on the Councils. It was clear that an increase in the membership of the Councils would require amendments to the Charter and that such a procedure would in turn require ratification by all the permanent members of the Security Council. It followed that as long as one of those members, namely China, was not represented, no such amendments were possible. Hence he could not accept the argument that objections to Charter amendment based on the absence of the People's Republic of China were irrelevant. Many of those who posed as defenders of the rights of the African and Asian States had missed an excellent opportunity to prove their sincerity during the vote on the question of China's representation taken earlier in the session. The least they could do now was not to try to shift responsibility for the resulting situation to those countries which were seeking to bring about the restitution of China's rights and which firmly upheld the inviolability of the Charter. He could not accept the United States representative's argument (190th meeting) that the amendments required to permit expansion of the Councils would be slight, for the essence of the problem was not whether such amendments were major or minor but simply whether they were required. As amendments were required, the Charter provisions relating to amendment must be observed. Similarly, he could not agree that an act of such great political and juridical significance as Charter amendment was a mere technical adjustment, an interpretation which was entirely at variance with the letter and spirit of Article 108 of the Charter.

15. The problem under discussion touched upon one of the most important and delicate questions facing

the United Nations, namely that of its structure, organization and functioning. Now that the Organization was nearing the goal of universality its structure should be reorganized to reflect existing political realities, for it could not carry out the provisions of the Charter if it continued to serve as a political instrument of one group of States only. It could faithfully reflect the existing relationship of forces only if its organs were truly representative in character. That representative character could not be achieved unless the United Nations, as the world's most important political organization, gave priority to political criteria rather than to geographical and arithmetical criteria. The structure of the United Nations must take into account not only the increasing number of independent States which were coming into being as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system but also the changes which were taking place in the relationship of forces and in the role and importance of particular States. It was imperative that the Organization's structure should be modified in accordance with the new relationship of the three major groups of States existing in the modern world. That would include changes in the executive branch, the need for which had been demonstrated by recent events in Africa. The adverse reaction of the Western Powers to the changes suggested by the USSR delegation were only to be expected, as they would not be able to retain their present privileged position if the changes were carried into effect.

16. As far as the two draft resolutions were concerned, he shared the Indian representative's fear (191st meeting) that they would merely intensify the cold war element in the debate. If they were put to the vote his delegation would be obliged to vote against them.

17. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand) said that his delegation favoured an increase in the membership both of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council, but as the enlargement of the Security Council might raise the issue of the balance between permanent and non-permanent members, it might be better to start with the urgent and less complex question of the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council. The need for an increase in the membership of that body had been acknowledged by all.

18. New Zealand's experience as one of the present members of the Economic and Social Council had convinced it that all Members of the United Nations should have an opportunity of serving on the Council at reasonably frequent intervals. Originally conceived as a forum for the discussion and co-ordination of policies, the Council was now responsible for the direction and management of large-scale operational activities conducted not only by the United Nations itself but also by the specialized agencies for the benefit of the less-developed countries. It was fulfilling that new function with increasing effectiveness, but its work was hampered by the inadequate representation of the under-developed countries. As the representatives of Malaya and of Pakistan had emphasized, the new States of Africa and Asia must be given an opportunity of making the maximum contribution to the work of the Council.

19. The New Zealand delegation, like most delegations which had taken part in the debate, deprecated the artificial concept that the world community fell naturally into three groupings, each requiring equal

representation in the various organs of the United Nations. At the same time different groups of countries, whether defined on the basis of geography or of common problems or interests, brought different outlooks, emphasis and experience to the work of the Economic and Social Council. The present size of the Council did not, and could not, allow that balance of interests to be adequately represented. That situation put the Council at a disadvantage and detracted from the weight of its decisions and recommendations. It was necessary to establish an intimate and continuing working partnership between the countries most in need of the help that could be extended through the United Nations and those best able to respond to that need. That could not be secured by juggling with the existing seats. Since 1945 the membership of the United Nations had doubled but the Council had not been permitted to grow and could no longer accommodate a full cross section of the United Nations membership.

20. All knew that the simple remedy for this situation was the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council. The main question was whether the General Assembly should seek to bring enlargement about by taking the steps available under the Charter. The alternative was to accept failure as a foregone conclusion and perhaps to make some lame attempt at readjustment to the existing cramped circumstances. New Zealand had little confidence in the latter course.

21. References had been made to the unanimity rule, under which any one of the permanent members of the Security Council could veto the recommendations of a vast majority of the Organization. The only moderating force was the moral authority of the United Nations expressed in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. The rule itself embodied a compromise between the realities of world power and the ideals of the Organization. In order to make the compromise work, all Members had a responsibility to place their opinions on record in the ways provided for in the Charter. Otherwise no great Power would ever be called upon to decide whether its opposition should be carried to the length of frustrating the wishes of the majority. His delegation rejected the notion that it was a cold war manoeuvre if the majority decided to advocate a course disapproved by one of the great Powers. Such a line of argument would cripple Assembly action on any matter to which a great Power was opposed.

22. It was necessary to consider whether there were nevertheless particular circumstances which made it imprudent for the Assembly to act in the way proposed. Any major revision of the Charter would give rise to interlocking problems which could probably be settled only at a review conference as provided for in the Charter. However, an amendment to effect the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council was clearly not of this order. If the Charter had provided that the size of the select bodies should bear a fixed relationship to the total membership of the Organization, no question of amendment of the Charter would have arisen. However, select bodies should be not only truly representative but also small enough to function efficiently. It was natural that as the Members of the United Nations increased in numbers they should be left to strike a new balance between the membership of such bodies and that of the Organization. At the same time it was noteworthy that Arti-

cle 108 of the Charter provided a means of dealing with just such circumstantial amendments as those contained in the draft resolution before the Committee (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1 and 2) without resorting to a review conference. The proposed increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council did not contemplate any alteration in the checks and balances making up the basic machinery of the Charter. It was an elementary adjustment to a new situation brought about by the admission of new Members—a step which had itself been subject to the unanimity rule. It was strange that any great Power which had not then withheld its consent should oppose the logical corollary of the admission of new Members, namely, the expansion of the Councils.

23. The USSR objected (190th meeting) to the proposed amendment to the Charter—and to any other amendment—unless the question of the representation of China had first been resolved as the USSR desired. That issue was a serious one which had caused deep divisions within the United Nations, but it had no inevitable connexion with the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council. The proposal for its enlargement could not be regarded as provocative or as serving an unworthy political purpose, merely because one great Power chose to link its fate with another important issue. If the Special Political Committee countenanced such a regrettable and arbitrary standpoint, there was no knowing where the process would stop. It had already been suggested that changes in the structure of the Secretariat should become part of the price of agreement.

24. If, in the common judgement, the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council had a necessary connexion with other issues, the procedure which had been proposed might be inappropriate. Since, however, an overwhelming number of States Members were in favour of such an increase as the natural consequence of the growth of the United Nations and it would have no repercussions on the other provisions of the Charter, or diminish in any way the special position of the permanent members of the Security Council, the proper course was to initiate a Charter amendment. That was not impractical. It was necessary to have confidence that eminently reasonable proposals would gain universal acceptance.

25. The New Zealand delegation accordingly supported the joint draft resolution on the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council (A/SPC/L.51 and Add.1 and 2) and wished its name to be included among the co-sponsors. The many delegations which had made known their concern at the delay in enlarging the Council could give this concern most practical expression by adopting the draft resolution with the necessary two-thirds majority. Countries could then take steps to ratify the amendment. New Zealand hoped and believed the great Powers would be among them.

26. Mr. O'BRIEN (Ireland) noted that the Soviet Union (190th meeting), despite the urging of many delegations which were in agreement with it on the question of the representation of China, insisted that, in the present circumstances, it would oppose any amendment of the Charter. Was the Assembly then doomed to pass resolutions which, however justified in principle, would in practice be vetoed and without effect or, worse still, was it to drift into a series of bitter controversies over the redistribution of the

existing seats on the Councils? The Irish delegation had little cause to be satisfied with the working of the present system, and it had no doctrinaire objection to an agreed redistribution, if it could be attained through amicable negotiation. However, such adjustments, even if they were attainable, would be at best an unsatisfactory and makeshift solution. The only real answer would be to expand the Councils to a point at which they could adequately represent the present membership of the United Nations. The main question therefore was whether anything could be done at the current session to advance that cause.

27. Many delegations had come to the conclusion that the best that could be done would be to adopt a draft resolution which, though it might be deprived of effect, would nevertheless register the consensus of opinion in the Assembly and thus bring a certain moral pressure to bear. It was doubtful, however, that in fact such a course would bring the desired end much nearer.

28. In the circumstances, the Irish delegation wondered whether something could not be built on the unanimity that apparently existed on the desirability of expanding the two Councils. The Committee might be able to agree at the current session on action which would prepare the way for such expansion, thus cutting down the time between the decision to enlarge the Councils and the implementation of that decision. The provisions of Article 108 regarding the ratification of amendments to the Charter meant that, even if texts were agreed on during the present Assembly, they could hardly come into force in time for the election of new members to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council at the sixteenth session.

29. It had been argued that the process could be shortened if the necessary amendments were adopted, regardless of the opposition of the Soviet Union and its supporters, and if the countries which approved of them then proceeded to ratify them. However, when the day came on which the Soviet Union was at last prepared to ratify amendments enlarging the Councils, it might well not approve the texts adopted, which would have been passed over its opposition. It would then be necessary to negotiate new texts and the process would have to begin all over again. It would seem advisable, therefore, to try at once to find out what amendments would be agreeable to all the Members of the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Security Council. Of course, the Soviet Union would not agree in the present circumstances to ratify any amendments to the Charter, but since the Soviet delegation had stated not only its willingness but its active desire to carry out such amendments if circumstances were to change in future, it would be possible to ask now what amendments the Soviet Union would be willing eventually to accept. If the Soviet delegation could co-operate to that extent, it would be possible to make some progress. A working party of the Committee could be set up to establish agreed texts for the amendments to the three Charter Articles in question, and those texts could be embodied in a draft resolution for submission to the General Assembly. If such a draft resolution received the necessary two-thirds majority, the process of ratification could begin, since the amendments, having been provisionally agreed upon, would eventually come into force.

30. In order to make real progress, the Committee would have to be assured of the full co-operation of all those delegations which were not at present empowered by their Governments to vote for a draft resolution proposing amendments. The Irish delegation wished therefore, through the Chairman, to ask the Soviet delegation, and other delegations taking the same position, if they would be willing to co-operate with the Committee, on the assumption that they would not be expected necessarily to vote in favour of the draft resolutions of the General Assembly or to put the amendments before their Governments for immediate ratification. Of course, even if the suggested procedure was adopted, considerable time would be needed to reach general agreement on the text of the amendments and the various associated technicalities. However, it would represent a step

towards the end which was so urgently desired by so many States Members. In the circumstances, it was hard to see any other means by which real, as distinct from formal, progress could be made.

31. Mr. NONG KIMNY (Cambodia), speaking as Chairman of the African-Asian Group for the month of November, proposed that the meeting should be adjourned in order to allow the group to discuss the resolutions that had been submitted to the Committee.

32. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) supported the proposal for adjournment.

*The proposal was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 23 abstentions.*

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.