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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 (continued)**

1. Mr. MASSOUD-ANSARI (Iran) said that as the question had been discussed for the past five years, delegations which had already taken part in the debates on the subject felt that there was no need to reiterate once again the arguments in favour of a satisfactory and urgent solution. The Iranian delegation feared, however, that its silence might be interpreted as indifference, and had felt it desirable to take the floor and explain its views once again.

2. Iran, as a country belonging to the Middle East where the effect of the gradual increase in the membership of the Organization had been particularly acutely felt, attached the utmost importance to the question. Under Article 23 of the Charter, the six non-permanent members of the Security Council were to be elected with due regard to equitable geographical distribution, and on that principle two seats had been allotted in 1946 to Latin America, two to Europe, one to the British Commonwealth countries, and one to the countries of the Middle East. Meanwhile the concept of what constituted the Middle East had been broadened, with the result that as the number of new countries regarded as belonging to that region increased, the chances of the original Middle Eastern countries becoming members of the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council had diminished accordingly. Some countries had also tried to take advantage of the elasticity of the concept, giving it a narrow interpretation which would keep the Middle East seat in the hands of certain particular groups. His delegation could not accept any interpretation likely to prejudice the rights of countries which had belonged to the Middle East region for far longer.

3. In view of that situation, he was particularly anxious to urge a rapid solution of the problem especially as sixteen new African countries had become Members of the Organization in 1960. Apart from the countries belonging to the Commonwealth, African States could not become members of the Security Council at present unless the concept of the Middle East were expanded to include the entire African con-

tinent. Furthermore, great and powerful States of Asia belonging to the United Nations were also deprived of that right. The Secretary-General had rightly pointed out in the Introduction to his report to the fifteenth session of the Assembly that the countries of Asia and Africa today "represent powerful elements in the international community" (A/4390/Add.1, p.8). They must also be able to make themselves heard, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Hence the question of an increase in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations was of particular concern to those countries. It was surely not right to keep a group of countries representing practically half the Member States deprived of the right to take part in the discussion of the problems brought up in the United Nations. In point of fact, the great majority of the members of the Committee appeared to be in agreement on the substance of the problem. The difficulty was to find a suitable procedure. Operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1404 (XIV) did of course provide that if progress was not made during the fifteenth session a committee might be set up. But in view of the urgency of the problem it was to be hoped that there would be no need to refer it to such a committee, since that would delay the solution still further. Hence more pressure must be applied, especially by the African and Asian countries, which must continue to make themselves heard until there was a favourable reaction from the countries which held the key to the problem. The Iranian delegation would support any move, in keeping with the Charter, which would help to bring about equality of rights for all Member States.

4. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia) said that the members of the Committee were so imbued with a sense of justice and fair play that none of them would consciously do anything to deprive the African Members of the Organization of any benefit, moral or material, to which they were entitled. The Liberian delegation could not believe they could make protestations of friendship towards the African countries and at the same time vote against an instrument designed to make those countries fully-fledged Members of the United Nations with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto. If Africa had genuine friends among the five permanent members, the time was opportune for the latter to show their friendship. The co-operation of all of them must be earnestly solicited. A United Nations without an all-pervading spirit of co-operation and confidence could not be a really living organism or the embodiment of the great ideal of unselfish statesmanship.

5. The question before the Committee was a humble request for an increase in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations involving an amendment of the Charter under Article 108 to give the African countries south of the Sahara the representation to which 200 million persons were entitled. Possibly persons born in the heyday of colonialism might look back nostalgically to the good old days and react

to the proposed changes as something retrograde. But there was no doubt that the potentialities of the African continent were underestimated at present, and that eastern and western statesmen should show greater tact and imagination in approaching and handling Africa's problems. If the proposed amendment of the Charter were for trivial, ephemeral reasons, the Liberian delegation would be the first to oppose it. But a vital principle was involved, the principle of representation, one of the most cherished constitutional privileges whose history went back to the very beginnings of man's struggle for political recognition. A glance at the history of the various countries would suffice to show the importance with which the principle had been regarded by the very countries whose representatives could give the Africans the representation due to them. The United Nations had been founded to free mankind from humiliation, from fear and domination and to break asunder the chains which bound subject peoples. In 1945 provision had been made for an increase in membership; unfortunately, the founding fathers had not been very liberal in regard to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Though they had provided a formula for altering the Charter, they had specified that any amendment would require ratification by two-thirds of the Members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Thus African representation in those two organs could be blocked. But all the members of the Special Political Committee had shown that they were friends of Africa. In view of their numbers, the African States were entitled to be represented in the principal organs of the United Nations. Withholding that privilege was not the way to preserve and strengthen the Organization as a fortress of universal peace. A decision to amend the Charter should therefore be taken immediately. One of the chief criticisms of colonial policy was that it decided issues on Africa without considering those whose interests it professed to serve. Continued refusal to give the African countries representation in the principal organs of the United Nations could evoke reflections on defunct principles which might undermine harmony. The Liberian delegation hoped that the members of the Committee would support with alacrity any resolution designed to correct a grievous wrong and to amend Articles 23 and 61 of the Charter. It would have more to say on the subject if the occasion arose.

6. Mr. ECONOMOU-GOURAS (Greece) said that ever since the tenth session the General Assembly had been in quest of a just and equitable solution for the problem of the participation of the various national groups within the United Nations in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. At the fifteenth session the question was more acute than ever because of the gratifying increase in the number of Member States belonging to Africa and Asia. The new countries were anxious to have a voice in the two Councils, and no impediments should be placed in the way of that legitimate ambition.

7. For the Greeks, the concept of harmony was the fundamental rule of democracy, which they cherished deeply, the proper representation would make for both harmony and democracy. A numerical increase in the membership of the two Councils would make room for such representation, which was consonant with the facts of international life, without reducing the numerical representation of other groups. The representation of those other groups would be proportionally reduced, but that was in accord with the facts.

8. In the Greek delegation's view, there was another reason also in favour of that course, namely the fact that much of the work of the two organs in question was concerned, as the Yugoslav representative had pointed out (186th meeting), with the regions which had just come into the Organization. The opinions and wishes of the representatives of the new States would have a direct bearing on those regions and would prove constructive and extremely useful for all concerned.

9. The United Nations was a living organism and must therefore grow and develop in harmony with the development and expansion of the world; otherwise it was doomed. It was above all else a refuge for the smaller States, and he hoped it would remain so, for his country was a small State which had received precious assistance from the United Nations in critical moments. The smaller States should have adequate representation; the United Nations should be able to advance without hindrance, for those who were able to obstruct its progress were the very ones who did not need it so much as did the small States. His delegation felt that the problem should be properly solved at the present session.

10. Mr. HSUEH (China) recalled that the question had been under consideration by the General Assembly since its eleventh session. The matter had become even more urgent at the present session as a result of the admission of seventeen new Members. The principle involved had long been settled, for the great majority of Member States favoured an increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, as was clear, in particular, from General Assembly resolutions 1300 (XIII) and 1404 (XIV).

11. There were other points, however, which had not yet been settled, and no agreement had been reached on them. Different opinions had been expressed as to how many additional seats should be provided in each of the two Councils and how such seats should be distributed. Those were also important matters, and although there should be no great difficulty in finding a satisfactory solution, they were ultimately the key to the entire problem. He hoped that substantial progress in that direction would be made during the present discussion. His delegation was in favour of an immediate increase in the membership of both Councils, provided that the increase was moderate and that there was a balanced distribution of the seats.

12. In accordance with those principles, his delegation believed, first of all, that the membership of the two Councils should be increased not only in order to ensure a wider participation in the work of the United Nations but also as a means of drawing greater strength from the increased membership. A reallocation of the present seats would not achieve that purpose and would unjustly deprive one group of States of the seats they already occupied. His delegation was therefore not in favour of such a course.

13. The Chinese delegation considered, secondly, that no drastic change in the structure of the United Nations should be contemplated because the serious repercussions which that would entail might weaken or even destroy the Organization. The increase in the membership of the Councils should likewise not render them unwieldy. The Charter did not establish any direct numerical ratio between the number of Member States and the number of Council members. The Security

Council, in particular, could not operate efficiently unless its membership was kept small. Many delegations had expressed the view that the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council should be increased to eight and that the Economic and Social Council should be composed of twenty-four members instead of eighteen. His delegation believed that such views deserved careful consideration.

14. Thirdly, Article 23 of the Charter contained specific provisions concerning the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council. Within the framework of that Article, the redistribution of the non-permanent seats in an enlarged Council should reflect the relative increase in the membership from the various geographical groupings since the establishment of the United Nations. The voting procedure would have to be adjusted along the lines laid down in Article 27.

15. Fourthly, the increase in the membership from the various geographical groupings in the past fifteen years should also be taken into account in the redistribution of seats in an enlarged Economic and Social Council. A useful reference for such distribution might be found in the present composition of the General Committee of the General Assembly.

16. With those views in mind, his delegation supported the efforts to solve the problem, but he pointed out that the sole obstacle to the realization of the common objective was the opposition of the Soviet Union. In defiance of the views of the majority, the Soviet Union continued to turn a deaf ear to the appeals of other Member States, particularly those of the smaller countries. That negative attitude had been the one single factor which had caused the question to be postponed year after year. The Soviet Union had introduced an absolutely irrelevant issue into the debate by arguing that the Charter could not be amended without the approval of the Chinese Communists. That attitude had a twofold purpose; it served as a pretext for the Soviet opposition to even a partial amendment of the Charter, and it was designed to ensure the admission to the United Nations of the puppet Chinese Communist régime. The Soviet Union had been pursuing the second objective for the past ten years in order to secure two vetoes in the Security Council and to increase its influence in the General Assembly. The Soviet Union's request had again been rejected at the present session (895th plenary meeting), and by raising the question in the Committee, it was engaging in horse-trading in an attempt to open the door to the Chinese Communists.

17. The negative attitude of the Soviet Union was unmistakably clear. He recalled that in the debate in the Special Political Committee at the fourteenth session (129th meeting), the Soviet representative had pointed out that the Charter in its existing form was satisfactory and that in consequence no amendment was required but merely an adjustment in the distribution of seats in the Councils. What that had actually meant was that the membership of the Councils should not be increased but that the seats at present allocated to States of Western Europe and Latin America should be given to States belonging to other geographical groups. At the present session, as had been shown by the representative of Colombia (187th meeting) the Soviet line of argument had somewhat changed, although its position remained the same. In the present year, the Soviet Union was demanding the complete revision of the

Charter which was no longer considered as satisfactory. It had denounced the Secretary-General and demanded the abolition of his post and was calling for a complete change in the structure of the Security Council and of the Secretariat.

18. The Soviet Union representative had spoken (186th meeting) of a qualitative change in the membership of the United Nations as the justification for such demands, but he had rejected an increase in the membership of the Councils, which could be justified only by a quantitative change which, in the Soviet representative's view, was less important. But the increase in the membership of the United Nations from fifty-one to ninety-nine was a reality, whereas the same could not be said about the so-called qualitative change. While the Soviet representative had indicated that the number of the socialist countries had grown from two to twelve, it should be asked whether Outer Mongolia as well as North Korea and North Viet-Nam could be regarded as States. Even granting, however, that there were twelve Socialist States, they would not represent a third of the total membership of the United Nations as the Soviet representative would like everyone to believe. It would also be interesting to determine how many States could rightfully claim to be neutralist States. The qualitative change theory had thus been invented to promote the interests of the Soviet Union and was designed to divide the United Nations into three groups so as to disunite the nations that had been making efforts to be united.

19. It had thus once again been made clear that the Soviet Union was refusing to examine the question before the Committee and did not hesitate to block a solution by using the pretext of the so-called question of Chinese representation. The Soviet Union was thus disregarding the interests of the United Nations as well as those of the smaller countries which it referred to as neutralist countries. Until the Soviet Union changed its attitude, difficulties would be encountered. His delegation hoped that those difficulties would be overcome at the present session and recalled what it had stated at the fourteenth session, namely, that the adoption of amendments to the Charter did not require the prior consent of any of the permanent members of the Security Council. According to Article 108, amendments could be adopted by a vote of two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly. As the adoption of amendments giving effect to an increase in the membership of the Councils would be a first step towards the solution of the question, he thought that a recommendation along those lines could be made to the General Assembly by a majority vote of the Committee.

20. Mr. MARTIN (Union of South Africa) said that his delegation had already stated its views on previous occasions, particularly at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly at the 114th meeting of the Special Political Committee, and had voted for resolution 1404 (XIV). In 1960 it seemed that the same implacable opposition to change confronted the Committee. Nevertheless, it must persist in its efforts to bring about a measured enlargement of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. The amendments to certain Articles of the Charter that this would involve were not of a radical nature; no change in the functions or the character of the two Councils was at issue. His delegation favoured an increase of two in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the corresponding amendment of Article 27 of the Charter.

21. A reasonable increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council was also indicated. At the same time, care must be taken not to render either Council unwieldy and thus impair its efficiency in respect of the particular function assigned to it under the Charter.

22. The whole point of enlarging the two Councils would be to achieve a more realistic representation, taking into account the increase in the membership of the United Nations and, in particular, the role of the new States of Africa and Asia. In order to achieve that objective, some understanding had also to be reached on the distribution of seats, for an annual scramble for seats would frustrate the purpose. The need for a preliminary understanding on that subject had been realized at San Francisco; today, the need was far greater. The principle underlying the practice followed with regard to the distribution of the Vice-Presidencies of the General Assembly, as set out in the annex to resolution 1192 (XII), was eminently suitable. His delegation had in mind the allocation of seats in the broad regional or group context, not in terms of blocs. It would wish, for example, to see Africa assured of one of the two new seats it would like to have added to the Security Council.

23. The obstacle placed in the path of enlargement of the two Councils, though for the present formidable, had been put there deliberately and was therefore not immovable. The frustration that that obstacle was causing was understandable and was turning the attention of some towards another possibility: the redistribution of existing seats. His delegation did not regard that as a satisfactory solution. If the Committee followed that course, it would weaken the argument for the measured enlargement of the two Councils, which was the only true solution.

24. U ON SEIN (Burma) noted that since the eleventh session of the General Assembly consideration of the item had been postponed from year to year. Since the founding of the United Nations, its membership had increased from fifty-one to ninety-nine and would continue to increase as more and more former colonies attained independence. However, the composition of the two principal organs of the United Nations had remained unchanged since 1945 and thus no longer equitably represented the distribution of the various geographical regions within the Organization. In his delegation's view, the situation was unsatisfactory and called for remedial action.

25. The Security Council and the Economic and Social Council would be able to discharge their important functions more effectively if their composition was enlarged on an equitable geographical basis. If succeeding generations were to be saved from the scourge of war, if justice, social progress and better standards of life were to be assured, what was needed was collective wisdom on a broader basis. His delegation's demand for an increase in the membership of the two Councils was dictated by equity and the need for efficiency. The agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly included many problems that concerned Africa, yet the continent of Africa was very poorly represented in the principal organs of the United Nations.

26. The Burmese delegation was fully aware of the difficulties that the problem involved. Under Article 108, an amendment to the Charter could not come into force until it had been ratified by all the permanent

members of the Security Council. That raised the grave political problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

27. Nevertheless, his delegation would vote for any resolution which would bring about an enlargement of the two Councils and it sincerely hoped that such a draft resolution would be forthcoming.

28. Mr. SORHEGUI (Cuba) considered it natural that the new States admitted to membership in the United Nations after liberation from the grip of the metropolitan countries should wish to have the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council enlarged. The Republic of Cuba particularly appreciated their point of view since, though theoretically independent since 1902, it had remained economically and politically under the thumb of the United States until 1 January 1959, when the armed movement of the Cuban people had overthrown the dictatorial régime. As other States throughout the world had done in the past and continued to do, Cuba today was waging a struggle against exploitation by the colonialists and foreign monopolies. In its fight to achieve economic liberation and to solve the problem of unemployment by developing land reform and industrialization, Cuba felt particularly close to the African peoples fighting at its side. The descendants of the African slaves brought to Cuba by the Spaniards had been in the van of the struggle for national independence and today formed an integral part of the Cuban people which, true to the teachings of José Martí, categorically rejected all racial discrimination.

29. Those principles of equity and justice which inspired all small nations, and especially the new Members, prompted their desire to see the membership and the composition of the two Councils in keeping with the new situation in the United Nations. Those States rightly based their request on Article 1, paragraphs 2, 3 and 4, of the Charter, which stated the principles, the very "raison d'être", of the Organization. Those principles, however, were being violated as long as the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of China, a country with a population of over 600 million, was denied the right to be represented in the United Nations. Its place today was usurped by a Government which represented only the interests of United States imperialism and which maintained itself in power in Formosa solely with the protection of the United States Seventh Fleet—a clear proof of extra-continental interference in the affairs of another people. When the small States Members of the United Nations threw off the imperialist dictate and secured the admission of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, that act of justice would pave the way for the triumph of their own cause; there would then be no obstacle to the enlargement of the two Councils.

30. It should not, however, be imagined that increasing the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council would of itself solve the grave problems of the under-developed countries by strengthening the barrier against the aggressive acts of the imperialists and their monopolies. Cuba, for example, had been a member of the Security Council in 1955; but at that time the country, governed by the tyrant Batista, had been more subject to the will of the monopolies and of the United States Government than ever before. The delegation appointed by the Cuban Government of that time had betrayed the interests of the Cuban people and served only the interests of Wash-

ington and Wall Street. Thus all peoples still under the yoke of imperialism and of the colonialists must throw it off and so rid the Organization of representatives who betrayed their peoples; in that way they would strengthen the cause of peace. The Cuban delegation

could today make common cause with the peoples fighting against imperialism only because, for the first time in its history, Cuba was now a truly sovereign and independent country.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.