



THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

13 May, 2015

Excellency

Further to my letter dated 5 May, I have the honour to transmit a letter dated 13 May, in which H.E Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica and Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform is forwarding the Framework Document following technical amendments as well as late submissions made by some Member States.

I encourage you to actively participate in the Intergovernmental Negotiations meetings to discuss the populated Framework document scheduled to take place on 14 and 15 May, 2015 at 10:00am, Conference Room 1.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Sam K. Kutesa

All Permanent Representatives  
to the United Nations  
New York



OUR REF. NO.

YOUR REF. NO.

13<sup>th</sup> May, 2015

Excellency,

It is my honour to write to you in my capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on Security Council Reform and to hereby transmit the Framework Document following the submission of technical amendments by Member States.

I wish to draw your attention to the two technical edits that have been made by delegations to their submissions within the Framework Document. First, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea transmitted an amendment to their submission in section a) Categories of Membership, which has been reflected in the Framework Document, as well as in their submission on page 8 of the Annex. Second, L.69 has added an additional element to their submission on page 27 of the Annex, which did not require an amendment to the Framework Document itself.

A minor editorial amendment was also made with the permission of the submitting delegation (Peru) in point a.9 in section a) Categories of Membership, to better reflect the intention of that section.

Additionally, the page numbers listed in the endnotes have been updated to better reflect the precise location of proposals in the Annex.

I would also draw your attention to two late submissions from the delegations of Panama and Malaysia, which have been appropriately integrated into the Framework Document and their full submissions appended to the Annex.

With these technical and editorial adjustments as well as the additional submissions, I am confident that the Framework Document faithfully represents the positions and proposals of Member States and continues to fully reflect General Assembly Decision 62/557.

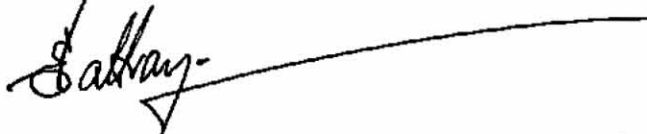
H.E. Mr. Sam K. Kutesa  
President of the 69<sup>th</sup> Session  
of the General Assembly  
United Nations  
New York

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President of the 69<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly  
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13<sup>th</sup> May, 2015

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The Framework Document, which at its core has the personality and character of Member States, will help to focus our discussions during the IGN meetings scheduled for the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of this week. However, it is also intended to be an evolving, working document on the road towards the creation of a draft negotiating text. As such, while we will continue to move forward on this basis, any Member State or grouping of States that have not yet made submissions to the Framework Document may still do so and participate in the process.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



E. Courtenay Rattray  
Ambassador/Permanent Representative  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform

# Framework Document

As Populated by Member States  
(As of 13<sup>th</sup> May, 2015)

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

## a) Categories of membership: <sup>1</sup>

Permanent members - a total of **(G4-11, Georgia- 10-11, L.69- 11, Liechtenstein-5, Slovakia- 10, Australia- up to 11, African Group-11, Hungary- not more than 11, Belgium and Luxembourg- 11)** seats

- a.1 [The Republic of China (People's Republic of China), France, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (The Russian Federation), The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America [(2 from Africa) (2 from Asia) (1 from GRULAC) (1 from WEOG)] **(L.69)**
- a.2 [...supports expansion of permanent members.]<sup>2</sup> **(Dominican Republic)**
- a.3 [...expansion in the permanent category with developed and developing countries adequately represented.]<sup>3</sup> **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- a.4 [Expand the permanent category of membership...]<sup>4</sup> **(Singapore)**
- a.5 [...enlargement of the Council in the permanent category of membership.] **(Croatia)**
- a.6 [...enlargement in the permanent category of membership.]<sup>5</sup> **(Monaco)**
- a.7 [Any increase in permanent membership should be accompanied by an expansion in non-permanent membership] **(Australia)**
- a.8 [Brazil, Germany, India, Japan and permanent African representation] **(France)**
- a.9 [...increase in the permanent category of members...]<sup>6</sup> **(Peru)**
- a.10 [...endorses the enlargement of the Security Council in the category of permanent members...]<sup>7</sup> [The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. Therefore, the increase in such categories should mostly stem from developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean.] [At least two developing countries from Africa, two from Asia and two others from Latin America and the Caribbean should enter the Council as new permanent members.] **(Cuba)**
- a.11 [...membership should be enlarged in the permanent category...]<sup>8</sup> **(Latvia)**
- a.12 [no less than two permanent seats for Africa] **(African Group)**
- a.13 [Brazil, Germany, India, Japan and permanent African representation] **(UK)**
- a.14 [...increase in the Permanent members of the Security Council...]<sup>9</sup> **(Chile)**
- a.15 [The Security Council should be expanded in the permanent category...]<sup>10</sup> **(Viet Nam)**
- a.16 [...expansion of the permanent membership of the Security Council...]<sup>11</sup> **(Hungary)**
- a.17 [...6 new permanent members: 2 from Africa, 2 from Asia, 1 from GRULAC, 1 from WEOG]<sup>12</sup> **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- a.18 [...open to considering increase in permanent members...]<sup>13</sup> **(Netherlands)**
- a.19 [In the event of possible expansion of permanent membership, Japan is totally unqualified to be a permanent member of the expanded Security Council under any circumstances since Japan still denies to liquidate its inhumane war crimes committed against a number of Asian countries during World War II, which placed Japan under the term of an enemy state in the Charter of the United Nations.]<sup>14</sup> **(DPRK)**
- a.20 [...supports the expansion of membership, in the permanent category...]<sup>15</sup> **(Malaysia)**

**[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]**

- a.21 [Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution on Security Council reform, interested Member States prepared to assume the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council would submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, as soon as possible, at a date to be determined by the President of the General Assembly to the election of the six new permanent members, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.] [The criteria of Article 23 (1) should also apply to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".] **(G4)**
- a.22 [Permanent Members should be elected by the UN General Assembly, by the 2/3 vote.] **(Georgia)**
- a.23 [Having in mind the importance of these elections... should require broader support than regular elections for the non-permanent seats] **(Croatia)**
- a.24 [Decision on the basis of consensus or the largest possible majority in the GA] **(Serbia)**
- a.25 [Upon adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms by the General Assembly, member states desiring to assume permanent membership shall submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, at a date to be determined by the PGA, for the election of new permanent members of the Security Council, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot.] [As per established practice, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.] [While electing new permanent members, the General Assembly would also consider the criteria of Article 23 (I) to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".] **(I. 69)**
- a.26 [The form of the election process would depend on the outcome of discussions] [...it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members..]<sup>16</sup> **(France)**
- a.27 [...consensual/unanimous endorsement of the regional group + respective decision/acclamation of the UN General Assembly]<sup>17</sup> **(Slovakia)**
- a.28 [The election process of new members should remain as a prerogative of the General Assembly.] **(Peru)**
- a.29 [The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. It must not expand by default. The enlargement of the Security Council should not be partial or selective, nor should it imply an increase in the number of members to the detriment of developing countries. The main increase for such categories should be in the number of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean.]<sup>18</sup> **(Cuba)**
- a.30 [The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election] **(African Group)**
- a.31 [The manner in which new permanent members are chosen would depend on the outcome of discussions about the scope of enlargement.] [...it is for the UN membership to designate new permanent members..]<sup>19</sup> **(UK)**

- a.32 [Election by the General Assembly by a vote of no less than two third of the Members of the General Assembly with due consideration to the requirements of Article 23 (1)] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- a.33 [Election by the General Assembly...]<sup>20</sup> **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**  
Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of **(Montenegro-16, G4- 14/15, Georgia- 14-15, L.69- 16, Liechtenstein<sup>21</sup>- 10(or more), France- moderate expansion, Slovakia- 15, Australia- up to 15, Cuba-15 at least, African Group- not less than 15, UK- moderate expansion, Hungary- not more than 16, Belgium and Luxembourg- 14/15) seats**
- a.34 [...proceed first with the issue of enlargement of non-permanent seats.]<sup>22</sup> **(DPRK)**
- a.35 [...supports the expansion of non-permanent members.]<sup>23</sup> **(Dominican Republic)**
- a.36 [...expansion in the non-permanent category with developed and developing countries adequately represented.]<sup>24</sup> **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- a.37 [Expand the non-permanent category of membership...]<sup>25</sup> **(Singapore)**
- a.38 [...at least 1 newly added non-permanent seat should be attributed to the Eastern European Group, other seats to be attributed to the regional groups.] **(Georgia)**
- a.39 [...enlargement of the Council in the non-permanent category of membership.] **(Croatia)**
- a.40 [...additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group (EEG).]<sup>26</sup> **(Poland)**
- a.41 [...enlargement in the non-permanent category of membership.]<sup>27</sup> **(Monaco)**
- a.42 [...increase in the non-permanent category of members.]<sup>28</sup> **(Peru)**
- a.43 [...endorses an enlargement in the number of non-permanent seats.] [New non-permanent seats should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current non-permanent members, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established.] **(Cuba)**
- a.44 [...membership should be enlarged in the non-permanent category...]<sup>29</sup> **(Latvia)**
- a.45 [with a total of 5 non-permanent seats for Africa] **(African Group)**
- a.46 [...increase in the Non-Permanent members of the Security Council.]<sup>30</sup> **(Chile)**
- a.47 [The Security Council should be expanded in the non-permanent category...]<sup>31</sup> **(Viet Nam)**
- a.48 [...enlargement of the non-permanent membership of the Council...]<sup>32</sup> **(Hungary)**
- a.49 [4/5 from Africa, 3 from Asia, 2 from EEG, 3 from GRULAC, 2 from WEOG] **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- a.50 [...open to considering increase in non-permanent members...]<sup>33</sup> **(Netherlands)**
- a.51 [...supports the expansion of membership, in the non-permanent category...]<sup>34</sup> **(Malaysia)**

**[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]**

- a.52 [Elected by the General Assembly, in accordance with standard procedure.] **(Montenegro)**
- a.53 [The election process for non-permanent members will follow current practices.] **(G4)**
- a.54 [The non-permanent Members of the UNSC should be elected by the UNGA...]**(Georgia)**
- a.55 [Decision on the basis of consensus or the largest possible majority in the GA] **(Serbia)**
- a.56 [The election process for non-permanent two-year term seats will remain unchanged.] **(L. 69)**

- a.57 [...we should take into account the (i) aspirations of those countries whose contribution to the work of the Organization is undisputed (ii) financial contributions to the UN budget, as well as and (iii) participation in peacekeeping operations with the UN Security Council mandate.]<sup>35</sup> **(Poland)**
- a.58 [...it is for the whole UN membership to.. elect all non-permanent members.]<sup>36</sup> **(France)**
- a.59 [...current rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent members should apply]<sup>37</sup> **(Slovakia)**
- a.60 [The election process of new members should remain as a prerogative of the General Assembly.] **(Peru)**
- a.61 [...the election process should follow current practices.]<sup>38</sup> **(Paraguay)**
- a.62 [...would not oppose to immediate reelection of non-permanent members] **(Cuba)**
- a.63 [The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election] **(African Group)**
- a.64 [...it is for the UN membership to.. elect all non-permanent members.]<sup>39</sup> **(UK)**
- a.65 [Election process for non-permanent seats remain unchanged] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- a.66 [Current election system is efficient.] **(Hungary)**
- a.67 [In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from 15 to maximum 25/26, 2 of the 4/5 additional non-permanent members shall be chosen for a term of one year.] **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- [Any new category...]**
- a.68 [...remains open for this option, if negotiations can lead to the compromise between groups with the opposing views on new permanent membership.] **(Montenegro)**
- a.69 [Six additional members elected to serve, on a permanent basis, for renewable terms of [8/10] years.]<sup>40</sup> **(Liechtenstein)**
- a.70 [...open for discussion on a new category of membership, provided it does not compromise the effectiveness of the UNSC decision making, creates opportunity (maybe for an interim period) for those Member States that wish to assume higher responsibility; and provides an acceptable platform for regional leading member states to do so if endorsed by the regional group.] **(Slovakia)**
- a.71 [...open to the possibility of establishing an intermediate category of members with a long mandate, which could eventually become permanent members. This can be considered as a constructive evolution formula.] **(Peru)**
- a.72 [...does not favor the creation of new categories or sub-categories of member States. New categories would intensify current differences and would motivate division among members of the Security Council in lieu of contributing to more effective operation thereof. For instance, the accession of new permanent members without the right to veto would result in a new category, which is not supported..] **(Cuba)**
- a.73 [One rotating seat for Small Island Developing States across all regions.. election process for new seat, same as currently pertains to non-permanent seats] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- a.74 [Should it find consensus.. does not exclude an interim solution, where a new category of seats is created for longer periods than two years that can also be immediately renewable.] **(Hungary)**
- a.75 [...open to considering intermediate solutions...]<sup>41</sup> **(Netherlands)**

a.76 [In 20-30 years time, the Security Council is composed of 21 members, all on equal footing, elected for three-year periods, with the opportunity for consecutive re-election. ...understanding the reality and dynamics of the current Security Council, we propose a gradual transformation, where the existing categories of permanent and non-permanent membership evolve into a sort of "semi-permanent" membership: Member States would be elected for longer terms (e.g. 3 years), with the opportunity for consecutive reelection. We propose working together to come up with a staged, innovative, win-win scenario where, eventually, the P5 themselves "come up for re-election". The total transition would last 15-20 years, considering the commitments well into the 2030's as already acquired by some Member States in terms of their candidacy under the current SC with 5 Permanent Members and 10 Non-Permanent Members on a two-year rotation. The first stages in the transition would see the introduction of an additional six seats in the SC, in the current two-year rotation. We would have to work out together the best timing to change that to a three-year rotation, and also what year we can agree to have the current P5 enter into the reelection process and in what order and stages.]<sup>42</sup> **(Panama)**

**[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]**

a.77 [Elected by the General Assembly, same as with non-permanent members.] **(Montenegro)**

a.78 [...election process to be decided by the rules of procedure, ideally on principle of regional endorsement.]<sup>43</sup> **(Slovakia)**

a.79 [...the election process should follow current practices regarding Non-permanent members.]<sup>44</sup> **(Paraguay)**

**b) Regional representation:**

b.1 [...6 new non-permanent seats, each regional group would receive one additional non-permanent seat, with the exception of the African group, which would receive two additional non-permanent members...]<sup>45</sup> **(Montenegro)**

b.2 [The six new permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern: Two from African Member States; Two from Asia-Pacific Member States; One from Latin American and Caribbean Member States; One from Western European and Other Member States;  
The four/five new non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern: One/Two from African Member States; One from Asia-Pacific Member States; One from Eastern European Member States; One from Latin American and Caribbean Member States;  
Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Member States should also make full use of the possibility of cross-regional arrangements to ensure that the diversity of the General Assembly membership is adequately reflected in the Council.] **(G4)**

b.3 [Creation of an additional non-permanent seat for EEG.] [Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS).] **(Estonia)**

b.4 [It is very important to increase the representation of Non-Aligned Movement member states and other developing countries] [Overall process of discussions of the reform should be a process to guarantee and convince that all UN member states could be represented and included in an equal and democratic manner in the deliberations of international peace and security issues.]<sup>46</sup> **(DPRK)**



- b.5 [...supports the ownership representation.] [...comprehensive reform that privileges the representation of small states that never had had the opportunity to serve in this important organ due to its current structure.] **(Dominican Republic)**
- b.6 [...more balanced geographical representation to reflect the expansion of UN Membership since the last reform in 1963.] [...need to address the non-representation and under-representation of some regions in the permanent and non-permanent category e.g. African region and Small Island Developing States (SIDS).] **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- b.7 [Increase representation of under-represented regional groups in the UNSC as this will help improve the legitimacy and accountability of the UNSC] [Small States must always be represented in the Council...If the Council's composition does not include a small state, at least one of the existing Council members will be appointed as a representative for small states in consultation with the members of the Forum of Small States.]<sup>47</sup> **(Singapore)**
- b.8 [2 seats should be attributed to the EEG. Other places to be distributed according to the established practice.] **(Georgia)**
- b.9 [...one additional seat for East European regional group in the non-permanent category.] [...greater African representation in the Council] **(Croatia)**
- b.10 [Equitable geographic representation to the benefit of small and developing countries and regional and other specific groups...] [...at least one additional seat in the category of non-permanent member for the Eastern European regional group] **(Serbia)**
- b.11 [...additional seats be elected by the General Assembly as follows: (a) Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States; (b) Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asia-Pacific States; (c) One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States; (d) One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and Caribbean States; (e) One permanent seat for Western European and other States; (f) One non-permanent seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS) across all regions. Regional groups shall coordinate to ensure that there is regular representation for small developing states in the non-permanent category] **(L. 69)**
- b.12 [...additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group (EEG)...should be however, a part of a broader reform of geographical distribution.]<sup>48</sup> **(Poland)**
- b.13 [The six additional seats with terms of [eight/ten] years shall be distributed as follows: I. Two from African States II. Two from Asian States III. One from Latin American and Caribbean States IV. One from Western European and Other States...]<sup>49</sup> **(Liechtenstein)**
- b.14 [...one additional non-permanent seat should be allocated to the EEG.] [...an enhanced role of African countries in the Council.] [Any potential enlargement should not diminish the chances of small states to be represented on the Council.] **(Lithuania)**
- b.15 [...supports the current practice of States' candidature.] **(Monaco)**
- b.16 [...do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the UN Charter, which makes clear that admission to the UN is extended to individual states.] **(France)**
- b.17 [...African continent should be better represented in the reformed UNSC, if possible in both categories of membership (or in new one), provided that countries of the African Group express their wish to do so] [...should there be a decision to increase the number of the non-permanent members, that the representation of the EEG should be duly respected and reflected (increase by 1)] [Close the gap between regional groups - improve rotations] [Increase the presence of Africa in the UN] [Increase the presence of Arab countries] [Increase the presence of AP group of states] [Increase the presence of EEG countries] [Introduce representation of "small states" (optional).]<sup>50</sup> **(Slovakia)**

- b.18 [Appropriate geographic balance across the full membership of the Council. To better reflect contemporary geopolitical realities, including greater representation from Asia, Africa and Latin America] **(Australia)**
- b.19 [The Security Council composition should reflect an equitable regional representation.] [...broadening the participation of countries from Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa]<sup>51</sup> **(Peru)**
- b.20 [...implementation of geographical criteria in order to allow all regions to have an adequate presence within the enlarged Council.] **(Paraguay)**
- b.21 [Any change in the Security Council composition should be based on the existing regional groups.] [The reform should envisage increased representation in the Council of developing countries from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.] [The Eastern European Regional Group should be provided with one additional non-permanent seat.]<sup>52</sup> **(Ukraine)**
- b.22 [The current composition of the Security Council does not reflect geopolitical realities, for which it needs to be balanced. Developing countries are underrepresented in the Council. The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean in such body.]<sup>53</sup> **(Cuba)**
- b.23 [The enlargement should ensure equitable geographic distribution of both permanent and non-permanent seats reflecting current political realities.] [...allocation to the EEG of at least one additional non-permanent seat in the enlarged Security Council.]<sup>54</sup> [Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate representation of small and medium size Member States.] **(Latvia)**
- b.24 [A reform that will ensure Africa's legitimate right to fair and equitable geographical representation in the Security Council: taking into account the principles, objectives and ideals of the UN Charter for a fairer world based on universalism, equity and regional balance within the UN system] **(African Group)**
- b.25 [...do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the UN Charter, which makes clear that admission to the UN is extended to individual states.] **(UK)**
- b.26 [...supports the regional representation on an enlarge Security Council...]<sup>55</sup> **(Chile)**
- b.27 [Additional members of the enlarged Council, including permanent and non-permanent seats, should be allocated in such a manner that would ensure equitable representation in the Council.] [Increase in the membership of the Council for each region should correspond to their respective proportion in the membership of the United Nations.] **(Viet Nam)**
- b.28 [Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Africa; Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Asia; Expansion in non-permanent category for Eastern European; Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for GRULAC; Expansion in permanent category for WEOG; One rotating seat for Small Island Developing States across all regions] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- b.29 [The enlargement of the Security Council shall be guided by the principles of Article 23. of the Charter, based on the equitable geographical representation of the regional groups.] [...requests a second non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group.]<sup>56</sup> **(Hungary)**
- b.30 [Any enlargement of the Security Council should take into account the concerns of small and medium-sized Member States, including the Small Island Developing States (SIDS).] [Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium-sized Member States on the Security Council.] **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**

- b.31 [In particular the African Group should be better represented in a reformed Security Council.] [Small and medium sized countries should continue to be adequately represented in the Council.] **(Netherlands)**
- b.32 [...six new positions in the SC to be distributed in the following way: two for Africa; two for Asia; one for GRULAC; and, one for WEOG.]<sup>57</sup> **(Panama)**
- b.33 [...expansion should see more seats for the developing countries and equitable geographical representation in the enlarged membership, in both categories.]<sup>58</sup>  
**(Malaysia)**

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of **(Montenegro<sup>59</sup>- 21, G4- 25/26, Dominican Republic- 24-25, Brunei Darussalam<sup>60</sup>- 25-26, Georgia- 25, Serbia- up to 25, L. 69- 27, Liechtenstein- 21 (or more), France- mid-20s, Slovakia- 25, Australia<sup>61</sup>- 21-26, Peru<sup>62</sup>- mid-twenties, Cuba<sup>63</sup>- not less than 26, African Group- not less than 26, Hungary- not more than 27, Belgium and Luxembourg- maximum 25/26, Panama<sup>64</sup>- capped at 21) seats** <sup>65 66 67 68</sup>**

**(ii) Working methods of the Council:**

- c.1 [...allow for greater participation in and closer following of the Council's work for non-members, especially from the perspective of a small state.]<sup>69</sup> **(Montenegro)**
- c.2 [An affirmative vote of 14/15 of 25/26 members of the enlarged Security Council will be required for a decision.] [The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.] [...meet, as a general rule, in a public format...] [...make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues...] [...hold open debates on the issue of working methods...] [...hold more regular and timely consultations with troop, police and financial contributing countries of UN peacekeeping missions.]<sup>70</sup> **(G4)**
- c.3 [To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of its work, the Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format...] [...make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues...] [...hold more open debates...] [...increase the use of Horizon Scanning briefings and Arria-formula meetings.] **(Estonia)**
- c.4 [Impartiality, non-selectivity and democracy should be fully upheld in all activities of the Security Council.]<sup>71</sup> **(DPRK)**
- c.5 [...the Security Council should improve its relationship with partners outside the Council.] [The Security Council should also increase the transparency of its work, making its role more interactive with its partners and ensure that these are better informed of the issues in which it deals.] [The Security Council should continue trying to hold more public official sessions as opposed to the practice of private consultations.]<sup>72</sup> **(Dominican Republic)**
- c.6 [...need to improve the UNSC's transparency, accountability and efficiency.] **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- c.7 [The Council should adopt its rules of procedures and disseminate them to all UN Member States.] [The tentative programme of work and forecast for the coming month, and changes to the programme of work, should be communicated to all non-members as soon as they are available to the Council.] [All Council members should be involved in the decision-making on the distribution of chairmanships of subsidiary bodies of the Council, ensuring that the country specific and thematic lead roles are distributed evenly and appropriately among Council members.] [The Council must ensure effective communication of its mandates and means of implementing them to non-members in clear and easily understandable ways, particularly for mandates that carry obligations on all Member States, for example, in implementation of sanctions.] [The Presidency of the Council should convene an open meeting at the end of its Presidency to communicate to non-members the key outcomes and deliverables achieved under its Presidency.] [Briefings by UN Officials to the Security Council should as far as possible be made

accessible to all member states.] [Annual reports on the work of the UN Security Council, should be prepared, pursuant to article 15 paragraph 1 and article 24 paragraph 3 of the UN Charter, to: (i) assess whether Security Council decisions have been implemented; (ii) analyse obstacles to implementation and reasons for non-implementation; and (iii) suggest mechanisms or measures to enhance implementation.]<sup>73</sup>  
**(Singapore)**

- c.8 [Increase the transparency and efficiency of the Council, adopt relevant procedures.]  
**(Georgia)**
- c.9 [Working methods of the enlarged Council should be conducted so as to help facilitate a more efficient and effective, as well as accountable functioning of the Security Council as a whole.] [..more frequent interaction of the members of the Council with wider UN membership through greater transparency, openness in decision-making and inclusiveness.] **(Croatia)**
- c.10 [Greater transparency in the work of the Security Council and increased efficiency and effectiveness of the working methods] **(Serbia)**
- c.11 [The affirmative vote of 15 out of 27 members of the Security Council will be required for a decision.] [...the existing practice to hold closed meetings with no records will be abolished, and access will be given to non-members to the Council's documentation and records.]<sup>74</sup> [The Council will amend its procedures so that items do not remain on its agenda permanently/beyond (x) years.] [Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter must be fully implemented by consulting with member states which are not members of the Security Council on a regular basis, especially members with special interest in the substantive matter under consideration by the Council.] [Non-members should be given systematic access to subsidiary bodies of the UNSC, including the right to participate in debates.] [There should be full and complete participation by elected members in penholding resolutions.] [Consultation with and participation of Troop and Police Contributing Countries in decision making concerning peacekeeping operations must be made mandatory (as laid down in Article 44) and these discussions should be comprehensive covering the establishment, conduct, review and termination of peacekeeping operations, including the extension and change of mandates, as well as for specific operational issues.] [Countries having specific interest in particular agenda item must be invited to participate in consultations before an outcome document on that item is adopted.] [Before mandating measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council should ensure that all efforts for the pacific settlement of disputes through measures under Chapter VI have been exhausted. In this regard, the Council must improve its cooperation with regional organisations, particularly the African Union. Such cooperation must be serious and include providing assistance for AU's capacity building as per their requirement.] [The Security Council should ensure that non-permanent members of the Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.] **(L.69)**
- c.12 [...improve the working methods of the Security Council, aiming to make its actions more transparent. The Security Council should further enhance its cooperation with regional organizations, troop-contributing countries, the UN Secretariat and the entire UN system.] **(Poland)**
- c.13 [Majority required for decision-making: The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (art. 27 (2) and 27 (3)).] [Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies. A thorough review of the working methods is required, in particular on decision-making.] [Council Presidency: Ensuring that every member of the Council will continue holding the Presidency at least once during its membership will require a change to the current practice.] [Secretariat capacity: Review of the capacities and the resources of the Secretariat required to service an enlarged Council.] [Practices and arrangements relating to permanent membership: Review of the privileges enjoyed by the Permanent Members outside the Security Council (e.g. membership in bodies such as ECOSOC and ICJ, practice of distributing senior positions within the UN system).] [Alleviating

the workload of the Council: Ways to address the workload, e.g. assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions. This would require extending the possibility of voting to subsidiary bodies.] [Chairmanships of subsidiary bodies: Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.]<sup>75</sup>  
**(Liechtenstein)**

- c.14 [Open debates on geographical issues of specific concern to wider membership.] [Better time management at open debates. All states, both UNSC members and non-members, should observe speaking time limits. Consider establishing a ceiling for briefer numbers (e.g. three) at open debates for better time management.] [Regular review of the work of the sanctions committees, earlier appointment of chairs of subsidiary bodies, public briefings by chairs of sanctions committees, renew the work/establish a working group on sanctions.] [Timely and meaningful interaction between the Council and TCCs and PCCs.] [More regular, meaningful interaction between the Council and force/police commanders.] [More structured follow-up to the annual UNSC open debate on working methods.] [Briefings to UN member states by penholders or sponsors of UNSC resolutions in the event of fast-paced developments on the ground or in the UNSC.] [More structured dialogue between the Council and the ICC.] [Make better use of interactive dialogues] [Early involvement of all Council members in the drafting of Council resolutions.] **(Lithuania)**
- c.15 [...views the process of improving the working methods and the progress already achieved in the practice in this regard as a continuous process.] **(Monaco)**
- c.16 [...this is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and, moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly.] **(France)**
- c.17 [improved format of meetings (with predictable and timely communication to the membership at large)] [further development of more meaningful relationship with international organizations] [more effective opportunities for access and participation by actors who are parties to issues before the Council or are specially affected by them] [presidency wrap-up debates at the end of term] [further improvements in the process for input by the TCCs into decisions related to the design of peacekeeping operations.]<sup>76</sup> **(Slovakia)**
- c.18 [Improved consultations with troop and police contributing countries] [Greater coordination with other UN organs as well as regional and sub-regional organisations]<sup>77</sup> **(Australia)**
- c.19 [...more open sessions]<sup>78</sup> [...an improved system of consultations with troop contributing countries when discussing the mandates of peacekeeping operations] [...greater access for the whole membership to information regarding the work of the Council.] **(Peru)**
- c.20 [...the enlarged Council should hold more open meetings, to improve the flow of information and exchange of ideas between members of the Council and other Member States.]<sup>79</sup> [...the enlarged Council should submit more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly and should facilitate more interaction with other UN bodies or legal institutions such as the International Criminal Court of Justice, the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Criminal Court.]<sup>80</sup> [The reform of the working methods should ensure participation on an equal footing of Permanent Members and Non-permanent Members within the Security Council.] **(Paraguay)**
- c.21 [broader consultations and other forms of interaction with non-Council members on a regular basis] [meeting, as a general rule, in a public format] [frequent, timely and qualitative briefings on the matters discussed in the Security Council and its subsidiary organs in private meetings, including "horizon-scanning" sessions] [holding more regular and timely consultations with troop and police contributing countries and other states with particular engagement in UN peace operations, both during elaboration of their mandates and throughout their entire life cycle] [making more frequent use of open debates on working methods.] [To explore ways of increasing the role of non-permanent members in the Council's proceedings and decision-making.] [Continue to improve Council's handling of sanctions regimes, primarily in terms of ensuring their targeted and, when possible, time-limited character, spelling out

concrete conditions for lifting, streamlining listing and delisting procedures, providing for periodic assessment.]<sup>81</sup> **(Ukraine)**

c.22 [The working methods issue is related to other issues, particularly those concerning the enlargement of the Security Council and the veto. There will not be a true reform of the working methods if the Council is not expanded in both categories and developing countries are not properly represented.] [The Security Council, as a general rule and in compliance with articles 31 and 32 of the Charter, should convene public meetings open to all Member States of the United Nations in order to ensure that these meetings provide actual opportunity to bring opinions and contributions of the broadest membership of the United Nations into consideration, in particular, those of the States that are not members of the Council and which issues are discussed by this body. Closed meetings and informal consultations should be held only in exceptional cases.] [The Security Council should carry out substantive debates on topics of its own consideration and open to all Member States.] [Briefings of Special Envoys or Representatives of the Secretary General and the Secretariat of the United Nations should be carried out in public meetings, unless there are extraordinary circumstances.] [When a country that is not member of the Security Council requests a meeting thereof, it should be convened immediately by the Council in pursuance of Article 35 of the Charter.] [The Council's rules of procedure should be formalized in order to ensure transparency and accountability, since they have been provisional for over 70 years.] [The Security Council should guarantee that its monthly evaluations be broad and analytic and should make them opportunely known.] [It should allow the concerning State, including those that are not members of the Security Council, participate in the Council's discussions on issues that directly affect them under Article 31 of the Charter.] [It should guarantee that the opinions of Member States of the United Nations obtained in thematic public debates be reflected in the adopted relevant resolutions and presidential statements, in lieu of the current practice of adopting resolutions and delivering presidential statements without any reference to such debates.] [Subsidiary bodies of the Council should work in such a way that they provide sufficient and opportune information on their activities to all members of the United Nations. It should ensure that non-member states have access to subsidiary bodies, including the right to participate in their discussions.] [The Council's agenda should equally reflect all States' needs and interests in an objective, rational, non-selective and non-arbitrary manner.] [Imposing sanctions should only be considered after all means have been exhausted for a pacific solution of disputes in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, and long- and short-term effects of such sanctions have been carefully pondered. Sanctions should not be applied "preventatively" in cases of mere violation of International Law or international principles and standards.] [The Security Council should continue to strengthen its relationship with the Secretariat of the United Nations and the countries that contribute troops to peacekeeping operations, inter alia, by means of a sustained, periodic and opportune interaction. Meetings with countries contributing troops should be convened not only when mandates will be established, but also during their implementation, when a change, renewal or completion of a mission's mandate is analyzed, or if a sudden worsening of the situation on the ground occurs.] [Resort to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not pose a threat to international peace and security should be avoided. The Council should fully apply the provisions in the Charter as applicable, including chapters VI and VIII, before referring to Chapter VII, which should be the last option if ever necessary.] [The increasing tendency in the Security Council towards expansion of what poses a threat to international peace and security should be stopped.]<sup>82</sup> **(Cuba)**

c.23 [...The Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format open to all Member States of the United Nation and make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues.] [The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.]<sup>83</sup> **(Latvia)**

- c.24 [...increase the number of public meetings, in accordance with articles 31 and 32 of the Charter and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly non-Council members whose affairs are under discussion of the Council] [...allow for briefings by the Special envoys or Representatives of the Secretary General and the UN Secretariat to take place in public meetings, unless in exceptional circumstances] [...enhance its relationship with the UN Secretariat and troop contributing countries (TCC), including through a sustained, regular and timely interaction. Meetings with TCCs should be held not only in the drawing up of mandates, but also in their implementation, when considering a change in, or renewal of, or completion of a mission mandate, or when there is a rapid deterioration of the situation on the ground. In this context, the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations should involve TCCs more frequently and intensively in its deliberations, especially in the very early stages of mission planning] [...uphold the primacy of and respect of the Charter in connection with its functions and powers, and in that regard to desist from the practice of engaging and initiating formal and informal discussions on the situation in any Member state of the United Nations or on any issue that does not constitute a threat to international peace and security, and contrary to the provisions of Article 24 of the Charter] [...establish its subsidiary organs in accordance with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter, and that these organs should function in a manner that would provide adequate and timely information on their activities to the general UN membership] [...avoid any attempts to use the Security Council to pursue national political agendas and to ensure the necessity of non-selectivity and impartiality in the work of the Council, and the need for the Council to strictly keep within the powers and functions accorded to it by the Member States under the UN Charter] [...refrain from resorting to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not necessarily pose a threat to international peace and security, and to fully utilize the provisions of other relevant Chapters, where appropriate, including Chapters VI and Chapter VIII, before invoking Chapter VII which should be a measure of last resort, if necessary] [avoid any recourse to the imposition or prolongation of sanctions or their extensions by the Security Council against any State under the pretext or with the aim of achieving the political objectives of one or a few States, rather than the general interest of the international community] [...formalize the Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, which have remained provisional for more than 60 years, in order to improve on its transparency and accountability]<sup>84</sup> **(African Group)**
- c.25 [...this is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and, moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly.] **(UK)**
- c.26 [...greater transparency in the working methods of the Security Council...]<sup>85</sup> **(Chile)**
- c.27 [Consultations between Council and non-Council members should be strengthened.] [The Council should conduct more public meetings, and the practice of holding closed meetings should be restricted.] [Non-Council members should be given access to the work of the Council, including its documentation and records.] [Consultation with and participation of Troop Contributing Countries in the work of the Council related to United Nations peacekeeping missions should be enhanced and institutionalised.] [The work of the Council should prioritise the utilization of Chapter VI measures to promote peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter.] [The Council should intensify cooperation and coordination with regional organizations in addressing issues related to the concerned organizations.]<sup>86</sup> **(Viet Nam)**
- c.28 [The Security Council should formalize its provisional rules of procedure...] [...measures to improve transparency and increase the involvement of non-members in its work as appropriate and to enhance the Council's accountability.] [Each member of the Council should hold the presidency at least once during its membership.] [Elected members should be enabled to play a more active and effective role in the decision making process of the Council.] [In instances where open debates are held on issues being considered by the Council where non-members are invited to participate it may be apposite for Council members to consider giving a hearing to the views of those

invited members of the wider membership before themselves pronouncing on the issue being addressed.] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**

- c.29 [Charter amendment has to be part of the package (Article 27 and 28 to 32. Will be defined by Charter amendments (Voting procedure) and the new Rules of Procedure. The new Rules of Procedure will have to be adopted by the Security Council and the entry into force of the Charter amendments] [...The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (Article 27).] [...Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies is required on decision-making.] [...Ways to address the workload of the Council, assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions.] [...Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.]<sup>87</sup> **(Hungary)**
- c.30 [Provisions should inter alia be made to ensure that non-permanent members of the Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their two-year membership.] [...an enlarged Council should not make it more difficult for non-permanent members to contribute actively to the work of the Council.]<sup>88</sup> **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- c.31 [Expansion of the Security Council should not lead to a weakening of the position of non-permanent members.] [The Council should actively involve the countries it is discussing, as well as TCC's and PCC's involved.] [The Council should seek more transparency and involve non-members where possible (wrap-up sessions, open briefings).] [A forward looking approach should be fostered: the option of regular horizon scannings by the UNSG to the UNSC should be actively pursued.] [The UN Security Council should make more use of the tools from Chapter VI of the Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes.] **(Netherlands)**
- c.32 [An expanded SC would maintain the same proportionality of 60% for voting purposes, i.e. decisions would be adopted by the affirmative vote of 13 members.]<sup>89</sup> **(Panama)**
- c.33 [...more briefings by the President of the UNSC to the larger UN membership, and these briefings should be more interactive and substantive. The current practice of reading from prepared texts agreed by UNSC members has constrained the President from engaging the wider UN membership on issues of major concern, including seeking their valuable views that could add value to the work of the UNSC as a whole.] [There is a need for more transparency and close consultations amongst all members of the Council on all matters that the Security Council is seized with.] [There is a need for improvement in the efficiency, accountability and transparency of the Security Council, including through a formalisation of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure which has yet to be adopted.] [There should be more coordination between the Security Council and troop contributing countries (TCCs), towards strengthening the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. The Council's meetings with TCCs should be sustained, regular and timely, in particular with regards to resolutions and mandates of the operations.] [There should be more structured interaction and regular consultations between the Council and the Peacebuilding Commission.] [...welcomes the wrap-up sessions at the end of the Presidency as well as the holding of 'Arria-Formula' meetings, which are some of the methods being utilized to enhance closer interaction with non-Council members.] [...encourages the UNSC to take advantage of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) by seeking its advisory opinion, consistent with Article 96 (1) of the UN Charter. Malaysia believes that the UNSC deliberations on contentious political issues would be better served if supplemented by an authoritative legal opinion. Although the legal opinions are not legally binding, they would contribute towards upholding the principle of respect for the rule of law as enshrined in the UN Charter.] **(Malaysia)**

#### **d) The question of the veto:**

- d.1 [...voluntary veto restraint in situations of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.]<sup>90</sup> **(Montenegro)**



- d.2 [Member States should be invited to continue discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances.] [The new permanent members would as a principle have the same responsibilities and obligations as current permanent members. However, the new permanent members shall not exercise the veto-right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held fifteen years after the coming into force of the reform.] [Amendments to the Charter shall reflect the fact that the extension of the right of veto to the new permanent members will be decided upon in the framework of a review.] **(G4)**
- d.3 [...regulation of the use of veto by the permanent members of the Security Council who would voluntarily and collectively undertake not to use the veto where a mass atrocity has been ascertained.]<sup>91</sup> **(Estonia)**
- d.4 [...the elimination of the veto. However, in order not to obstruct the SC reform..would support that the issue to be revised in 10 years.] **(Dominican Republic)**
- d.5 [The veto should be used with maximum restraint with its eventual elimination.] **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- d.6 [New permanent members should not be accorded the right to veto...]<sup>92</sup> [Permanent Members of the Council should commit themselves to not using a veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.] [If Permanent Members insist on casting a veto that blocks such action, they should produce alternative proposals that will end such atrocities or clearly explain to all UN Member States why they are prepared to see the continuation of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and a copy of the explanation should be circulated as a Security Council Document.] [Establish a practice, in appropriate cases, of declaring, when casting a negative vote on a draft resolution before the Council, that such a negative vote shall not constitute a veto in the sense of Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Charter.] **(Singapore)**
- d.7 [All Permanent Members should have the veto right.] [The veto right should be restricted under following circumstances: a) The decision of the UNSC aims at prevention of the crimes against humanity, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and genocide; b) Permanent Member is involved in the conflict under the consideration and, therefore, cannot exercise his rights impartially. Relevant, procedural regulations should be elaborated to this end.] **(Georgia)**
- d.8 [...adopting a Code of Conduct to govern the use of the veto]<sup>93</sup> **(Croatia)**
- d.9 [The veto should be abolished. So long as it exists, it should be extended to all new members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must enjoy all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto.] **(L. 69)**
- d.10 [...adopt a code of conduct...]<sup>94</sup> **(Poland)**
- d.11 [...the question of the veto would be addressed as part of the review [16 / 20] years after the first elections in the new category of seats the General Assembly...]  
**(Liechtenstein)**
- d.12 [Permanent members should undertake to abstain from the use of veto in the cases of massive human rights violations, genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. A voluntary code of conduct to this effect would be welcome.] [Consider requiring two negative votes, not one, by permanent members to make veto effective.] **(Lithuania)**
- d.13 [...self-regulation of the use of the veto by the permanent members.] **(Monaco)**
- d.14 [We would not oppose extension of the veto to new permanent members if the candidates to such permanent membership were to pursue such an extension.] **(France)**
- d.15 [Status of the permanent member of the UNSC is both a privilege and a responsibility - including the right of veto. All countries being considered as potential permanent members and countries that have the ambition to be considered should have the ability

- to carry all the responsibility that comes with UNSC duties and be able to prove in deeds that they do deserve it and are ready to take up this responsibility] **(Slovakia)**
- d.16 [...the veto should not be extended to new permanent members]<sup>95</sup> [The initiative on restraint of the use of the veto in situations of mass atrocity deserves close attention and ambitious follow-up, and could be taken forward independently of broader Security Council reforms] **(Australia)**
- d.17 [The veto is an exception to the principle of equal sovereignty among States, and it should be progressively eliminated.] [...the exercise of the veto should be circumscribed to decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter] [...its use should be restrained in cases of genocide, crimes against humanity and systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.] [...as a previous step towards the elimination of the veto, in case a permanent member decides to exercise it, its decision must be explained and properly sustained in a public session of the Council.] [...the decision-taking process in the Council should be reformulated. Currently, non-procedural decisions require unanimity of the five permanent members, while this requirement can be reduced to the affirmative vote of two of them.] **(Peru)**
- d.18 [...the total elimination of the veto. To this end, it is in favor of its progressive elimination.] **(Paraguay)**
- d.19 [Member States should aim for phasing out of the veto. As a first step, permanent members of the Security Council should voluntarily and collectively pledge not to use the veto in case of mass atrocities, genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes on a large scale.] [Should the veto be used in other cases, the permanent member resorting to it has to be invited to explain the reason for this action, in particular with regard to its consistency with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and to circulate a copy of the explanation as a Council document.] [The veto should not in any case be used for blocking Council's action in the event of aggression against a UN Member State.] [The permanent members should recommit themselves to the Article 27 (3) of the UN Charter obliging a party to a dispute to abstain from voting.] **(Ukraine)**
- d.20 [New permanent members should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current permanent members, including the right to veto, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established.] [It is indispensable to eliminate the veto immediately for being an anachronistic and undemocratic privilege.] [While its elimination is attained, other mechanisms should be implemented in order to limit its use to the extent possible.] **(Cuba)**
- d.21 [The discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances should be continued. Proposals made by some Member States on a voluntary code of conduct regulating the use of the veto in cases of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide certainly merit positive consideration.] **(Latvia)**
- d.22 [...the veto is should be abolished but so long as it exists, it should be extended to all members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must in this regard enjoy all prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto as a matter of common justice] **(African Group)**
- d.23 [There should be no expansion of the veto to new permanent members.] **(UK)**
- d.24 [...does not support the extension of the veto to the new members of an enlarged Security Council] **(Chile)**
- d.25 [The use of the veto should be restricted to only measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.] **(Viet Nam)**
- d.26 [Support abolition of the veto. However, in event of its retention, new permanent members should also have right to veto. There should be no distinction between permanent members.] [While the veto is in existence, efforts must be made to limit its use to Chapter VII and also in the instance of the most serious crimes of

international concern, crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide, etc.] [Permanent members should explain non concurrent votes to the wider UN membership.] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**

- d.27 [...supports all initiatives facilitating timely and decisive action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending mass atrocities, including those calling for voluntarily agreeing to refrain from using the veto.] **(Hungary)**
- d.28 [...New permanent members should not exercise their veto right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held 15 years after the entry into force of the amendments to the Charter.]<sup>96</sup> [...code of conduct for the voluntary limitation of the use of the veto right in situations involving mass atrocity crimes. More generally, all Member States should commit to support timely action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes.]<sup>97</sup> **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- d.29 [...aim to minimize the use of the veto...regulate the use of the veto.]<sup>98</sup> **(Netherlands)**
- d.30 [...the veto is an anachronistic tool, belonging in a period of our past history. Regardless of which membership formula we end up using for the Security Council, our aim should be to eliminate the veto.] [Until we reach the stage of full abolishment of the veto, we should continue to strive for it not to be used, especially in humanitarian situations.] **(Panama)**
- d.31 [...abolishment of the use of the veto in conformity with the principle of sovereign equality as envisaged in the Charter. Nevertheless, we continue to call for a restraint in the use of veto powers especially in cases of international crimes of the most serious nature such as in instances of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.]<sup>99</sup> [Alternatively, the exercise of the veto should be regulated so as to prohibit such power being the sole discretion of its holder to unjustly overrule the wishes of the majority. In this regard, Malaysia would call for a modified veto system whereby a minimum of three vetoes should be made a prerequisite to block a resolution.] [The new Permanent Members should also be accorded veto power so as to contribute towards a more balanced and representational decision-making process, particularly if it is agreed that all regions would be represented in the Security Council.] **(Malaysia)**

#### **e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**<sup>100</sup>

- e.1 [...expanded interaction and cooperation between the two main bodies of the UN, within the scope of their respective mandates.] [...establishing substantive dialogue between the GA and the SC.] **(Montenegro)**
- e.2 [The enlarged Security Council would be encouraged to, *inter alia*, hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly...] [...submit an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly...] [...submit more frequently special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Articles 15 (1) and 24 (3) of the Charter...] [...improve participation of the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and the chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Commission in relevant debates and, in an appropriate format, in informal discussions.] **(G4)**
- e.3 [Security Council would be encouraged to hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly...] [...submit an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly.] [The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in general, should aim for closer cooperation, including improved exchange of information; and better coordination (e.g., ensuring that Security Council and General Assembly meetings on the same topics are not held simultaneously).] **(Estonia)**
- e.4 [...strengthening of the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, even advocating for a permanent seat of the President of the General Assembly in the Security Council in order to be more participative in the work of the

Security Council like the Secretary-General seat in the Security Council.] **(Dominican Republic)**

- e.5 [...need for a more balanced and stronger cooperation between the General Assembly and Security Council as defined in the UN Charter (Article 24).] **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- e.6 [Increase the number of Security Council meetings in open format and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly those non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues under consideration of the Council..]<sup>101</sup> [Provide frequent, timely and quality briefings to the wider membership of the UN on matters discussed in the informal consultations and in the subsidiary bodies.] [Non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues being considered by the Council should be given every opportunity to participate in the Council's deliberations in informal meetings and informal consultations.] **(Singapore)**
- e.7 [Accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be increased.] [GA should be granted a more active role in the election of the UNSG.] [Recalling the General Assembly resolution 377 (V), the role of the General Assembly shall be increased in cases of threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. Namely, if the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security when there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including the use of armed force when necessary. The relevant changes shall be introduced to the Charter of the UN.] **(Georgia)**
- e.8 [...encourage the enlarged Security Council to hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly.] **(Croatia)**
- e.9 [Strengthening of relations and better communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly for the purpose of safeguarding international peace and security in accordance with the authority and responsibility the two organs have under the Charter] **(Serbia)**
- e.10 [The expanded Security Council would be encouraged to, inter alia, hold regular consultations with the General Assembly under its President..] [The Council should submit an analytical, substantive and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in its annual report to the General Assembly..] [The Council should submit special reports more frequently to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter] [The Council should focus its time and efforts on dealing with issues concerning its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security as mandated by the UN Charter, rather than encroaching upon the mandate of the General Assembly.] **(L.69)**
- e.11 [Focus annual UNGA debate under agenda item "Report of the Security Council" for more specific outcomes, proposals on improving UNSC-UNGA interaction in addressing various cross-cutting issues.] [Encourage to hold regular consultations with the President of the GA on pertinent SC and GA agenda items.] [Election of Secretary General: make the process more transparent, inclusive, without contesting the UNSC prerogative to this effect. Enable main candidates to present their vision, priorities to the general membership. Have straw polls of general membership on the shortlisted candidates before final decisions are made, to see who would best meet the expectations of member states.] **(Lithuania)**
- e.12 [The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly must be undertaken under the auspices of the Charter's provisions.]<sup>102</sup> **(Monaco)**
- e.13 [We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the UN can function as effectively as possible.] **(France)**

- e.14 [...respects the functions and competencies of the principle UN organs as per the UN Charter and is open to constructive discussions to improve relations among principal organs.] **(Slovakia)**
- e.15 [The Security Council should submit a more comprehensive and analytical annual report to the General Assembly] **(Australia)**
- e.16 [It is fundamental to strengthen the role and authority of the General Assembly as the main body of the Organization. The competence of the General Assembly includes issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security, as stated in article 11 of the United Nations Charter.] **(Peru)**
- e.17 [The enlarged Council is accountable to the General Assembly, since the Council acts on behalf of the wider membership of the UN. Member States have the right and duty to duly know and analyze the work of the Council.] [The relationship between the enlarged Council and the General Assembly must be of collaboration.] [Both organs should work closely together within their respective areas as established in the Charter.] **(Paraguay)**
- e.18 [Establishing closer, more frequent and meaningful interaction between the Presidents of the Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and Peacebuilding Commission.] [Security Council's annual reports to the General Assembly shall provide substantive, comprehensive and analytical evaluation of the work of the Council.] [Security Council shall submit, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter.] [To establish closer interaction between the Security Council, in particular its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and the UNGA Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34).] **(Ukraine)**
- e.19 [It is necessary to attain a balanced and efficient relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, based on strict respect to the provisions of the Charter and in accordance with the respective mandates of these bodies.] [Likewise, all resolutions of the General Assembly that clarify the relationship of the Security Council with the General Assembly and the main bodies should be observed. In Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council is not provided with competence to address issues which fall within the functions and powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, especially those related to the establishment of standards, legislation, administrative and budgetary matters and setting definitions.] [The President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly should hold monthly consultations in a regular basis. If any specific situation arises, such consultations should be more frequent.] [It is necessary to guarantee the Security Council's accountability to the General Assembly. It should submit to the General Assembly a broad and analytic yearly report, assessing its work and including those cases in which the Council has not reached any decisions, as well as the remarks by its members during the review of the items of its agenda.] [The Security Council should submit special reports for the consideration of the General Assembly under articles 15(1) and 24(3) of the Charter of the United Nations, which have unfortunately never been submitted.] **(Cuba)**
- e.20 [The annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly should provide an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work.] **(Latvia)**
- e.21 [...the two organs must work closely together within their respective sphere in the search for solutions to the plethora of challenges confronting the international community while seeking to foster harmonious interaction and ensuring cooperative relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly without encroaching on each other's mandates as spelt out in the Charter and to preserve the constitutional balance between them...]<sup>103</sup> [...address the growing concerns by Member states of the gradual encroachment by the Security Council on and the erosion of the authority and mandate of the General Assembly by fully and speedily implementing the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 51/193, 58/126 and 59/31] [Security Council's submission in keeping with Articles 24(3) of the United Nations

Charter, more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly, consisting among other things, of assessment of the work of the Council, views expressed by its members as well as the rationale for taking action on issues before it] [Security Council's submission in accordance with Articles 15 and 24 of the United Nations Charter, special subject-oriented reports to the General Assembly for its consideration and on issues of current international concern] [Ensuring that members are fully informed of the nature and scope of the Security Council's activities not only through full informative press releases, but also by effectively communicating their views on issues of concern taken by Council in its informal consultations. Convening more formal meetings and informal consultations involving the interested parties prior to the adoption of decisions to allow for wider participation] [The provisions of effective and timely flow and exchange of information between the two organs particularly through frequent and regular consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council to review work plans and consult on specific issues of mutual concern. Such meetings can enhance more direct and dynamic exchanges between the two organs] [Ensuring that the role and authority of the General Assembly including on questions relating to international peace and security be respected and to also guarantee the unfettered application of Articles 10-14 and 35 of the Charter and where appropriate Rules 7 to 10 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, which enable the General Assembly to take urgent action; all of which provide a strong basis for the General Assembly to assert itself and prevent the erosion of its powers by the Security Council.] **(African Group)**

- e.22 [We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the UN can function as effectively as possible.] **(UK)**
- e.23 [The Security Council should further its relationship with the General Assembly, the major organ with the participation of the entire membership of the United Nations, via increased consultations and reporting, especially on matters related to the majority of UN Member States.] [The Council, through its President, should report more regularly to the General Assembly.] [Participation in the preparation of documents and reports of the Council, including its annual reports, should be more open and accessible to non-Council members.] **(Viet Nam)**
- e.24 [In the Council reports to the General Assembly, both annual and special reports as provided for in article 15 and 24, the Council should give an account of its stewardship in regard to the prerogatives it exercises on behalf of Member States.] [More analytical and special reports as necessary.] [The relationship between the Security Council and General Assembly should be characterized by cooperation and mutual support with full respect for their respective mandates. The Security Council should concentrate on areas within its mandate and avoid encroachment on matters which fall under the purview of the General Assembly.] [The General Assembly should be strengthened in its role as the chief deliberative, policy making and representative organ of the United Nations.] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- e.25 [...Concrete measures could be the submission of an analytical annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly.]<sup>104</sup> **(Hungary)**
- e.26 [...making better use of annual and, when necessary, special reports submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly for its consideration, in accordance with article 24.3 of the Charter.]<sup>105</sup> [The annual reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be both comprehensive and analytical in nature...]<sup>106</sup> **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- e.27 [The Security Council -also when enlarged- by nature does not have the universal composition of the General Assembly. In those instances where both the Council and the General Assembly have a formal role to play, such as in the election of a Secretary-General, both organs should be able to play their role.] **(Netherlands)**

e.28 [...there should be a clear delineation between the work of the UNGA and the UNSC, based on their respective mandates. There is also the need to prevent the gradual encroachment of the work of the UNSC in matters that fall under the prerogative of the UNGA.] [...there is need to institutionalise the monthly consultations between the President of the UNGA and the President of the UNSC.] [...call for an enhancement of the annual reports of the UNSC to the UNGA, which should be more comprehensive and analytical rather than merely narrative.] **(Malaysia)**

**Any other related matters:** <sup>107 108 109</sup>

- i. [Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution, a resolution containing necessary amendments to the Charter would be submitted to the General Assembly in order to be adopted at the earliest possible time.] [The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed fifteen years after their entry into force.] **(G4)**
- ii. [...reform is a complex matter and hopes that the broadest possible consensus can be achieved to move the process forward..] **(Brunei Darussalam)**
- iii. [...welcomes the decision on the conduct of elections for non-permanent members of the Council six months before the elected members assume their responsibilities, which will allow for better advance planning and preparation of new members.] **(Croatia)**
- iv. [Amendments: Following the elections of the new permanent members, to accordingly amend the Charter of the UN no later than twelve weeks from the adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms] [Review: To provide for a review of the implementation of this Resolution.] **(L. 69)**
- v. [Adoption of the necessary Charter amendments: The Charter amendments necessary would be annexed to a General Assembly Resolution.] [Elections of the new members: Elections to fill the six seats shall be held after entry into force of the required Charter amendment and simultaneously with the regular elections of non-permanent members of the Security Council. Candidates for seats above shall not be eligible to serve as non-permanent members in accordance with article 23, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter for the following [eight/ten] calendar years.] [Review: [16 / 20] years after the first elections in the new category of seats the General Assembly shall review the situation. The review shall include consideration of the categories of seats, the creation of additional seats of any category, including permanent seats, a review of the question of the veto as well as the implementation of the measures to improve the working methods of the Council.] **(Liechtenstein)**
- vi. [Review clause: ... that will allow Member States to carry out periodic revisions of the decisions made under this process.] **(Paraguay)**
- vii. [The reform of the Security Council must not be a postponed or ignored goal. A real reform of the United Nations will not be possible without a true reform of the Security Council.] <sup>110</sup> [Urgent practical actions are a must.]<sup>111</sup> **(Cuba)**
- viii. [Any decision taken on reform should have the widest possible support of member states and at the very least, be in keeping with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 53/30.] [There should be a review of the decisions taken to reform the Security Council. Such a review should take place within a specified time maybe 10-15 years of any decision taken and ratified on reform.] **(The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago)**
- ix. [...should make a distinction between those measures which need the amendment of the Charter and those recommendations or proposals that do not require such action. In our view the zero draft of the General Assembly resolution should consist of two chapters: The first chapter should contain the Charter amendments. The second chapter should consist of the decision of the GA (eg. On relationship of the SC and GA) and the recommendations for the Security Council (eg. Rules of Procedure).]<sup>112</sup> **(Hungary)**

- x. [The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed 15 years after their entry into force.] **(Belgium and Luxembourg)**
- xi. [It is expected that the issue of membership expansion and working methods of the Council would continue to be debated in the future, which may require regular review of these two issues. As such, a review mechanism is recommended.] **(Malaysia)**

<sup>1</sup> Panama- "Panama considers that the very nature of membership "categories" does not correspond to the democratic institution that we are trying to perfect. In the long run, we would like to see there are no membership categories, just as is the case in all the other UN bodies." Annex pg. 88

<sup>2</sup> The Dominican Republic- "The Dominican Republic supports the expansion of the Security in both categories: Permanent and non-Permanent members" Annex pg.10

<sup>3</sup> Brunei Darussalam- "Supports the expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories with developed and developing countries adequately represented." Annex pg.13

<sup>4</sup> Singapore- "Expand the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership to better reflect current geopolitical realities." Annex pg.15

<sup>5</sup> Monaco- "Monaco supports an enlargement in both categories of membership." Annex pg.36

<sup>6</sup> Peru- "Peru supports an increase in both categories of members: permanent and non-permanents." Annex pg.43

<sup>7</sup> Cuba- "Cuba endorses the enlargement of the Security Council in the categories of permanent members and non-permanent members" Annex pg.57

<sup>8</sup> Latvia- "Security Council membership should be enlarged in both categories - permanent and non-permanent." Annex pg.62

<sup>9</sup> Chile- "...but consider that at this point, establishing exact numbers or procedures might limit States' negotiation ability. Chile remains flexible on the number of new seats" Annex pg.71

<sup>10</sup> Viet Nam- "The Security Council should be expanded in both categories of permanent and non-permanent members with a view to ensuring democracy, representativeness and effectiveness of the Council and the adequate representation of developing countries in both categories, commensurate with their proportion in the membership of the United Nations." Annex pg.74

<sup>11</sup> Hungary- "Hungary supports the possible expansion of the permanent membership of the Security Council which shall be guided by the principle of equitable geographical representation, and shall reflect the political and socio-economic that took place in the last half century." Annex pg.81

<sup>12</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "Election by the General Assembly of 6 new permanent members: 2 from Africa, 2 from Asia, 1 from GRULAC, 1 from WEOG" Annex pg.84

<sup>13</sup> Netherlands- "The Kingdom of the Netherlands is looking for common ground with regards to categories of membership. It is open to considering both an increase in permanent members and non-permanent members as well as intermediate solutions." Annex pg.86

<sup>14</sup> DPRK- "It is yet premature to specify the issue of this category of membership. Discussions on the issue of categories are now in the initial stage, and even if category issue is agreed, there will be next step to be considered on the modalities and procedures on selection and election." "DPRK expresses deep concern at the approach taken by Japan. Our concern is that Japan acts as if she must occupy a permanent seat of the enlarged Security Council, taking as if there is already an agreement on enlargement of permanent seats of the Security Council. Moreover, Japan is the enemy state and defeated state that had occupied the Asian countries and committed huge crimes against humanity during the Second World War which had been the cause and motivation of creation of the United Nations, and Japan is the only country that has not fully and convincingly made recognition, apology and compensation for its crimes up to this moment, 70 years since the foundation of the United Nations. Japan is too much ambitious and impatient in the deliberations of the reform and this stems from its sinister and impudent purpose to bury forever its past crimes and the disgrace of enemy state through this process." Annex pg. 8

<sup>15</sup> Malaysia- "Malaysia supports the expansion of membership, both permanent and non-permanent categories, so as to ensure fair regional representation and correspond with the current geopolitical realities and dynamics." Annex pg.90

<sup>16</sup> France- "New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members." Annex pg.37

<sup>17</sup> Slovakia- "In the event of possible expansion..." Annex pg.40

<sup>18</sup> Cuba- "If the category of permanent members is not expanded and only the number of non-permanent seats increases, the gap between permanent and non-permanent members will widen, along with the disparity in the representation of developed and developing countries, the Council will become even less representative and consequently, less legitimate or effective." Annex pg.57

<sup>19</sup> UK- "New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members." Annex pg.69

<sup>20</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "Election by the General Assembly of 6 new permanent members: 2 from Africa, 2 from Asia, 1 from GRULAC, 1 from WEOG" Annex pg.84

<sup>21</sup> Liechtenstein- "The Liechtenstein Model, as previously submitted on 26 February 2010, provides flexibility on the creation of additional non-permanent seats." 10(or more) Annex pg.31

<sup>22</sup> DPRK- "Since enlarging non-permanent seats will be more agreeable, it could be a way forward..." Annex pg.8

<sup>23</sup> The Dominican Republic- "The Dominican Republic supports the expansion of the Security in both categories: Permanent and non-Permanent members" Annex pg.10



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- <sup>24</sup> Brunei Darussalam- "Supports the expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories with develop and developing countries adequately represented." Annex pg.13
- <sup>25</sup> Singapore- "Expand the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership to better reflect current geopolitical realities." Annex pg.15
- <sup>26</sup> Poland- "...Our position stems from the fact that the membership of EEG has increased from 9 to 23 countries, as a result of disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia." Annex pg.28
- <sup>27</sup> Monaco- "Monaco supports an enlargement in both categories of membership." Annex pg.36
- <sup>28</sup> Peru- "Peru supports an increase in both categories of members: permanent and non-permanents." Annex pg.43
- <sup>29</sup> Latvia- "Security Council membership should be enlarged in both categories - permanent and non-permanent." Annex pg.62
- <sup>30</sup> Chile- "Determining exact numbers or procedures might limit States' negotiation ability. Chile remains flexible on the number of new seats." Annex pg.71
- <sup>31</sup> Viet Nam- "The Security Council should be expanded in both categories of permanent and non-permanent members." Annex pg.74
- <sup>32</sup> Hungary- "Hungary supports the enlargement of the non-permanent membership of the Council in order to provide more opportunity to regional and sub-regional groups to be represented continuously in the Council." Annex pg.81
- <sup>33</sup> Netherlands- "The Kingdom of the Netherlands is looking for common ground with regards to categories of membership. It is open to considering both an increase in permanent members and non-permanent members as well as intermediate solutions." Annex pg.86
- <sup>34</sup> Malaysia- "Malaysia supports the expansion of membership, both permanent and non-permanent categories, so as to ensure fair regional representation and correspond with the current geopolitical realities and dynamics." Annex pg.90
- <sup>35</sup> Poland- "Reform of the UNSC is necessary, since the composition of this body does not reflect the realities of the modern world. In the case of increasing the number of members of the Council..." Annex pg.28
- <sup>36</sup> France- "New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members." Annex pg.37
- <sup>37</sup> Slovakia- "In the event of possible expansion..." 15 Annex pg.40
- <sup>38</sup> Paraguay- "Paraguay supports the expansion of the Security Council in order to adequately reflect the current composition of the UN membership and the geopolitical realities as well as to represent the interest of all Member States in the maintenance of international peace and security." "In the event of possible expansion..." Annex pg.45
- <sup>39</sup> UK- "New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members." Annex pg.69
- <sup>40</sup> Liechtenstein- "On a permanent basis" refers to the fact that Member States could continue to hold these seats as long as they continue to be re-elected." Annex pg.31
- <sup>41</sup> Netherlands- "The Kingdom of the Netherlands is looking for common ground with regards to categories of membership. It is open to considering both an increase in permanent members and non-permanent members as well as intermediate solutions." Annex pg.86
- <sup>42</sup> Panama- "Panama makes this reform proposal for evolving into semi-permanent membership based on: the principle of equality among States, under which the UN aims to operate; in consideration to and respecting the current P5 historical presence and role in the Security Council; and the fact that there is an important number of countries (including the current P5 themselves) whose level of commitment with the organization-be it in the form of financial contributions or in the supply of troops for peacekeeping operations, or any other-have earned them representation in this very important body of the UN." Annex pg. 88
- <sup>43</sup> Slovakia- "In the event of possible expansion..." Annex pg.40
- <sup>44</sup> Paraguay- "In the event of possible creation of a new category..." Annex pg.45
- <sup>45</sup> Montenegro- "for the reason to correct the historical injustice done to this continent. Eastern-European Group has seen the number of its members more than doubled in the last 20 years. Therefore it deserves one more non-permanent seat in the reformed Security Council" Annex pg. 1
- <sup>46</sup> DPRK- "Overall process of discussions of the reform should be a process to guarantee and convince that all UN member states could be represented and included in an equal and democratic manner in the deliberations of international peace and security issues. In other words, the Security Council reform should be the process driven by all member states based on the consensus in a transparent manner. Since the purpose of the Security Council reform is to realize democratization of UN system, reform discussions and negotiations should not be swayed by the individual purposes and interests of any specific group or countries. Any move to pursue the reform issue by simple majority or by setting artificial timetable cannot reflect fully and democratically the viewpoints and positions of all member states and rather will ignite differences and conflict of opinions." Annex pg.8
- <sup>47</sup> Singapore- "...as they make up more than two-thirds of the UN membership." Annex pg.15
- <sup>48</sup> Poland- "...Our position stems from the fact that the membership of EEG has increased from 9 to 23 countries, as a result of disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia." Annex pg.28
- <sup>49</sup> Liechtenstein- "...the Liechtenstein Model leaves open the possibility of the creation of additional two-year non-permanent seats in accordance with article 23, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter, and does not specifically address the number or distribution of any such seats." Annex pg.31
- <sup>50</sup> Slovakia- "If Member States decide to consider the option how to increase inclusivity and equality of Member States by enabling chances of small member states to be elected to the UNSC, Slovakia will support such a motion" Annex pg.40
- <sup>51</sup> Peru- "Peru favors an increase in the number of members of the Security Council in order to make it more democratic and representative, in particular..." Annex pg.43

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- <sup>52</sup> Ukraine- "Any increase in the non-permanent membership of the SC should ensure an enhanced representation of the Eastern European Group by the allocation to the said Group of one additional non-permanent seat in the enlarged Council (A/59/723)." Annex pg.48
- <sup>53</sup> Cuba- "The fact that developing countries are not properly represented in the Security Council undermines its own interests, authority and credibility." Annex pg.58
- <sup>54</sup> Latvia- "Due to considerable increase of the Eastern European Group (EEG) membership (since 1991 the EEG has more than doubled its membership), any enlargement of the Security Council should ensure an enhanced representation of the EEG by the..." Annex pg.62
- <sup>55</sup> Chile- "...with the goal of promoting consensus within the General Assembly." Annex pg.71
- <sup>56</sup> Hungary- "Hungary does not reject, à priori, other supplementary models based on other criteria. If other categories are accepted the necessary adjustments in regional representation has to be carried out." Annex pg.82
- <sup>57</sup> Panama- "This distribution takes into account the various other proposals on the table, and the fact that they intend to give greater representation to developing countries." Annex pg. 89
- <sup>58</sup> Malaysia- "This is important for inclusiveness in the decision-making process of the Security Council." Annex pg.90
- <sup>59</sup> Montenegro- "... a total of 21 seats would be the most optimal solution for the size of reformed Council. Montenegro remains open for few additional seats, if there can be an agreement reached about new permanent or new category of membership." Annex pg.1
- <sup>60</sup> Brunei Darussalam- "mid-twenties" 25-26 Annex pg.13
- <sup>61</sup> Australia- "Important that Council membership remains at a workable size" 21-26 Annex pg.42
- <sup>62</sup> Peru- "In order to reflect an equitable regional representation, the reformed Council membership should be enlarged to a number of members in the "mid-twenties" Annex pg.43
- <sup>63</sup> Cuba- "With this number, the proportion between the members of the Security Council and Member States of the United Nations would approach the proportion there was at the time the Organization was founded." Annex pg.58
- <sup>64</sup> Panama- "In keeping with other UN bodies, the number of Security Council members would be expanded, however capping it at 21 for manageable discussions." Annex pg. 88
- <sup>65</sup> Viet Nam- "The Size of the Council should ensure the aforementioned criteria for categories of membership and regional representation." Annex pg.74
- <sup>66</sup> UK- "We support an enlarged Security Council to a level that will not negatively impact upon its effectiveness and ability to carry out its responsibilities as set out in the Charter." Annex Pg.69
- <sup>67</sup> The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago- "...reserve their position on the additional and total numbers in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of a reformed Council." Annex pg.79
- <sup>68</sup> Netherlands- "The Security Council should be expanded in order to make it more broadly representative. At the same time, expansion of the UN Security Council should not hamper its effectiveness." Annex pg.86
- <sup>69</sup> Montenegro- "Montenegro appreciates the efforts undertaken so far by the P5, as well as within the scope of other initiatives, such as ACT group, that aim to improve comprehensively the working methods..." Annex pg. 1
- <sup>70</sup> G4-"To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of its work, the enlarged Council would be encouraged to, inter alia..." Annex pg.3
- <sup>71</sup> DPRK- "Now, the Security Council has reached the state whereby it is misused by an individual country abusing its status of a permanent member to pursue its own national interests, violating the international norms and principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries" Annex pg.8
- <sup>72</sup> The Dominican Republic- "The improvement of the Security Council working methods will make it more efficient and its decisions more applicable." Annex pg.10
- <sup>73</sup> Singapore- "In our view, the above changes to the working methods of the Council do not require amendments to the Charter of the United Nations and can be undertaken without prejudice to other aspects of the Security Council Reform. Any reform must include changes to its working methods and must make the Council more accountable and transparent for all Member States, not just members of an enlarged Council." Annex pg.16
- <sup>74</sup> L.69- "To make meetings of the Council transparent and inclusive..." Annex pg.25
- <sup>75</sup> Liechtenstein- "It is understood that the General Assembly will simultaneously decide on a set of measures dealing with the working methods of an expanded Council. Issues to be addressed include, but are not limited, to the following..." Annex pg.31
- <sup>76</sup> Slovakia- "Reform of the Security Council working methods by ad hoc innovation in specific cases is a realistic goal. But learning from past innovations and adapting them creatively for new cases are also likely to suffer as a result of rapid rotation of people. Slovakia welcomes the initiatives of Member States (i.e. S5)..." Annex pg.40
- <sup>77</sup> Australia- "Important to continue to improve the transparency and accessibility of the Council, including..." Annex pg.42
- <sup>78</sup> Peru- "Methods of work conducive to a more efficient, transparent, democratic and representative Security Council should include..." Annex pg.43
- <sup>79</sup> Paraguay- "For the sake of transparency and inclusiveness..." Annex pg.45
- <sup>80</sup> Paraguay- "For the sake of accountability..." Annex pg.45
- <sup>81</sup> Ukraine- "To further enhance the transparency, accountability and inclusiveness of the Council's work, with a view to strengthening its effectiveness, through, inter alia..." Annex pg.48
- <sup>82</sup> Cuba- "[An urgent and thorough reform of the working methods of the Security Council is necessary in order to ensure that it functions as a transparent, democratic and representative body." Annex pg.59
- <sup>83</sup> Latvia- "Latvia supports improvement of the Security Council working methods in order to increase transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness of its work, thus, enhancing also its legitimacy and the implementation of its decisions." Annex pg.62

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- <sup>84</sup> African Group- "Africa favours a more accessible, democratic, representative, accountable, and more effective Security Council responding to the exigencies of the time and accordingly deems it imperative, inter alia.." Annex pg.65
- <sup>85</sup> Chile- "...and maintains a flexible position... with the goal of promoting consensus regarding different initiatives on this matter" Annex pg.71
- <sup>86</sup> Viet Nam- "The working methods of the Council should be amended so as to ensure increased democracy, transparency, and effectiveness." Annex pg.74
- <sup>87</sup> Hungary- "Concrete measures to be taken:..." Annex pg.82
- <sup>88</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "The working methods of an enlarged Security Council need to be improved in order to strengthen transparency, accountability, legitimacy and to enhance the effectiveness of the Council's decisions..." Annex pg.84
- <sup>89</sup> Panama- "Working methods would continue to be revised and adapted to allow greater openness and transparency for the greater membership of the UN, on whose behalf the SC operates." Annex pg. 89
- <sup>90</sup> Montenegro- "Within the well-known realities that characterize this issue, Montenegro supports the French proposal..." Annex pg.1
- <sup>91</sup> Estonia- "Supporting the French initiative..." Annex pg.6
- <sup>92</sup> Singapore- "...as it would complicate decision making in the Council." Annex pg.16
- <sup>93</sup> Croatia- "Croatia welcomes the French initiative..." Annex pg.22
- <sup>94</sup> Poland- "We are aware of importance of the principle of the right of veto of the permanent members of the Council. However, we should also take into account changes in the global international order, taking place right before our eyes. That is why recent proposals to reform the right of veto, including the French proposal to adopt a code of conduct in this respect, are interesting and worth discussing." Annex pg.29
- <sup>95</sup> Australia- "Consistent with Australia's historical opposition to the veto..." Annex pg.42
- <sup>96</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "An extension of the veto right to new permanent members would have a negative impact on the efficiency of the Security Council..." Annex pg.85
- <sup>97</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "We support the French proposal of a..." Annex pg.85
- <sup>98</sup> Netherlands- "In our reform efforts we should aim to minimize the use of the veto. We support the French initiative that aims to regulate the use of the veto." Annex pg.86
- <sup>99</sup> Malaysia- "Malaysia has been among the countries that have consistently called for the abolishment of the use of the veto in conformity with the principle of sovereign equality as envisaged in the Charter." Annex pg.91
- <sup>100</sup> Chile- "Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly" Annex pg.72
- <sup>101</sup> Singapore- "...However, more open meetings of the Council in themselves do not create greater transparency. Transparency depends on the scope given to non-members to understand, appreciate and access the Council's decision making considerations." Annex pg.17
- <sup>102</sup> Monaco- "Monaco has the same approach in this regard as the one expressed in section c) (ii)- Monaco views the process of improving the working methods and the progress already achieved in the practice in this regard as a continuous process." Annex pg.36
- <sup>103</sup> African Group- "...and further proposes the following inter alia..." Annex pg.67
- <sup>104</sup> Hungary- "Hungary supports measures which strengthen the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly..." Annex pg.82
- <sup>105</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "Even an enlarged Council cannot reflect in its composition the universality of the General Assembly. It is therefore important to further strengthen the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly, including by..." Annex pg.85
- <sup>106</sup> Belgium and Luxembourg- "...so as to allow all Member States to assess how the Security Council has discharged the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which Member States have conferred on the Security Council. This would enhance the accountability and the transparency of the work of the Council." Annex pg.85
- <sup>107</sup> Chile- "Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly" Annex pg.72
- <sup>108</sup> Netherlands- "The Kingdom of the Netherlands is willing to start negotiations on Security Council reform on the basis of any text proposal, which is broadly supported in the UN General Assembly." Annex pg.87
- <sup>109</sup> Malaysia- "Malaysia remains firm and clear on the need to reform the UNSC. We wish to underscore that the spirit of flexibility and compromise are key in advancing the IGC negotiations forward. Malaysia looks forward to engage with all Member States to find areas of convergence and consensus in our common goals to make the UNSC more accountable, effective and transparent." Annex pg.92
- <sup>110</sup> Cuba- "Cuba endorses a process of reform of the Security Council with a broad and comprehensive approach that addresses all substantive issues including membership, number of members, regional representation, working methods, decision making and the veto." Annex pg.61
- <sup>111</sup> Cuba- "Cuba does not endorse the setting of artificial deadlines which only hampers the regular process of negotiation. Nor do we support procrastination tactics aimed at delaying concrete results. In practical terms, that would be equivalent to perpetuating the status quo of the Security Council. Remaining inactive and postponing indefinitely the reform of the Security Council is not an acceptable option for Cuba." Annex pg.61
- <sup>112</sup> Hungary- "In order to facilitate the expected outcome (GA resolution), already at the beginning of the process we..." Annex pg.82

# Annex

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Montenegro	pg.1
G4	pg.2-5
Estonia	pg.6-7
DPRK	pg.8-9
Dominican Republic	pg.10-11
Brunei Darussalam	pg.12-13
Singapore	pg.14-17
Georgia	pg.18-20
Croatia	pg.21-22
Serbia	pg.23
L.69	pg.24-27
Poland	pg.28-29
Liechtenstein	pg.30-33
Lithuania	pg.34-35
Monaco	pg.36
France	pg.37
Slovakia	pg.38-41
Australia	pg.42
Peru	pg.43
Paraguay	pg.44-46
Ukraine	pg.47-49
Cuba	pg.50-61
Latvia	pg.62-63
African Group	pg.64-68
UK	pg.69
Chile	pg.70-72
Viet Nam	pg.73-75
Guyana on behalf of <sup>i</sup>	pg.76-79
Hungary	pg.80-83
Belgium and Luxembourg	pg.84-85
Netherlands	pg.86-87
Panama	pg.88-89
Malaysia	pg.90-92

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<sup>i</sup>The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago

Framework Document  
Inputs by Montenegro

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of (...) seats
- Non-permanent members with a two year term – a total of 6 seats  
Elected by the General Assembly, in accordance with standard procedure
- Any new category  
Montenegro remains open for this option, if negotiations can lead to the compromise between groups with the opposing views on new permanent membership.  
Elected by the General Assembly, same as with non-permanent members

b) Regional representation

- Montenegro supports enhanced and appropriate regional representation of all five regional groups. With the proposal for 6 new non-permanent seats, each regional group would receive one additional non-permanent seat, with the exception of the African group, which would receive two additional non-permanent members, for the reason to correct the historical injustice done to this continent. Eastern-European Group has seen the number of its members more than doubled in the last 20 years. Therefore it deserves one more non-permanent seat in the reformed Security Council.

c) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of 21 seats

- With the above mentioned proposal for 6 new non-permanent seats, Montenegro believes that a total of 21 seats would be the most optimal solution for the size of reformed Council. Montenegro remains open for few additional seats, if there can be a agreement reached about new permanent or new category of membership.

Working methods of the Council

- Montenegro appreciates the efforts undertaken so far by the P5, as well as within the scope of other initiatives, such as ACT group, that aim to improve comprehensively the working methods, that is to allow for greater participation in and closer following of the Council's work for non-members, especially from the perspective of a small state.

d) The question of the veto

- Within the well-known realities that characterize this issue, Montenegro supports the French proposal on the voluntary veto restraint in situations of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

- Montenegro supports expanded interaction and cooperation between the two main bodies of the UN, within the scope of their respective mandates. Montenegro calls for establishing substantive dialogue between the GA and the SC.

# Framework Document

## *G-4 inputs*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of 11 seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America.
  - *In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats: Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution on Security Council reform, interested Member States prepared to assume the functions and responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council would submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, as soon as possible, at a date to be determined by the President of the General Assembly to the election of the six new permanent members, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.*
  - The criteria of Article 23 (1) should also apply to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of 14/15 seats
  - The election process for non-permanent members will follow current practices.

b) Regional representation:

- The six new permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:
  - (i) Two from African Member States;
  - (ii) Two from Asia-Pacific Member States;
  - (iii) One from Latin American and Caribbean Member States;
  - (iv) One from Western European and Other Member States;
  
- The four/five new non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected according to the following pattern:
  - (i) One/Two from African Member States;
  - (ii) One from Asia-Pacific Member States;
  - (iii) One from Eastern European Member States;
  - (iv) One from Latin American and Caribbean Member States;
  
- Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Member States should also make full use of the possibility of cross-regional arrangements to ensure that the diversity of the General Assembly membership is adequately reflected in the Council.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of 25/26 seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- An affirmative vote of 14/15 of 25/26 members of the enlarged Security Council will be required for a decision.
  
- The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.
  
- To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of its work, the enlarged Council would be encouraged to, *inter alia*, meet, as a general rule, in a public format; make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues; hold open debates on the issue of working methods; hold more regular and timely consultations with troop, police and

financial contributing countries of UN peacekeeping missions.

d) The question of the veto:

- Member States should be invited to continue discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances.

- The new permanent members would as a principle have the same responsibilities and obligations as current permanent members. However, the new permanent members shall not exercise the veto-right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held fifteen years after the coming into force of the reform.

- Amendments to the Charter shall reflect the fact that the extension of the right of veto to the new permanent members will be decided upon in the framework of a review.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The enlarged Security Council would be encouraged to, *inter alia*, hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly; submit an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly; submit more frequently special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Articles 15 (1) and 24 (3) of the Charter; improve participation of the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and the chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Commission in relevant debates and, in an appropriate format, in informal discussions.

• Any other related matters:

- Upon adoption of a comprehensive framework resolution, a resolution containing necessary amendments to the Charter would be submitted to the General Assembly in order to be adopted at the earliest possible time.



- The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed fifteen years after their entry into force.

## Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...) <sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]*
- *[Any new category...]*
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*

b) Regional representation:

- Creation of an additional non-permanent seat for EEG.
- Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- To enhance transparency and inclusiveness of its work, the Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format; make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues; hold more open debates; and increase the use of Horizon Scanning briefings and Arria-formula meetings.

d) The question of the veto:

- Supporting the French initiative - regulation of the use of veto by the permanent members of the Security Council who would voluntarily and collectively undertake not to use the veto where a mass atrocity has been ascertained.

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<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Security Council would be encouraged to hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly; and submit an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in the annual report to the General Assembly.
  - The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in general, should aim for closer cooperation, including improved exchange of information; *and better coordination (e.g., ensuring that Security Council and General Assembly meetings on the same topics are not held simultaneously).*
- 
- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
    - [...]

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

## Positions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) on Framework Document for Security Council Reform

(7 May 2015)

### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members- total of ( ) seats

*[It is yet premature to specify the issue of this category of membership. Discussions on the issue of categories are now in the initial stage, and even if category issue is agreed, there will be next step to be considered on the modalities and procedures on selection and election.]*

*[In the event of possible expansion of permanent membership, Japan is totally unqualified to be a permanent member of the expanded Security Council under any circumstances since Japan still denies to liquidate its inhumane war crimes committed against a number of Asian countries during World War II, which placed Japan under the term of an enemy state in the Charter of the United Nations.]*

*DPRK expresses deep concern at the approach taken by Japan. Our concern is that Japan acts as if she must occupy a permanent seat of the enlarged Security Council, taking as if there is already an agreement on enlargement of permanent seats of the Security Council.*

*Moreover, Japan is the enemy state and defeated state that had occupied the Asian countries and committed huge crimes against humanity during the Second World War which had been the cause and motivation of creation of the United Nations, and Japan is the only country that has not fully and convincingly made recognition, apology and compensation for its crimes up to this moment, 70 years since the foundation of the United Nations.*

*Japan is too much ambitious and impatient in the deliberations of the reform and this stems from its sinister and impudent purpose to bury forever its past crimes and the disgrace of enemy state through this process.]*

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term- a total of ( ) seats

*[Since enlarging non-permanent seats will be more agreeable, it could be a way forward to proceed first with the issue of enlargement of non-permanent seats.]*

### b) Regional representation:

- *[It is very important to increase the representation of Non-Aligned Movement member states and other developing countries.]*

### c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of ( ) seats

#### (ii) Working Methods of the Council

*[Impartiality, non-selectivity and democracy should be fully upheld in all activities of the Security Council. Now, the Security Council has reached the state whereby it is misused by an individual country abusing its status of a permanent member to pursue its own national interests, violating the international norms and principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.]*

### d) The question of the veto:

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

Any other matters:

*[Overall process of discussions of the reform should be a process to guarantee and convince that all UN member states could be represented and included in an equal and democratic manner in the deliberations of international peace and security issues. In other words, the Security Council reform should be the process driven by all member states based on the consensus in a transparent manner.]*

*Since the purpose of the Security Council reform is to realize democratization of UN system, reform discussions and negotiations should not be swayed by the individual purposes and interests of any specific group or countries.*

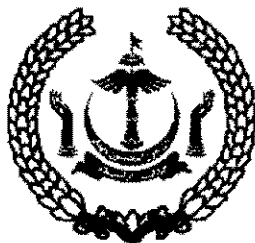
*Any move to pursue the reform issue by simple majority or by setting artificial timetable cannot reflect fully and democratically the viewpoints and positions of all member states and rather will ignite differences and conflict of opinions. ]*



4.- CUESTION DEL VETO; RD APOYA LA ELIMINACION DEL VETO. SIN EMBARGO, COMO UNA FORMA DE NO OBSTACULIZAR LA REFORMA DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD APOYAMOS QUE ESTA CUESTION SEA ANALIZADA EN UNA CONFERENCIA REVISORA DENTRO DE 10 AÑOS

5.RELACION CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD Y ASAMBLEA GENERAL; RD APOYA EL FORTALECIMIENTO Y LA INTERRELACION DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD Y ASAMBLEA GENERAL. INCLUSO PROPUGNAMOS QUE EL PRESIDENTE DE LA ASAMBLEA GENERAL TENGA UN ASIENTO EN EL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD A FIN DE QUE SEA MAS PARTICIPATIVO EN LAS LABORES DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD.

OTRAS MATERIAS; RD APOYA UNA REFORMA DEL CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD INTEGRAL EN QUE SE PRIVILEGIE LA REPRSETANCION DE LOS PEQUEÑOS ESTADOS INSULARES Y DE AQUELLOS ESTADOS EN QUE NUNCA HAN TENIDO LA OPORTUNIDAD DE SERVIR EN ESTE IMPORANTE ORGANO DEBIDO A LA ACTUAL ESTRUCTURA DE REPRESENTACION.



**NBD/007/2015**

*The Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations and has the honour to refer to the interactive briefing held on 26 March 2015 on Security Council Reform*

*In this regard, the Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam request the kind assistance of the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to forward to H.E. Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica and Chairman of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, Brunei Darussalam's inputs to the Intergovernmental Negotiations Framework Document.*

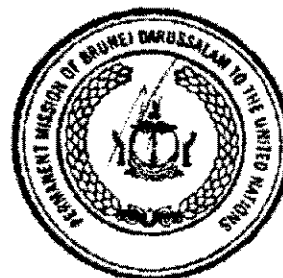
*The Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations the assurances of its highest consideration.*

*16 April 2015*

***Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations  
767 Third Avenue, 9th Floor  
New York, N.Y. 10017***

*Email: [jamaicaun@gmail.com](mailto:jamaicaun@gmail.com)  
Fax: (212) 935-7607*

**Ref: 29 : G/A/33**





# Framework Document

## *Brunei Darussalam's Inputs*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Supports the expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories with develop and developing countries adequately represented.

a) Regional representation:

- Supports the need for a more balanced geographical representation to reflect the expansion of UN Membership since the last reform in 1963.
- Supports the need to address the non-representation and under-representation of some regions in the permanent and non-permanent category e.g. African region and Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

b) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...)seats

- Supports an expanded UNSC to a total of mid-twenties i.e. 25 or 26 seats in total.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Recognizes the need to improve the UNSC's transparency, accountability and efficiency.

d) The question of the veto:

- The veto should be used with maximum restraint with its eventual elimination.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Underlines the need for a more balanced and stronger cooperation between the General Assembly and Security Council as defined in the UN Charter (Article 24).
- Any other related matters<sup>1</sup>:
  - Notes that reform is a complex matter and hopes that the broadest possible consensus can be achieved to move the process forward.

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<sup>1</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE  
UNITED NATIONS | NEW YORK

16 April 2015

HE Mr Courtenay Rattray  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform  
Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations  
767 Third Avenue, 9<sup>th</sup> Floor  
New York, NY 10017

Dear *Courtenay,*

Thank you for your letter dated 26 March 2015 conveying the framework document and your speaking points for the IGN meeting on 26<sup>th</sup> March.

2 As requested, please find enclosed Singapore's inputs on the framework document. We would be grateful if you could incorporate our inputs in the master framework document. Singapore reserves the right to come back with further inputs as necessary.

3 Let me take the opportunity to assure you that Singapore will work with you, as Chair of the IGN on Security Council Reform, and other members of the IGN process, to achieve an outcome that will make the UNSC more representative, open, transparent, accountable and effective to deal with the many challenges before us.

4 Please accept, your excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours *sincerely,*

KAREN TAN  
Ambassador and Permanent Representative

enc

**FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT**  
*(INPUTS FROM SINGAPORE)*

b) Regional Representation of UNSC Membership:

- Increase representation of under-represented regional groups in the UNSC as this will help improve the legitimacy and accountability of the UNSC.
- Small States must always be represented in the Council as they make up more than two-thirds of the UN membership.
- If the Council's composition does not include a small state, at least one of the existing Council members will be appointed as a representative for small states in consultation with the members of the Forum of Small States.

c) (i) Size of an Enlarged Security Council

- Expand the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership to better reflect current geopolitical realities.

(ii) Working Methods of the Council

- The Council should adopt its rules of procedures and disseminate them to all UN Member States.
- The tentative programme of work and forecast for the coming month, and changes to the programme of work, should be communicated to all non-members as soon as they are available to the Council.
- All Council members should be involved in the decision-making on the distribution of chairmanships of subsidiary bodies of the Council, ensuring that the country specific and thematic lead roles are distributed evenly and appropriately among Council members.
- The Council must ensure effective communication of its mandates and means of implementing them to non-members in clear and easily

understandable ways, particularly for mandates that carry obligations on all Member State, for example, in implementation of sanctions.

- The Presidency of the Council should convene an open meeting at the end of its Presidency to communicate to non-members the key outcomes and deliverables achieved under its Presidency.
- Briefings by UN Officials to the Security Council should as far as possible be made accessible to all member states.
- Annual reports on the work of the UN Security Council, should be prepared, pursuant to article 15 paragraph 1 and article 24 paragraph 3 of the UN Charter, to: (i) assess whether Security Council decisions have been implemented; (ii) analyse obstacles to implementation and reasons for non-implementation; and (iii) suggest mechanisms or measures to enhance implementation.

In our view, the above changes to the working methods of the Council do not require amendments to the Charter of the United Nations and can be undertaken without prejudice to other aspects of the Security Council Reform.

Any reform must include changes to its working methods and must make the Council more accountable and transparent for all Member States, not just members of an enlarged Council.

#### d) The Question of the Veto

- New permanent members should not be accorded the right to veto as it would complicate decision making in the Council.
- Permanent Members of the Council should commit themselves to not using a veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.
- If Permanent Members insist on casting a veto that blocks such action, they should produce alternative proposals that will end such atrocities or clearly explain to all UN Member States why they are prepared to see the continuation of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and a copy of the explanation should be circulated as a Security Council Document.

- Establish a practice, in appropriate cases, of declaring, when casting a negative vote on a draft resolution before the Council, that such a negative vote shall not constitute a veto in the sense of Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Charter.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

- Increase the number of Security Council meetings in open format and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly those non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues under consideration of the Council. However, more open meetings of the Council in themselves do not create greater transparency. Transparency depends on the scope given to non-members to understand, appreciate and access the Council's decision-making considerations.
- Provide frequent, timely and quality briefings to the wider membership of the UN on matters discussed in the informal consultations and in the subsidiary bodies.
- Non-member States of the Council specially affected by issues being considered by the Council should be given every opportunity to participate in the Council's deliberations in informal meetings and informal consultations.

• • • • •

16 April 2015



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საქართველოს მუდმივი  
წარმომადგენლობა გაერთიანებული  
ქალების ორგანიზაციაში

PERMANENT MISSION OF GEORGIA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

№ 19/12998

04/16/2015

Excellency,

*Dear Courtney,*

It is my honor to enclose herewith the framework document on the United Nations Security Council reform, populated with the positions and proposals of the Government of Georgia.

The contact person at our Mission is Mr. Giorgi Kvelashvili, Senior Counsellor, who can be reached at tel.: 212.759.1949, ext. 208, or via email [gkvelashvili@mfa.gov.ge](mailto:gkvelashvili@mfa.gov.ge)

Excellency, while anticipating a fruitful and friendly exchange on the matters related to the Security Council reform, please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Annex: 2 pages.

Respectfully,

**Kaha Imnadze**

Ambassador

Permanent Representative

**H.E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray**

Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations

New York

## Framework Document

### Inputs from Georgia

#### **Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of (10-11)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People’s Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
    - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]  
Permanent Members should be elected by the UN General Assembly, by the 2/3 vote.
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of (14-15) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]  
The non-permanent Members of the UNSC should be elected by the UNGA, however at least 1 newly added non-permanent seat should be attributed to the Eastern European Group, other seats to be attributed to the regional groups.
- [Any new category...] --
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]

b) Regional representation

- [...] 2 seats should be attributed to the EEG. Other places to be distributed according to the established practice.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of (25) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- [Increase the transparency and efficiency of the Council, adopt relevant procedures].

d) The question of the veto:

- [All Permanent Members should have the veto right. The veto right should be restricted under following circumstances: a) The decision of the UNSC aims at prevention of the crimes against humanity, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and

<sup>1</sup>“(...)” denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas “[...]” is intended for the inclusion of text.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

genocide; b) Permanent Member is involved in the conflict under the consideration and, therefore, cannot exercise his rights impartially. Relevant, procedural regulations should be elaborated to this end.

e) Relationship between the Council and General Assembly:

- [Accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be increased. GA should be granted a more active role in the election of the UNSG.

Recalling the General Assembly resolution 377 (V), the role of the General Assembly shall be increased in cases of threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. Namely, if the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security when there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including the use of armed force when necessary. The relevant changes shall be introduced to the Charter of the UN.]

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup> :
  - [...]

<sup>1</sup>“(...)” denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas “[...]” is intended for the inclusion of text.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



## Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...) <sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats.. Croatia supports the enlargement of the Council in the permanent category of membership. Having in mind the importance of these elections, Croatia holds that they should require broader support than regular elections for the non-permanent seats.]*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats.. Croatia supports the enlargement of the Council in the non-permanent category of membership]*
- *[Any new category..]*
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]*

b) Regional representation:

- *[Croatia advocates for one additional seat for East European regional group in the non-permanent category]*
- *[Croatia supports greater African representation in the Council]*

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- *[Working methods of the enlarged Council should be conducted so as to help facilitate a more efficient and effective, as well as accountable functioning of the Security Council as a whole. ]*

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<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

- [Croatia supports more frequent interaction of the members of the Council with wider UN membership through greater transparency, openness in decision-making and inclusiveness.]
- d) The question of the veto:
- [Croatia welcomes the French initiative of adopting a Code of Conduct to govern the use of the veto]
- e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:
- [Croatia would encourage the enlarged Security Council to hold regular consultations with the President of the General Assembly.]
- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
  - [Croatia welcomes the decision on the conduct of elections for non-permanent members of the Council six months before the elected members assume their responsibilities, which will allow for better advance planning and preparation of new members.]

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

## Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

a) categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...) <sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats-decision on the basis of consensus or the largest possible majority in the GA ]*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats-decision on the basis of consensus or the largest possible majority in the GA]*
- *[Any new category...]*
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*

b) Regional representation:

*[equitable geographic representation to the benefit of small and developing countries and regional and other specific groups, at least one additional seat in the category of non-permanent member for the Eastern European regional group]*

c) (i) The size of an enlarged SC- a total of (up to 25) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- *[greater transparency in the work of the Security Council and increased efficiency and effectiveness of the working methods]*

d) The question of the veto:

[...]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

*[strengthening of relations and better communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly for the purpose of safeguarding international peace and security in accordance with the authority and responsibility the two organs have under the Charter]*

• Any other related matters:

▪ [...]

<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

## L.69 Group Inputs on Framework Document ( inputs of the L.69 Group are in red below)

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of **11** seats
  - The **Republic of China** (People's Republic of China), France, **The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (The Russian Federation), The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America.
  - **(2 from Africa) (2 from Asia) (1 from GRULAC) (1 from WEOG)**
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]:*

**Upon adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms by the General Assembly, member states desiring to assume permanent membership shall submit their candidatures in writing to the President of the General Assembly. The General Assembly will then proceed, at a date to be determined by the PGA, for the election of new permanent members of the Security Council, by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly through a secret ballot. As per established practice, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly will be applied to the election of the new permanent members.**

- **While electing new permanent members, the General Assembly would also consider the criteria of Article 23 (I) to the election of the new permanent members: "due regard shall be paid, in the first instance to their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution".**

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of **16**

**.....The election process for non-permanent two-year term seats will remain unchanged.**

b)Regional representation:

That additional seats be elected by the General Assembly as follows:

- (a) Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States;
- (b) Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asia-Pacific States;
- (c) One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States;
- (d) One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and Caribbean States;
- (e) One permanent seat for Western European and other States;
- (f) One non-permanent seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS) across all regions

*Regional groups shall coordinate to ensure that there is regular representation for small developing states in the non-permanent category,*

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of **27** seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- The affirmative vote of 15 out of 27 members of the Security Council will be required for a decision.
- To make meetings of the Council transparent and inclusive, the existing practice to hold closed meetings with no records will be abolished, and access will be given to non-members to the Council's documentation and records.
- The Council will amend its procedures so that items do not remain on its agenda permanently/beyond (x)years.
- Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter must be fully implemented by consulting with member states which are not members of the Security Council on a regular basis, especially members with special interest in the substantive matter under consideration by the Council.
- Non-members should be given systematic access to subsidiary bodies of the UNSC, including the right to participate in debates.
- There should be full and complete participation by elected members in penholding resolutions.
- Consultation with and participation of Troop and Police Contributing Countries in decision making concerning peacekeeping operations must be made mandatory (as laid down in Article 44) and these discussions should be comprehensive covering the

establishment, conduct, review and termination of peacekeeping operations, including the extension and change of mandates, as well as for specific operational issues.

- Countries having specific interest in particular agenda item must be invited to participate in consultations before an outcome document on that item is adopted.

- The Council should focus its time and efforts on dealing with issues concerning its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security as mandated by the UN Charter, rather than encroaching upon the mandate of the General Assembly

- Before mandating measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council should ensure that all efforts for the peaceful settlement of disputes through measures under Chapter VI have been exhausted. In this regard, the Council must improve its cooperation with regional organisations, particularly the African Union. Such cooperation must be serious and include providing assistance for AU's capacity building as per their requirement.

- The Security Council should ensure that non-permanent members of the Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.

d) The question of the veto:

- The veto should be abolished. So long as it exists, it should be extended to all new members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must enjoy all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The expanded Security Council would be encouraged to, inter alia, hold regular consultations with the General Assembly under its President;

- The Council should submit an analytical, substantive and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work in its annual report to the General Assembly;

- The Council should submit special reports more frequently to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter

f) Any other related matters:

## **Amendments**

Following the elections of the new permanent members, to accordingly amend the Charter of the UN no later than twelve weeks from the adoption of the framework resolution on UNSC reforms,

#### Review

To provide for a review of the implementation of this Resolution.

\*

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\* *"The L.69 Group welcomes the appreciation of the C.10 towards the L.69 submission and in this regard, the L.69 Group reaffirms its support and alignment with the Common African Position."*

## Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

### **COMMENTS BY PERMANENT MISSION OF POLAND TO THE UNITED NATIONS April 16, 2015**

Contact persons at the Mission of Poland:

1) Expert on SC reform:

Joanna Honkisz, Political Unit, Second Secretary,  
[joanna.honkisz@msz.gov.pl](mailto:joanna.honkisz@msz.gov.pl)

2) Political Coordinator:

Adam Krzywosadzki, Head of Political Unit, First Secretary,  
[adam.krzywosadzki@msz.gov.pl](mailto:adam.krzywosadzki@msz.gov.pl)

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

A) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...) seats
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
- Reform of the UNSC is necessary, since the composition of this body does not reflect the realities of the modern world. In the case of increasing the number of members of the Council we should take into account the **(i)** aspirations of those countries whose contribution to the work of the Organization is undisputed **(ii)** financial contributions to the UN budget, as well as and **(iii)** participation in peacekeeping operations with the UN Security Council mandate.
- Poland supports a reform that would grant an **additional non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group (EEG)**. Our position stems from the fact that the membership of EEG has increased from 9 to 23 countries, as a result of disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia. It should be however a part of a broader reform of geographical distribution.
- Any new category



B) Regional representation:

•

C) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council - a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council

- We support efforts to improve the **working methods of the Security Council**, aiming to make its actions more transparent. The Security Council should further enhance its cooperation with regional organizations, troop-contributing countries, the UN Secretariat and the entire UN system.

D) The question of veto:

- We are aware of importance of the **principle of the right of veto** of the permanent members of the Council. However, we should also take into account changes in the global international order, taking place right before our eyes. That is why recent proposals to reform the right of veto, including the French proposal to adopt a code of conduct in this respect, are interesting and worth discussing.

E) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

•

Any other related matters:



PERMANENT MISSION  
OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF LIECHTENSTEIN  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
NEW YORK

H. E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray  
Permanent Representative of Jamaica  
to the United Nations  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform

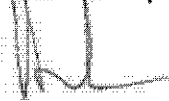
New York, 16 April 2014

Excellency,

Further to your letter dated 27 March, I have the honor to transmit to you Liechtenstein's position on the reform of the Security Council in the format of your framework document. It is based large on the established Liechtenstein position, which was also reflected in previous versions of the compilation text. Should you require any clarifications in this regard, please do not hesitate to contact myself or the officer in charge of this file (René Holbach: 212 599 0220 ext. 230, [rene.holbach@nyc.llv.li](mailto:rene.holbach@nyc.llv.li)).

Allow me also to take this opportunity to express to you my personal support and that of my country. We stand ready to support you in your attempt to inject new life into the intergovernmental negotiations.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Christian Wenaweser  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative

Enclosure

# Framework Document

## Liechtenstein Input

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between Council and the General Assembly.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of five seats
- Non-Permanent members with a two-year term - a total of ten (or more) seats<sup>1</sup>
- New category: Six additional members elected to serve, on a permanent basis, for renewable terms of [8/10] years.<sup>2</sup>

b) Regional representation

- The six additional seats with terms of [eight/ten] years shall be distributed as follows:
  - I. two from African States
  - II. two from Asian States
  - III. one from Latin American and Caribbean States
  - IV. one from Western European and Other States
- As mentioned above, the Liechtenstein Model leaves open the possibility of the creation of additional two-year non-permanent seats in accordance with article 23, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter, and does not specifically address the number or distribution of any such seats.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council - a total of 21 (or more) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

It is understood that the General Assembly will simultaneously decide on a set of measures dealing with the

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<sup>1</sup>The Liechtenstein Model, as previously submitted on 26 February 2010, provides flexibility on the creation of additional non-permanent seats.

<sup>2</sup>"On a permanent basis" refers to the fact that Member States could continue to hold these seats as long as they continue to be re-elected.

working methods of an expanded Council. Issues to be addressed include, but are not limited, to the following:

- a. Majority required for decision-making: The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (art. 27 (2) and 27 (3)).
- b. Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies. A thorough review of the working methods is required, in particular on decision-making.
- c. Council Presidency: Ensuring that every member of the Council will continue holding the Presidency at least once during its membership will require a change to the current practice.
- d. Secretariat capacity: Review of the capacities and the resources of the Secretariat required to service an enlarged Council.
- e. Practices and arrangements relating to permanent membership: Review of the privileges enjoyed by the Permanent Members outside the Security Council (e.g. membership in bodies such as ECOSOC and ICJ, practice of distributing senior positions within the UN system).
- f. Alleviating the workload of the Council: Ways to address the workload, e.g. assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions. This would require extending the possibility of voting to subsidiary bodies.
- g. Chairmanships of subsidiary bodies: Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.

d) The question of the veto:

It would be agreed that the question of the veto would be addressed as part of the review outlined under "any other related matters" below.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Any other related matters:

Adoption of the necessary Charter amendments:

The Charter amendments necessary would be annexed to a General Assembly Resolution.

Elections of the new members:

- Elections to fill the six seats shall be held after entry into force of the required Charter amendment and simultaneously with the regular elections of non-permanent members of the Security Council.
- Candidates for seats above shall not be eligible to serve as non-permanent members in accordance with article 23, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter for the following [eight/ten] calendar years.

Review:

[16 / 20] years after the first elections in the new category of seats the General Assembly shall review the situation. The review shall include consideration of the categories of seats, the creation of additional seats of any category, including permanent seats, a review of the question of the veto as well as the implementation of the measures to improve the working methods of the Council.

## Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...) <sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]*
- *[Any new category...]*
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*

b) Regional representation:

*In the event of Council enlargement, one additional non-permanent seat should be allocated to the EEG. Lithuania supports an enhanced role of African countries in the Council. Any potential enlargement should not diminish the chances of small states to be represented on the Council.*

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- *Open debates on geographical issues of specific concern to wider membership.*
- *Better time management at open debates. All states, both UNSC members and non-members, should observe speaking time limits. Consider establishing a ceiling for briefer numbers (e.g. three) at open debates for better time management.*
- *Regular review of the work of the sanctions committees, earlier appointment of chairs of subsidiary bodies, public briefings by chairs of sanctions committees, renew the work/establish a working group on sanctions.*

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<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

- Timely and meaningful interaction between the Council and TCCs and PCCs.
- More regular, meaningful interaction between the Council and force/police commanders.
- More structured follow-up to the annual UNSC open debate on working methods.
- Briefings to UN member states by penholders or sponsors of UNSC resolutions in the event of fast-paced developments on the ground or in the UNSC.
- More structured dialogue between the Council and the ICC.
- Make better use of interactive dialogues
- Early involvement of all Council members in the drafting of Council resolutions.

d) The question of the veto:

- Permanent members should undertake to abstain from the use of veto in the cases of massive human rights violations, genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. A voluntary code of conduct to this effect would be welcome.
- Consider requiring two negative votes, not one, by permanent members to make veto effective.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Focus annual UNGA debate under agenda item "Report of the Security Council" for more specific outcomes, proposals on improving UNSC-UNGA interaction in addressing various cross-cutting issues.
- Encourage to hold regular consultations with the President of the GA on pertinent SC and GA agenda items.

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- Election of Secretary General: make the process more transparent, inclusive, without contesting the UNSC prerogative to this effect. Enable main candidates to present their vision, priorities to the general membership. Have straw polls of general membership on the shortlisted candidates before final decisions are made, to see who would best meet the expectations of member states.

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

# **Framework Document**

## For inputs by Member States

### **Submission of the Principality of Monaco**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members – a total of (...) seats
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of (...) seats

**Monaco supports an enlargement in both categories of membership.**

b) Regional representation:

- **Monaco supports the current practice of States' candidature.**

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of (...) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council

- **Monaco views the process of improving the working methods and the progress already achieved in the practice in this regard as a continuous process.**

d) The question of the veto:

- **Monaco supports the proposal of the self-regulation of the use of the veto by the permanent members.**

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- **Monaco has the same approach in this regard as the one expressed in section c) (ii).**
- **The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly must be undertaken under the auspices of the Charter's provisions.**

• Any other related matters:

- [...]



Framework Document

*France*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

- a) Categories of membership:
  - Permanent members
    - The People’s Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America, Brazil, Germany, India, Japan, and permanent African representation
    - The form of the election process would depend on the outcome of discussions
  - Non-permanent members with a two-year term
    - We support moderate expansion in the number of non-permanent seats
- b) Regional representation: We do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the UN Charter, which makes clear that admission to the UN is extended to individual states.
  - New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the whole UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members.
- c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council
  - We support a reformed Security Council whose membership would number somewhere in the mid-20s.

(ii) Working methods of the Council

  - We believe that this is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and, moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly
- d) The question of the veto:
  - We would not oppose extension of the veto to new permanent members if the candidates to such permanent membership were to pursue such an extension.
- e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly
  - We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the UN can function as effectively as possible.

*The Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic  
to the United Nations*

New York, 10/2015  
Ref.: 1266/2015/USSMI-RG

Excellency, *DEAR FRANK!*

*I have the honour to reply to your letter dated 26 March 2015 in which you requested delegations, in your capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) on Security Council reform to complete the framework document providing national positions and proposals. As requested, enclosed please find the submission of the Slovak Republic.*

*Slovakia sees the UN as the main international forum to respond to global challenges. The UN is and stays the cornerstone of the international order, the most effective way of multilateral diplomacy, the appropriate forum where the broadest possible agreement can be achieved and the only establishment that can face global challenges that no other grouping of states (no matter how broad or strong) could handle. There is no alternative to the UN.*

*Slovakia continues to promote the strengthening of the effectiveness of the UN in key areas, such as management, peacekeeping and the financial sustainability of the UN. We support the discussions and processes aimed at making the work of all the UN bodies more effective. This process needs to be inclusive and in dialogue with all the member states with possibility to engage other stakeholders (NGOs, civil society). The UN is the only global organization and its effective functioning should be in the interest of all of us.*

*Slovakia continues to support the reform of the UN System and of its bodies, including the comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council so that it better reflects the needs of the current world and that atrocities like those in Syria will never be repeated.*

*His Excellency  
Mr. E. Courtney Rattray  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative  
of Jamaica to the United Nations  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council reform  
Permanent Mission of Jamaica  
to the United Nations  
New York*

*Our position reflects our view at the current deliberations, stemming from the need for more inclusive, consensus building and pragmatic approach that requires concessions from all stakeholders also vis-à-vis previous positions.*

*There is no reason for delays in this process. But given the complexity of the issue and the need for the widest possible consensus, the process should not be rushed by setting artificial deadlines.*

*Please accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.*

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Frantisek Ruzicka', written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned above the printed name and title.

František Růžička  
Ambassador  
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

**Framework document**  
For inputs from member states  
**SLOVAKIA**

**a) Categories of membership:**

- Permanent members – a total of **10** seats
  - *The People’s Republic of China, France, the Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America*
  - *In the event of possible expansion consensual/unanimous endorsement of the regional group + respective decision/acclamation of the UN General Assembly*
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term – a total of **15** seats
  - *In the event of possible expansion, current rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent members should apply;*
- **Any new category** – *Slovakia is open for discussion on a new category of membership, provided it does not compromise the effectiveness of the UNSC decision making, creates opportunity (maybe for an interim period) for those Member States that wish to assume higher responsibility; and provides an acceptable platform for regional leading member states to do so if endorsed by the regional group.*
  - *In the event of possible expansion, election process to be decided by the rules of procedure, ideally on principle of regional endorsement.*

**b) Regional representation:**

- *Slovakia is of the opinion that **African continent should be better represented in the reformed UNSC**, if possible in both categories of membership (or in new one), provided that countries of the African Group express their wish to do so;*
- *Slovakia as well supports the idea, should there be a decision to increase the number of the non-permanent members, that **the representation of the EEG should be duly respected and reflected** (increase by 1);*
- *If Member States decide to consider the option how to increase inclusivity and equality of Member States by enabling chances of small member states to be elected to the UNSC, Slovakia will support such a motion;*
- *The endgame should inter alia:*
  - *Close the gap between regional groups – improve rotations;*
  - *Increase the presence of Africa in the UN*
  - *Increase the presence of Arab countries,*
  - *Increase the presence of AP group of states*
  - *Increase the presence of EEG countries;*
- *Introduce representation of “small states” (optional).*

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council: a total of 25 seats**

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

*Reform of the Security Council working methods by ad hoc innovation in specific cases is a realistic goal. But learning from past innovations and adapting them creatively for new cases are also likely to suffer as a result of rapid rotation of people. Slovakia welcomes the initiatives of Member States (i.e. S5); Among possible **ways of improving working methods** following suggestions may be considered:*

- a) *improved format of meetings (with predictable and timely communication to the membership at large);*
- b) *further development of more meaningful relationship with international organizations;*
- c) *more effective opportunities for access and participation by actors who are parties to issues before the Council or are specially affected by them;*
- d) *presidency wrap-up debates at the end of term;*
- e) *further improvements in the process for input by the TCCs into decisions related to the design of peacekeeping operations.*

**d) The question of the veto:**

- *Status of the permanent member of the UNSC is both a **privilege and a responsibility** – including the right of veto. All countries being considered as potential permanent members and countries that have the ambition to be considered should have the ability to carry all the responsibility that comes with UNSC duties and be able to prove in deeds that they do deserve it and are ready to take up this responsibility;*

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

- *Slovakia respects the **functions and competencies of the principle UN organs as per the UN Charter** and is open to constructive discussions to improve relations among principal organs.*

## Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of **up to 11** seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of **up to 15** seats
- Any increase in permanent membership should be accompanied by an expansion in non-permanent membership

b) Regional representation:

- Appropriate geographic balance across the full membership of the Council
  - To better reflect contemporary geopolitical realities, including greater representation from Asia, Africa and Latin America

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of **21-26** seats

- Important that Council membership remains at a workable size

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Important to continue to improve the transparency and accessibility of the Council, including:
  - o Improved consultations with troop and police contributing countries
  - o Greater coordination with other UN organs as well as regional and sub-regional organisations

d) The question of the veto:

- Consistent with Australia's historical opposition to the veto, the veto should not be extended to new permanent members
- The initiative on restraint of the use of the veto in situations of mass atrocity deserves close attention and ambitious follow-up, and could be taken forward independently of broader Security Council reforms

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The Security Council should submit a more comprehensive and analytical annual report to the General Assembly

• Any other related matters:

## Framework Document

### a) Categories of membership:

Peru favors an increase in the number of members of the Security Council in order to make it more democratic and representative, in particular broadening the participation of countries from Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa.

Peru supports an increase in both categories of members: permanent and non-permanents. The election process of new members should remain as a prerogative of the General Assembly.

Peru is open to the possibility of establishing an intermediate category of members with a long mandate, which could eventually become permanent members. This can be considered as a constructive evolution formula.

### b) Regional representation

The Security Council composition should reflect an equitable regional representation.

### c) The size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council

In order to reflect an equitable regional representation, the reformed Council membership should be enlarged to a number of members in the “mid-twenties”

Methods of work conducive to a more efficient, transparent, democratic and representative Security Council should include more open sessions, an improved system of consultations with troop contributing countries when discussing the mandates of peacekeeping operations, and a greater access for the whole membership to information regarding the work of the Council.

Moreover, the decision-taking process in the Council should be reformulated. Currently, non-procedural decisions require unanimity of the five permanent members, while this requirement can be reduced to the affirmative vote of two of them.

### d) The question of veto

The veto is an exception to the principle of equal sovereignty among States, and it should be progressively eliminated. In the meanwhile, the exercise of the veto should be circumscribed to decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, and its use should be restrained in cases of genocide, crimes against humanity and systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

In the same context, Peru considers that, as a previous step towards the elimination of the veto, in case a permanent member decides to exercise it, its decision must be explained and properly sustained in a public session of the Council.

### e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

It is fundamental to strengthen the role and authority of the General Assembly as the main body of the Organization. The competence of the General Assembly includes issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security, as stated in article 11 of the United Nations Charter.



*Misión Permanente de la República del Paraguay ante las Naciones Unidas  
Nueva York*

MP/UN/NY/MP/Nº 76/15

*Ref.: Framework Document Security  
Council Reform - Inputs from Paraguay*

The PERMANENT MISSION OF PARAGUAY TO THE UNITED NATIONS, presents its compliments to the UNITED NATIONS – PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, and has the honor to refer to the letter of H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica and President of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, dated March 26, 2015.

In this regard, this Permanent Mission is pleased to attach the framework document with the position and proposals of the Republic of Paraguay on this matter.

The PERMANENT MISSION OF PARAGUAY TO THE UNITED NATIONS avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the UNITED NATIONS – PERMANENT MISSION OF JAMAICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, the assurances of its highest consideration.

New York, April 17, 2015



To the  
Permanent Mission Of Jamaica  
To The United Nations  
New York

FG/ms/as



## Framework Document

### Inputs from Paraguay

#### a) Categories of membership:

Paraguay supports the expansion of the Security Council in order to adequately reflect the current composition of the UN membership and the geopolitical realities as well as to represent the interest of all Member States in the maintenance of international peace and security.

- Permanent members – a total of ... seats
  - The People’s Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - Description of an election process for new seats
- Non-permanent member with a two-year term – a total of... seats
  - In the event of possible expansion, the election process should follow current practices.
- *Any new category...*
  - In the event of possible creation of a new category, the election process should follow current practices regarding Non-permanent members.

#### b) Regional representation:

- Paraguay supports the implementation of geographical criteria in order to allow all regions to have an adequate presence within the enlarged Council.

#### c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council – a total of ... seats

##### (ii) Working methods of the Council:

- For the sake of **transparency and inclusiveness**, the enlarged Council should hold more open meetings, to improve the flow of information and exchange of ideas between members of the Council and other Member States.
- For the sake of **accountability**, the enlarged Council should submit more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly and should facilitate more interaction with other UN bodies or legal institutions such as the International Criminal Court of Justice, the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Criminal Court.
- The reform of the working methods should ensure participation on an equal footing of Permanent Members and Non-permanent Members within the Security Council.

#### d) The question of the veto:

- Paraguay supports the total elimination of the veto.
- To this end, it is in favor of its progressive elimination.

e) **Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:**

- The enlarged Council is accountable to the General Assembly, since the Council acts on behalf of the wider membership of the UN. Member States have the right and duty to duly know and analyze the work of the Council.
- The relationship between the enlarged Council and the General Assembly must be of collaboration.
- Both organs should work closely together within their respective areas as established in the Charter.

**Any other related matters:**

- **Review clause:** Paraguay supports the inclusion of a “review clause” that will allow Member States to carry out periodic revisions of the decisions made under this process.
- **Time and work schedules:** In order to organize the negotiations, Paraguay supports the idea of setting a reasonable timeframe and work schedule.
- **Decision-making:** Only the decisions made by consensus will have the necessary legitimacy to be implemented; nonetheless, if consensus is not reached, Paraguay considers that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly regarding the vote should be applied.
- **Text for negotiations:** The negotiations must continue with a text. The text must reflect all the positions presented by Member States.

\*\*\*

**ПОСТІЙНЕ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВО  
УКРАЇНИ  
ПРИ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ ОБ'ЄДНАНИХ  
НАЦІЙ**



**PERMANENT MISSION  
OF UKRAINE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

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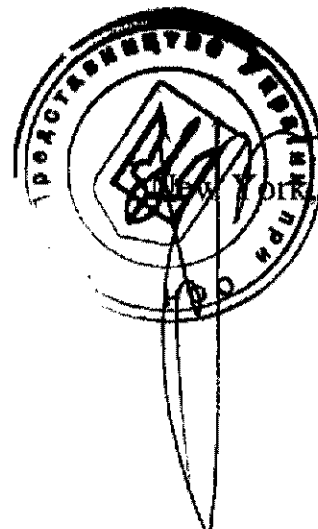
220 East 51st Street  
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<http://www.un.mfa.gov.ua>

# 4132/23-194/014-521

The Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Permanent Mission of the Jamaica to the United Nations and has the honor to submit Ukraine's input to the framework document on the UN Security Council reform in response to the invitation of the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the UN, H.E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray to the Member States to present their positions and proposal on the matter.

The Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Permanent Mission of the Commonwealth of Dominica to the United Nations the assurances of its highest consideration.



New York, 16 April 2015

**Permanent Mission of Jamaica  
to the United Nations  
New York**

## Framework Document

## a) Categories of membership:

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term.
- *Any increase in the non-permanent membership of the SC should ensure an enhanced representation of the Eastern European Group by the allocation to the said Group of one additional non-permanent seat in the enlarged Council (A/59/723).*

## b) Regional representation:

- *Any change in the Security Council composition should be based on the existing regional groups.*
- *The reform should envisage increased representation in the Council of developing countries from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.*
- *The Eastern European Regional Group should be provided with one additional non-permanent seat.*

## c) (ii) Working methods of the Council:

- *To further enhance the transparency, accountability and inclusiveness of the Council's work, with a view to strengthening its effectiveness, through, inter alia:*
  - ❖ *broader consultations and other forms of interaction with non-Council members on a regular basis;*
  - ❖ *meeting, as a general rule, in a public format;*
  - ❖ *frequent, timely and qualitative briefings on the matters discussed in the Security Council and its subsidiary organs in private meetings, including "horizon-scanning" sessions;*
  - ❖ *holding more regular and timely consultations with troop and police contributing countries and other states with particular engagement in UN peace operations, both during elaboration of their mandates and throughout their entire life cycle;*
  - ❖ *making more frequent use of open debates on working methods.*
- *To explore ways of increasing the role of non-permanent members in the Council's proceedings and decision-making.*
- *Continue to improve Council's handling of sanctions regimes, primarily in*

*spelling out concrete conditions for lifting, streamlining listing and delisting procedures, providing for periodic assessment.*

d) The question of the veto:

- *Member States should aim for phasing out of the veto. As a first step, permanent members of the Security Council should voluntarily and collectively pledge not to use the veto in case of mass atrocities, genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes on a large scale.*
- *Should the veto be used in other cases, the permanent member resorting to it has to be invited to explain the reason for this action, in particular with regard to its consistency with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and to circulate a copy of the explanation as a Council document.*
- *The veto should not in any case be used for blocking Council's action in the event of aggression against a UN Member State.*
- *The permanent members should recommit themselves to the Article 27 (3) of the UN Charter obliging a party to a dispute to abstain from voting.*

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- *Establishing closer, more frequent and meaningful interaction between the Presidents of the Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council and Peacebuilding Commission.*
- *Security Council's annual reports to the General Assembly shall provide substantive, comprehensive and analytical evaluation of the work of the Council.*
- *Security Council shall submit, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24 (3) of the Charter.*
- *To establish closer interaction between the Security Council, in particular its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and the UNGA Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34).*



PERMANENT MISSION OF CUBA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

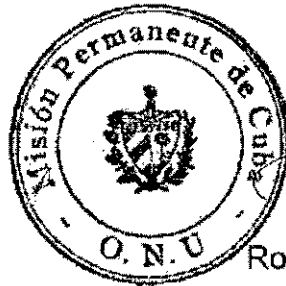
New York, 16 April 2015

Excellency,

*Dear Courtenay*

I have the honor to write to you in your capacity as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation on the Security Council Reform (IGN), and regarding your letter dated March 26, 2015, I would like to attach herewith the inputs of Cuba to the framework document.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Excellency, to renew to you the assurances of my highest and distinguished consideration.



*Rodolfo Reyes Rodríguez*  
Rodolfo Reyes Rodríguez  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of  
Cuba to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Courtenay Rattray  
Ambassador Permanent Representative  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation  
on the Security Council Reform (IGN)

## Framework Document

### Inputs from Cuba

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of ( )<sup>1</sup> seats

Cuba favorece la expansión del Consejo de Seguridad tanto en la categoría de miembros permanentes como no permanentes. El objetivo principal de la expansión del Consejo de Seguridad debe ser rectificar la sub-representación de los países en desarrollo. Por tanto, el incremento principal en esa categoría debe corresponder a los países en desarrollo de África, Asia y América Latina y el Caribe. Deben ingresar como nuevos miembros permanentes, como mínimo, dos países de África, dos países en desarrollo de Asia y dos países de América Latina y el Caribe.

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]

El objetivo principal de la expansión del Consejo de Seguridad debe ser rectificar la sub-representación de los países en desarrollo. No puede ser ampliar por ampliar. La ampliación del Consejo no debe ser parcial o selectiva, ni implicar un incremento de los miembros del Consejo que vaya en detrimento de los países en desarrollo. El incremento principal en esa categoría debe ser en el número de países en desarrollo de África, Asia y América Latina y el Caribe en el Consejo. Los nuevos miembros permanentes deben tener exactamente las mismas prerrogativas y derechos que los actuales, incluyendo el veto, sin que se establezcan criterios selectivos o discriminatorios. De no ampliarse la categoría de miembros permanentes y hacerlo solo en el número de puestos no permanentes, se ampliaría aún más la brecha existente entre miembros permanentes y no permanentes; aumentaría la desproporción entre la representación de países desarrollados y países en desarrollo en el Consejo; el Consejo sería aún menos representativo, y por tanto, menos legítimo y efectivo.

- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of ( ) seats

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<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

Cuba favorece también la ampliación del número de puestos de miembros no permanentes. Los nuevos puestos de miembros no permanentes deben tener exactamente las mismas prerrogativas y derechos que los actuales, sin que se establezcan criterios selectivos o discriminatorios.

El número de puestos de miembros no permanentes con dos años de mandato debe ampliarse a un total de, al menos, 15.

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats..]

[Cuba no se opondría a la reelección inmediata de los miembros no permanentes.]

- [Any new category..]

- [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]

[Cuba no favorece la creación de nuevas categorías o sub-categorías de miembros. Las nuevas categorías incrementarían las diferencias existentes y estimularían la división entre los miembros del Consejo de Seguridad, en lugar de contribuir al mejor funcionamiento del Consejo. Por ejemplo, el ingreso de nuevos miembros permanentes sin poder de veto, equivaldría a crear una nueva categoría, lo cual Cuba no apoya.]

b) Regional representation:

- [La composición actual del Consejo de Seguridad no refleja las realidades geopolíticas y por tanto, necesita ser reequilibrado. Los países en desarrollo están sub-representados en el Consejo. El principal objetivo de la ampliación del Consejo debe ser la rectificación de la insuficiente representación de países en desarrollo de África, Asia y América Latina actualmente en ese órgano. El hecho de que los países en desarrollo no estén representados adecuadamente en el Consejo de Seguridad socava los intereses del Consejo, su autoridad y credibilidad.]

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...no menos de 26) seats. Con esa cifra la proporción entre miembros del Consejo de Seguridad y la de Estados miembros de la ONU al menos se acercaría a la proporción que tenía al ser fundada la Organización.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

• [Es necesaria una reforma urgente y profunda de los métodos de trabajo del Consejo de Seguridad para garantizar que este funcione como un órgano transparente, democrático y representativo.]



- La cuestión de los métodos de trabajo está interrelacionada a otras cuestiones, particularmente aquellas relativas a la ampliación del Consejo y al veto. No habrá una verdadera reforma de los métodos de trabajo mientras no se haya ampliado el Consejo en ambas categorías de miembros y los países en desarrollo no estén adecuadamente representados en el mismo.
- El Consejo de Seguridad, como regla general y conforme a los Artículos 31 y 32 de la Carta, debe realizar reuniones públicas abiertas a todos los Estados miembros de las Naciones Unidas, a fin de asegurar que estas reuniones brinden oportunidades reales para considerar las opiniones y contribuciones de la más amplia membresía de las Naciones Unidas, particularmente los Estados que no son miembros del Consejo cuyos asuntos están siendo discutidos por ese órgano. Las reuniones a puertas cerradas y las consultas officiosas deben celebrarse solo en casos muy excepcionales.
- El Consejo de Seguridad debe llevar a cabo debates sustantivos sobre temas bajo su consideración, abiertos a todos los Estados miembros, de forma oportuna.
- Las sesiones informativas de Enviados Especiales o Representantes del Secretario General y de la Secretaría de las Naciones Unidas deben efectuarse en reuniones públicas, a menos que existan circunstancias excepcionales.
- Cuando un país que no es miembro del Consejo de Seguridad solicita una reunión del órgano, esta debe ser convocada inmediatamente por el Consejo, conforme al Artículo 35 de la Carta.
- Debe formalizarse el reglamento del Consejo de Seguridad, que continúa siendo provisional desde hace casi 70 años, a fin de aumentar la transparencia y nivel de rendición de cuentas.
- El Consejo de Seguridad debe asegurar que sus evaluaciones mensuales sean amplias y analíticas, y que las dé a conocer oportunamente.
- Permitir que el Estado concernido, incluso los que no son miembros del Consejo de Seguridad, participen en las discusiones del Consejo sobre las cuestiones que lo afectan directamente, en correspondencia con el Artículo 31 de la Carta.
- Asegurar que las opiniones de los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas que se obtengan en debates públicos temáticos se reflejen en las correspondientes resoluciones y declaraciones presidenciales que se adopten, en lugar de la práctica actual de adoptar resoluciones y emitir declaraciones presidenciales sin hacer referencia a dichos debates.
- Los órganos subsidiarios del Consejo deben funcionar de modo tal que proporcionen información suficiente y oportuna sobre sus actividades a todos los miembros de las Naciones Unidas.

Garantizar que los países no miembros del Consejo tengan acceso a los órganos subsidiarios, incluyendo el derecho a participar en sus discusiones.

- El orden del día del Consejo de Seguridad debe reflejar las necesidades y los intereses de todos los Estados por igual, de manera objetiva, racional, no selectiva y no arbitraria.
- La imposición de sanciones sólo debe considerarse después que se han agotado todos los medios de solución pacífica de controversias en virtud del Capítulo VI de la Carta y se han considerado, cuidadosamente, los efectos a corto y largo plazo de dichas sanciones. Las sanciones no se aplicarán "preventivamente" en casos de simple violación del derecho internacional o de los principios o normas internacionales.
- El Consejo de Seguridad debe seguir fortaleciendo su relación con la Secretaría de las Naciones Unidas y con los países que aportan contingentes a las operaciones de mantenimiento de paz de la ONU, entre otras cosas, mediante una interacción sostenida, periódica y oportuna. Las reuniones con los países que aportan contingentes deberán celebrarse no sólo cuando se vayan a establecerlos mandatos, sino también durante su ejecución, cuando se analiza un cambio, la renovación o la terminación del mandato de una misión, o cuando se produce un rápido empeoramiento de la situación sobre el terreno.
- No se debe recurrir al capítulo VII de la Carta como marco general para abordar problemas que no representen una amenaza para la paz y la seguridad internacionales. El Consejo debe aplicar cabalmente las disposiciones de la Carta según proceda, incluidos los Capítulos VI y VIII, antes de invocar el Capítulo VII, lo cual deberá ser una medida de último recurso, de ser necesaria. ]

d) The question of the veto:

- [Es necesario eliminar el veto de manera inmediata por resultar un privilegio anacrónico y antidemocrático.
- Mientras se alcanza el objetivo de la eliminación, deben implementarse mecanismos que restrinjan al máximo posible su uso.]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [Es necesario lograr una relación balanceada y eficiente del Consejo de Seguridad y la Asamblea General de Naciones Unidas,

generada en el estricto respeto a las disposiciones de la Carta y en correspondencia con los respectivos mandatos de esos órganos.

- Asimismo, deben respetarse todas las resoluciones de la Asamblea General que aclaran la relación del Consejo de Seguridad con la Asamblea y los órganos principales. En el Artículo 24 de la Carta no se confiere al Consejo de Seguridad la competencia para abordar las cuestiones que corresponden a las funciones y las facultades de la Asamblea General y del Consejo Económico y Social, en especial en las esferas de establecimiento de normas, legislación, asuntos administrativos y presupuestarios y establecimiento de definiciones.
  - El Presidente del Consejo de Seguridad y el Presidente de la Asamblea General deben celebrar consultas mensuales de forma regular. En caso de que se produzcan determinadas situaciones, esas consultas deben celebrarse más frecuentemente.
  - Es necesario garantizar que el Consejo de Seguridad rinda cuentas debidamente a la Asamblea General de Naciones Unidas. El Consejo de Seguridad debe presentar a la Asamblea General un informe anual amplio y analítico en el que se evalúe la labor del Consejo, incluidos los casos respecto de los cuales el Consejo no haya adoptado decisiones, así como los criterios expresados por sus miembros durante el examen de los temas del orden del día que tuvo ante sí.
  - El Consejo de Seguridad, conforme a los Artículos 15(1) y 24(3) de la Carta de Naciones Unidas, debe presentar informes especiales para la consideración de la Asamblea General, los cuales, lamentablemente, nunca han sido presentados.]
- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
- [Cuba apoya un proceso de reforma del Consejo de Seguridad basado en un enfoque integral y ampliado, que aborde todas las cuestiones sustantivas relacionadas, entre otras, la cuestión de la membresía, el número de miembros, la representación regional, los métodos de trabajo y el proceso de toma de decisiones, incluido el veto.
  - La reforma del Consejo de Seguridad no puede continuar siendo un objetivo pospuesto e ignorado. No puede existir una reforma real de las Naciones Unidas hasta que no se lleve a cabo una verdadera reforma del Consejo de Seguridad.
  - Se requieren acciones prácticas urgentes.

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement

- Cuba no favorece el establecimiento de plazos artificiales, lo que impide un desarrollo normal del proceso de negociación. Tampoco apoyamos maniobras dilatorias dirigidas a continuar retrasando el logro de resultados concretos. En términos prácticos, ello equivaldría a perpetuar el status quo del Consejo de Seguridad. No hacer nada y posponer indefinidamente la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad no es una opción aceptable para Cuba.
- Detener de inmediato la tendencia creciente en el Consejo de Seguridad a la expansión de lo que constituye una amenaza a la paz y la seguridad internacionales.]

# Framework Document

## *Inputs from Cuba*

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

a) Categories of membership:

— Permanent members - a total of ()<sup>1</sup> seats

Cuba endorses the enlargement of the Security Council in the categories of permanent members and non-permanent members. The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. Therefore, the increase in such categories should mostly stem from developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. At least two developing countries from Africa, two from Asia and two others from Latin America and the Caribbean should enter the Council as new permanent members.

— [*In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...*]

The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries. It must not expand by default. The enlargement of the Security Council should not be partial or selective, nor should it imply an increase in the number of members to the detriment of developing countries. The main increase for such categories should be in the number of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. New permanent members should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current permanent members, including the right to veto, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established. If the category of permanent members is not expanded and only the number of non-permanent seats increases, the gap between permanent and non-permanent members will widen, along with the disparity in the representation of developed and developing countries, the Council will become even less representative and consequently, less legitimate or effective.

— Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of () seats

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<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

*Likewise, Cuba endorses an enlargement in the number of non-permanent seats. New non-permanent seats should have exactly the same privileges and rights as the ones enjoyed by the current non-permanent members, without selective or discriminatory criteria being established.*

*The number of non-permanent members for a term of two years should increase to 15 at least.*

– *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats..]*

*[Cuba would not oppose to immediate reelection of non-permanent members]*

– *[Any new category..]*

– *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats..]*

*[Cuba does not favor the creation of new categories or sub-categories of member States. New categories would intensify current differences and would motivate division among members of the Security Council in lieu of contributing to more effective operation thereof. For instance, the accession of new permanent members without the right to veto would result in a new category, which is not supported by Cuba.]*

b) Regional representation:

– *[The current composition of the Security Council does not reflect geopolitical realities, for which it needs to be balanced. Developing countries are underrepresented in the Council. The main objective of the enlargement of the Security Council should be to rectify the underrepresentation of developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean in such body. The fact that developing countries are not properly represented in the Security Council undermines its own interests, authority and credibility.]*

(i) *The size of an enlarged Security Council—a total of (...not less than 26) seats. With this number, the proportion between the members of the Security Council and Member States of the United Nations would approach the proportion there was at the time the Organization was founded.*

(ii) *Working methods of the Council:*

- *[An urgent and thorough reform of the working methods of the Security Council is necessary in order to ensure that it functions as a transparent, democratic and representative body.*
- *The working methods issue is related to other issues, particularly those concerning the enlargement of the Security Council and the veto. There will not be a true reform of the working methods if the Council is not expanded in both categories and developing countries are not properly represented.*
- *The Security Council, as a general rule and in compliance with articles 31 and 32 of the Charter, should convene public meetings open to all Member States of the United Nations in order to ensure that these meetings provide actual opportunity to bring opinions and contributions of the broadest membership of the United Nations into consideration, in particular, those of the States that are not members of the Council and which issues are discussed by this body. Closed meetings and informal consultations should be held only in exceptional cases.*
- *The Security Council should carry out substantive debates on topics of its own consideration and open to all Member States.*
- *Briefings of Special Envoys or Representatives of the Secretary General and the Secretariat of the United Nations should be carried out in public meetings, unless there are extraordinary circumstances.*
- *When a country that is not member of the Security Council requests a meeting thereof, it should be convened immediately by the Council in pursuance of Article 35 of the Charter.*
- *The Council's rules of procedure should be formalized in order to ensure transparency and accountability, since they have been provisional for over 70 years.*
- *The Security Council should guarantee that its monthly evaluations be broad and analytic and should make them opportunely known.*
- *It should allow the concerning State, including those that are not members of the Security Council, participate in the Council's discussions on issues that directly affect them under Article 31 of the Charter.*
- *It should guarantee that the opinions of Member States of the United Nations obtained in thematic public debates be reflected in the adopted relevant resolutions and presidential statements, in lieu of the current practice of adopting resolutions and delivering presidential statements without any reference to such debates.*
- *Subsidiary bodies of the Council should work in such a way that they provide sufficient and opportune information on their activities to all members of the United Nations. It should ensure that non-member states*

have access to subsidiary bodies, including the right to participate in their discussions.

- *The Council's agenda should equally reflect all States' needs and interests in an objective, rational, non-selective and non-arbitrary manner.*
- *Imposing sanctions should only be considered after all means have been exhausted for a pacific solution of disputes in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, and long- and short-term effects of such sanctions have been carefully pondered. Sanctions should not be applied "preventatively" in cases of mere violation of International Law or international principles and standards.*
- *The Security Council should continue to strengthen its relationship with the Secretariat of the United Nations and the countries that contribute troops to peacekeeping operations, inter alia, by means of a sustained, periodic and opportune interaction. Meetings with countries contributing troops should be convened not only when mandates will be established, but also during their implementation, when a change, renewal or completion of a mission's mandate is analyzed, or if a sudden worsening of the situation on the ground occurs.*
- *Resort to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not pose a threat to international peace and security should be avoided. The Council should fully apply the provisions in the Charter as applicable, including chapters VI and VIII, before referring to Chapter VII, which should be the last option if ever necessary.]*

d) The question of the veto:

- *[It is indispensable to eliminate the veto immediately for being an anachronistic and undemocratic privilege.*
- *While its elimination is attained, other mechanisms should be implemented in order to limit its use to the extent possible.]*

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- *[It is necessary to attain a balanced and efficient relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, based on strict respect to the provisions of the Charter and in accordance with the respective mandates of these bodies.*
- *Likewise, all resolutions of the General Assembly that clarify the relationship of the Security Council with the General Assembly and the main bodies should be observed. In Article 24*



*of the Charter, the Security Council is not provided with competence to address issues which fall within the functions and powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, especially those related to the establishment of standards, legislation, administrative and budgetary matters and setting definitions.*

- The President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly should hold monthly consultations in a regular basis. If any specific situation arises, such consultations should be more frequent.*
- It is necessary to guarantee the Security Council's accountability to the General Assembly. It should submit to the General Assembly a broad and analytic yearly report, assessing its work and including those cases in which the Council has not reached any decisions, as well as the remarks by its members during the review of the items of its agenda.*
- The Security Council should submit special reports for the consideration of the General Assembly under articles 15(1) and 24(3) of the Charter of the United Nations, which have unfortunately never been submitted.]*

• Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- [Cuba endorses a process of reform of the Security Council with a broad and comprehensive approach that addresses all substantive issues including membership, number of members, regional representation, working methods, decision making and the veto.*
- The reform of the Security Council must not be a postponed or ignored goal. A real reform of the United Nations will not be possible without a true reform of the Security Council.*
- Urgent practical actions are a must.*
- Cuba does not endorse the setting of artificial deadlines which only hampers the regular process of negotiation. Nor do we support procrastination tactics aimed at delaying concrete results. In practical terms, that would be equivalent to perpetuating the status quo of the Security Council. Remaining inactive and postponing indefinitely the reform of the Security Council is not an acceptable option for Cuba.*
- The increasing tendency in the Security Council towards expansion of what poses a threat to international peace and security should be stopped.]*

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

## Framework Document

### Inputs by LATVIA

a) Categories of membership:

Security Council membership should be enlarged in both categories – permanent and non-permanent.

b) Regional representation:

The enlargement should ensure equitable geographic distribution of both permanent and non-permanent seats reflecting current political realities. Due to considerable increase of the Eastern European Group (EEG) membership (since 1991 the EEG has more than doubled its membership), any enlargement of the Security Council should ensure an enhanced representation of the EEG by the allocation to the EEG of at least one additional non-permanent seat in the enlarged Security Council.

Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate representation of small and medium size Member States.

c) (ii) Working methods of the Council:

Latvia supports improvement of the Security Council working methods in order to increase transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness of its work, thus, enhancing also its legitimacy and the implementation of its decisions. The Security Council would be encouraged to meet, as a general rule, in a public format open to all Member States of the United Nation and make more effective use of informal interactive dialogues.

The Security Council would be invited to consider taking measures to ensure that non-permanent members of the enlarged Security Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their tenure.

d) The question of the veto:

The discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances should be continued. Proposals made by some Member States on a voluntary code of conduct regulating the use of the veto in cases of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide certainly merit positive consideration.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

The annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly should provide an analytical and comprehensive evaluation of the Council's work.



RECEIVED

APR 25 2015

NEW YORK - DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

**PERMANENT MISSION OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

TEL: (212) 688-7656  
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245 EAST 48TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NY 10017

UN/SC/404

April 22, 2015

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 26<sup>th</sup> March, 2015 forwarding your talking points and requesting Member States to populate the Framework document which you had disseminated at the intergovernmental negotiations meeting held on 11 and 12 February, 2015.


In view thereof, I am pleased to forward on behalf of the African Union Committee of Ten on United Nations Security Council Reform, inputs of the African Union Member States into the Framework document.

This preliminary input represents the Common African Position on United Nations Security Council reform as contained in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration.

We take note of your letter of 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2015. We also acknowledge with appreciation your reference to the principles that will govern the intergovernmental negotiations.

The African Union Committee of Ten remains available for any clarification or further elaboration of the Common African Position submitted in the attached Framework document. I confirm your Excellency that we will continue to engage in the intergovernmental negotiations in good faith and in the interest of moving the process forward in accordance with decisions 62/557, 63/565 and 64/568.

Please accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Vandi C. Minah  
Permanent Representative  
Coordinator of the AU Committee of Ten  
on United Nations Security Council Reform

H.E. Mr. E. Courtney Rattray  
Ambassador/Permanent Representative  
of Jamaica to the United Nations  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
New York

## Framework Document

### Inputs Submitted by the Committee of Ten African States on UN Security Council Reform on Behalf of the African Union Member States

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

**a) categories of membership:**

- Permanent members - a total of **(11) seats**; *with no less than two permanent seats for Africa*
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election]*
  
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of **(not less than 15) seats**; **with a total of 5 non-permanent seats for Africa**
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats. .. *The selection of Africa's representatives to be done by the African Union for submission to the General Assembly for election*]
  
- [Any new category. ... ] - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats ... ]

**b) Regional representation:**

- *[A reform that will ensure Africa's legitimate right to fair and equitable geographical representation in the Security Council: taking into account the principles, objectives and ideals of the UN Charter for a fairer world based on universalism, equity and regional balance within the UN system]*

**c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council-** a total of **(not less than 26)** seats

**(ii) Working methods of the Council:** · *[Africa favours a more accessible, democratic, representative, accountable, and more effective Security Council responding to the exigencies of the time and accordingly deems it imperative, inter alia:*

1. To increase the number of public meetings, in accordance with articles 31 and 32 of the Charter and that these meetings should provide real opportunities to take into account the views and contributions of the wider membership of the UN, particularly non-Council members whose affairs are under discussion of the Council;

2. To allow for briefings by the Special envoys or Representatives of the Secretary General and the UN Secretariat to take place in public meetings, unless in exceptional circumstances;
3. To enhance its relationship with the UN Secretariat and troop contributing countries (TCC), including through a sustained, regular and timely interaction. Meetings with TCCs should be held not only in the drawing up of mandates, but also in their implementation, when considering a change in, or renewal of, or completion of a mission mandate, or when there is a rapid deterioration of the situation on the ground. In this context, the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations should involve TCCS more frequently and intensively in its deliberations, especially in the very early stages of mission planning;
4. To uphold the primacy of and respect of the Charter in connection with its functions and powers, and in that regard to desist from the practice of engaging and initiating formal and informal discussions on the situation in any Member state of the United Nations or on any issue that does not constitute a threat to international peace and security, and contrary to the provisions of Article 24 of the Charter;
5. To establish its subsidiary organs in accordance with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter, and that these organs should function in a manner that would provide adequate and timely information on their activities to the general UN membership;
6. To avoid any attempts to use the Security Council to pursue national political agendas and to ensure the necessity of non-selectivity and impartiality in the work of the Council, and the need for the Council to strictly keep within the powers and functions accorded to it by the Member States under the UN Charter;
7. To refrain from resorting to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing issues that do not necessarily pose a threat to international peace and security, and to fully utilize the provisions of other relevant Chapters, where appropriate, including Chapters VI and Chapter VIII, before invoking Chapter VII which should be a measure of last resort, if necessary;
8. To avoid any recourse to the imposition or prolongation of sanctions or their extensions by the Security Council against any State under the pretext or with the aim of achieving the political objectives of one or a few States, rather than the general interest of the international community;
9. To formalize the Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, which have remained provisional for more than 60 years, in order to improve on its transparency and accountability]

**d) The question of the veto:**

- [Africa strongly believes that the veto should be abolished but so long as it exists, it should be extended to all members of the permanent category of the Security Council, who must in this regard enjoy all prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership in the permanent category including the right of the veto as a matter of common justice]

**e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly :**

- [It is Africa's position that the two organs must work closely together within their respective sphere in the search for solutions to the plethora of challenges confronting the international community while seeking to foster harmonious interaction and ensuring cooperative relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly without encroaching on each other's mandates as spelt out in the Charter and to preserve the constitutional balance between them, and further proposes the following inter alia:

1. to address the growing concerns by Member states of the gradual encroachment by the Security Council on and the erosion of the authority and mandate of the General Assembly by fully and speedily implementing the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 51/193, 58/126 and 59/313;
2. Security Council's submission in keeping with Articles 24(3) of the United Nations Charter, more comprehensive and analytical reports to the General Assembly, consisting among other things, of assessment of the work of the Council, views expressed by its members as well as the rationale for taking action on issues before it;
3. Security Council's submission in accordance with Articles 15 and 24 of the United Nations Charter, special subject-oriented reports to the General Assembly for its consideration and on issues of current international concern;
4. Ensuring that members are fully informed of the nature and scope of the Security Council's activities not only through full informative press releases, but also by effectively communicating their views on issues of concern taken by Council in its informal consultations. Convening more formal meetings and informal consultations involving the interested parties prior to the adoption of decisions to allow for wider participation;
5. The provisions of effective and timely flow and exchange of information between the two organs particularly through frequent and regular consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council to review work plans and consult on specific issues of mutual concern. Such meetings can enhance more direct and dynamic exchanges between the two organs;

6. Ensuring that the role and authority of the General Assembly including on questions relating to international peace and security be respected and to also guarantee the unfettered application of Articles 10-14 and 35 of the Charter and where appropriate Rules 7 to 10 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, which enable the General Assembly to take urgent action; all of which provide a strong basis for the General Assembly to assert itself and prevent the erosion of its powers by the Security Council.]

- Any other related matters: · [ ]

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<sup>1</sup> *The C-10 of the African Union Member States welcome with appreciation the consistent support for and alignment of the L-69 with the Common African Position. The C-10 will continue to be committed to engaging with the L-69 and all like-minded groups with the view to narrowing down on areas of divergence and together create the necessary momentum for decisive progress.*



## Framework Document

### *The United Kingdom*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

- a) Categories of membership:
- Permanent members
    - The People’s Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America, Brazil, Germany, India, Japan, and permanent African representation
    - The manner in which new permanent members are chosen would depend on the outcome of discussions about the scope of enlargement
  - Non-permanent members with a two-year term
    - We support moderate expansion in the number of non-permanent seats
- b) Regional representation: We do not support proposals for regional representation on the Security Council as this would be at odds with the fundamental tenets of the UN Charter, which makes clear that admission to the UN is extended to individual states.

New members to the Security Council should be picked so as to make it more broadly representative of the modern world. Still, it is for the UN membership to designate new permanent members and to elect all non-permanent members.

- c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council
- We support an enlarged Security Council to a level that will not negatively impact upon its effectiveness and ability to carry out its responsibilities as set out in the Charter.
- (ii) Working methods of the Council
- We believe that this is a separate discussion from the question of enlargement and, moreover, a matter for consideration by the Security Council, not the General Assembly
- d) The question of the veto:
- There should be no expansion of the veto to new permanent members.
- e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly
- We should continue to work towards improving cooperation between these two important organs so that the UN can function as effectively as possible.

No. 183 / 2015

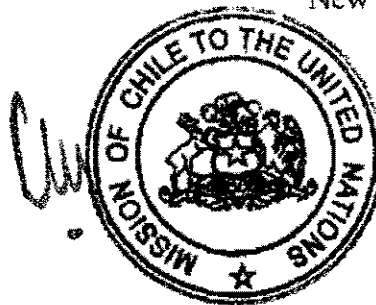
The Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform, H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica, and has the honour to refer to the letter conveying the Framework Document for inputs from Member States within the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council reform.

Chile appreciates the efforts to revitalize the reform process of the Security Council, currently under your Chairmanship. In this regard, Chile is in favor of increasing the membership in the Security Council in its two categories, Permanent and Non-permanent, and supports in this regard regional representation, although determining exact numbers at this stage might limit States' negotiation ability.

Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly, supporting and encouraging greater transparency in the working methods of the Security Council, without extending the use of the veto to any new permanent member of an enlarged Security Council.

The Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation on Security Council reform the assurances of its highest consideration.

New York, 16 April 2015



To  
H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray  
Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
On Security Council Reform  
United Nations  
New York

## Framework Document

### *As Populated by Member States*

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

#### a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (...)seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - ***[Chile supports an increase in the Permanent members of the Security Council but consider that at this point, establishing exact numbers or procedures might limit States' negotiation ability. Chile remains flexible on the number of new seats]***
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (...) seats
  - ***[Chile supports an increase in the Non-Permanent members of the Security Council. Determining exact numbers or procedures might limit States' negotiation ability. Chile remains flexible on the number of new seats.]***
- [Any new category...]
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*

#### b) Regional representation:

- ***[Chile supports the regional representation on an enlarge Security Council with the goal of promoting consensus within the General Assembly.]***

#### c) (i)The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (...)seats

##### (ii)Working methods of the Council:

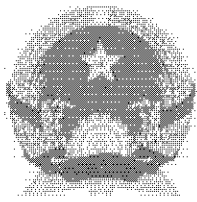
- ***[Chile supports and encourages greater transparency in the working methods of the Security Council and maintains a flexible position with the goal of promoting consensus regarding different initiatives on this matter]***

d) The question of the veto:

- **[Chile does not support the extension of the veto to the new members of an enlarged Security Council]**

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- **[Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly]**
- Any other related matters:
  - **[Chile maintains a flexible position and promotes consensus within the General Assembly]**



PHẢI ĐOÀN THƯỜNG TRỰC  
CỘNG HÒA XÃ HỘI CHỦ NGHĨA VIỆT NAM  
TẠI LIÊN HỢP QUỐC

PERMANENT MISSION  
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No. *117*/HC-2015

The Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform and, with reference to the latter's letter dated 26 March 2015 requesting Member States to populate the framework document on Security Council Reform, has the honour to advise that Viet Nam supports the reform of the Security Council to ensure its representativeness, democracy, transparency and effectiveness, so that the Council can better fulfill its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Mission of Viet Nam has the further honor to attach herewith the Government of Viet Nam's response on the issues detailed in the above-mentioned letter of the Chair.

The Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform the assurances of its highest consideration.

*New York, 21 April 2015*



**Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations  
on Security Council Reform**  
New York

## ANNEX

### Framework Document

#### Viet Nam's inputs

a) Categories of membership:

- The Security Council should be expanded in both categories of permanent and non-permanent members with a view to ensuring democracy, representativeness and effectiveness of the Council and the adequate representation of developing countries in both categories, commensurate with their proportion in the membership of the United Nations.

b) Regional representation:

- Additional members of the enlarged Council, including permanent and non-permanent seats, should be allocated in such a manner that would ensure equitable representation in the Council.
- Increase in the membership of the Council for each region should correspond to their respective proportion in the membership of the United Nations.

c) i) Size of the Council:

- The Size of the Council should ensure the aforementioned criteria for categories of membership and regional representation.

ii) Working methods of the Council:

- The working methods of the Council should be amended so as to ensure increased democracy, transparency, and effectiveness.
- Consultations between Council and non-Council members should be strengthened.
- The Council should conduct more public meetings, and the practice of holding closed meetings should be restricted.
- Non-Council members should be given access to the work of the Council, including its documentation and records.
- Consultation with and participation of Troop Contributing Countries in the work of the Council related to United Nations peacekeeping missions should be enhanced and institutionlised.
- The work of the Council should prioritise the utilization of Chapter VI measures to promote peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter.
- The Council should intensify cooperation and coordination with regional organizations in addressing issues related to the concerned organizations.

d) The question of the veto:

- The use of the veto should be restricted to only measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The Security Council should further its relationship with the General Assembly, the major organ with the participation of the entire membership of the United Nations, via increased consultations and reporting, especially on matters related to the majority of UN Member States.
- The Council, through its President, should report more regularly to the General Assembly.
- Participation in the preparation of documents and reports of the Council, including its annual reports, should be more open and accessible to non-Council members.

# Framework Document

Submission by the following Member states of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM);

*Bahamas*

*Barbados*

*Belize*

*Grenada*

*Guyana*

*Haiti*

*Jamaica*

*Saint Kitts and Nevis*

*Saint Lucia*

*Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*

*Suriname*

*Trinidad and Tobago*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of (Please see point 1 under any other related matters)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People’s Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats Election by the General Assembly by a vote of no less than two third of the Members of the General Assembly with due consideration to the requirements of Article 23 (1)]
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of (Please see point 1 under any other related matters) seats
  - [In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats Election process for non-permanent seats remain unchanged]
- [Any new category: One rotating seat for Small Island Developing States across all regions]

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<sup>1</sup> “(...)” denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas “[...]” is intended for the inclusion of text.



...[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats. *Same as currently obtains for non-permanent seats*]

b) Regional representation:

- [Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Africa
- Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for Asia
- Expansion in non-permanent category for Eastern European
- Expansion in permanent and non-permanent categories for GRULAC
- Expansion in permanent category for WEOG
- One rotating seat for Small Island Developing States across all regions ]

c) (i)The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of (Please see point 1 under any other related matters )seats

(ii)Working methods of the Council:

- [The Security Council should formalize its provisional rules of procedure as well as measures to improve transparency and increase the involvement of non-members in its work as appropriate and to enhance the Council's accountability.
- Each member of the Council should hold the presidency at least once during its membership. ]

d) The question of the veto:

[Support abolition of the veto. However, in event of its retention, new permanent members should also have right to veto. There should be no distinction between permanent members.

➤

- While the veto is in existence, efforts must be made to limit its use to Chapter VII and also in the instance of the most serious crimes of international concern, crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide, etc.]

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- [In the Council reports to the General Assembly, both annual and special reports as provided for in article 15 and 24, the Council should give an account of its stewardship in regard to the prerogatives it exercises on behalf of Member States.
- More analytical and special reports as necessary.
- Permanent members should explain non concurrent votes to the wider UN membership.
- Elected members should be enabled to play a more active and effective role in the decision making process of the Council.
- The relationship between the Security Council and General Assembly should be characterized by cooperation and mutual support with full respect for their respective mandates. The Security Council should concentrate on areas within its mandate and avoid encroachment on matters which fall under the purview of the General Assembly.
- The General Assembly should be strengthened in its role as the chief deliberative, policy making and representative organ of the United Nations.
- In instances where open debates are held on issues being considered by the Council where non-members are invited

to participate it may be apposite for Council members to consider giving a hearing to the views of those invited members of the wider membership before themselves pronouncing on the issue being addressed.]

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:
  1. [ The Member States listed above reserve their position on the additional and total numbers in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of a reformed Council.
  2. Any decision taken on reform should have the widest possible support of member states and at the very least, be in keeping with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 53/30.
  3. There should be a review of the decisions taken to reform the Security Council. Such a review should take place within a specified time maybe 10-15 years of any decision taken and ratified on reform.]

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.



PERMANENT MISSION OF HUNGARY  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
NEW YORK



No. 64/2015/HUPM/NEW

New York, 28 April, 2015

H.E. Mr. E. Courtenay Rattray  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
Permanent Representative of Jamaica  
to the United Nations  
New York

Excellency,

Regarding to Your letter dated 26 March, 2015 please find attached the framework document with the position and proposals of the Government of Hungary on the reform of the Security Council.

I would like to reiterate the commitment of Hungary to the Security Council reform, and building on our excellent relationship I look forward to our continued cooperation.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Encl.: Framework document

Yours sincerely,

  
Katalin Boglárka  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative  


227 EAST 52<sup>ND</sup> STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10022  
TEL: (212) 752-0209 FAX: (212) 755-5395

# Framework Document

*For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - not more than (11)<sup>1</sup> seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*
- Hungary supports the possible expansion of the permanent membership of the Security Council which shall be guided by the principle of equitable geographical representation, and shall reflect the political and socio-economic changes that took place during the last half century.
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - not more than (16) seats
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for seats...]*
- Hungary supports the enlargement of the non-permanent membership of the Council in order to provide more opportunity to regional and sub-regional groups to be represented continuously in the Council.
- Current election system is efficient.
- *[Any new category...]*
  - *[In the event of possible expansion, description of an election process for new seats...]*
- Should it find consensus, Hungary does not exclude an interim solution, where a new category of seats is created for longer periods than two years that can also be immediately renewable.

b) Regional representation:

- The enlargement of the Security Council shall be guided by the principles of Article 23. of the Charter, based on the equitable geographical representation of the regional groups.
- Hungary requests a second non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group.

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<sup>1</sup> "(...)" denotes a space intended for numerical values whereas "[...]" is intended for the inclusion of text.

- Hungary does not reject, *á priori*, other supplementary models based on other criteria. If other categories are accepted the necessary adjustments in regional representation has to be carried out.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council- a total of not more than (27) seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Charter amendment has to be part of the package (Article 27 and 28 to 32).
- Will be defined by Charter amendments (Voting procedure) and the new Rules of Procedure.
- The new Rules of Procedure will have to be adopted by the Security Council and by the entry into force of the Charter amendments.

Concrete measures to be taken:

- The majority required for decision-making in an enlarged Council is to be reflected in the necessary Charter amendments (Article 27.)
- Review of the working methods of the subsidiary bodies is required on decision-making.
- Ways to address the workload of the Council, assigning more tasks to subsidiary bodies on (sub)-regions.
- Assigning chairmanships of subsidiary bodies in an equitable and transparent way.

d) The question of the veto:

- Hungary supports all initiatives facilitating timely and decisive action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending mass atrocities, including those calling for voluntarily agreeing to refrain from using the veto.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Hungary supports measures which strengthen the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.
- Concrete measure could be the submission of an analytical annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

- Any other related matters<sup>2</sup>:

- In order to facilitate the expected outcome (GA resolution), already at the beginning of the process we

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<sup>2</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

should make a distinction between those measures which need the amendment of the Charter and those recommendations or proposals that do not require such action.

• In our view the zero draft of the General Assembly resolution should consist of two chapters:

--- The first chapter should contain the Charter amendments.

--- The second chapter should consist of the decision of the GA (eg. on relationship of SC and GA) and the recommendations for the Security Council (eg. Rules of Procedure).

# Framework Document

## Joint input by Belgium and Luxembourg

Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

a) Categories of membership:

- Permanent members - a total of 11 seats
  - The People's Republic of China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The United States of America
  - Election by the General Assembly of 6 new permanent members: 2 from Africa, 2 from Asia, 1 from GRULAC, 1 from WEOG
- Non-permanent members with a two-year term - a total of 14/15 seats: 4/5 from Africa, 3 from Asia, 2 from EEG, 3 from GRULAC, 2 from WEOG
  - In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from 15 to maximum 25/26, 2 of the 4/5 additional non-permanent members shall be chosen for a term of one year.

b) Regional representation:

- Any enlargement of the Security Council should take into account the concerns of small and medium-sized Member States, including the Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of small and medium-sized Member States on the Security Council.

c) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council - a total of maximum 25/26 seats

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- The working methods of an enlarged Security Council need to be improved in order to strengthen transparency, accountability, legitimacy and to enhance the effectiveness of the Council's decisions. Provisions should inter alia be made to ensure that non-permanent members of the Council hold the Presidency of the Council at least once during their two-year membership. More generally, an enlarged Council should not make it more difficult for non-permanent members to contribute actively to the work of the Council.

d) The question of the veto:



- An extension of the veto right to new permanent members would have a negative impact on the efficiency of the Security Council. New permanent members should not exercise their veto right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held 15 years after the entry into force of the amendments to the Charter.
- We support the French proposal of a code of conduct for the voluntary limitation of the use of the veto right in situations involving mass atrocity crimes. More generally, all Member States should commit to support timely action by the Security Council aimed at preventing or ending the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- Even an enlarged Council cannot reflect in its composition the universality of the General Assembly. It is therefore important to further strengthen the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly, including by making better use of annual and, when necessary, special reports submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly for its consideration, in accordance with article 24.3 of the Charter. The annual reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be both comprehensive and analytical in nature, so as to allow all Member States to assess how the Security Council has discharged the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which Member States have conferred on the Security Council. This would enhance the accountability and the transparency of the work of the Council.

• Any other related matters:

- The situation created by the amendments to the Charter would be reviewed 15 years after their entry into force.

## Framework Document

### *For inputs from Member States*

**Issues of categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.**

a) Categories of membership:

- The Kingdom of the Netherlands is looking for common ground with regards to categories of membership. It is open to considering both an increase in permanent members and non-permanent members as well as intermediate solutions.

a) Regional representation:

- In particular the African Group should be better represented in a reformed Security Council.

b) (i) The size of an enlarged Security Council

- o The Security Council should be expanded in order to make it more broadly representative. At the same time, expansion of the UN Security Council should not hamper its effectiveness.
- o Small and medium sized countries should continue to be adequately represented in the Council.

(ii) Working methods of the Council:

- Expansion of the Security Council should not lead to a weakening of the position of non-permanent members.
- The Council should actively involve the countries it is discussing, as well as TOC's and PCC's involved.
- The Council should seek more transparency and involve non-members where possible (wrap-up sessions, open briefings).
- A forward looking approach should be fostered: the option of regular horizon scannings by the UNSG to the UNSC should be actively pursued
- The UN Security Council should make more use of the tools from Chapter VI of the Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes.

d) The question of the veto:

- In our reform efforts we should aim to minimize the use of the veto. We support the French initiative that aims to regulate the use of the veto.

e) Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly:

- The Security Council -also when enlarged- by nature does not have the universal composition of the General Assembly. In those instances where both the Council and the General Assembly

have a formal role to play, such as in the election of a Secretary-General, both organs should be able to play their role.

- Any other related matters<sup>1</sup>:
  - The Kingdom of the Netherlands is willing to start negotiations on Security Council reform on the basis of any text proposal, which is broadly supported in the UN General Assembly.

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<sup>1</sup> Placeholder for Member States who may wish to address other related matters necessitated by enlargement.

**Panama's Response to the Framework Document presented by H.E. Courtenay Rattray, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations, regarding Security Council Reform**

a) **Membership Categories:**

***VISION***

***In 20-30 years time, the Security Council is composed of 21 members, all on equal footing, elected for three-year periods, with the opportunity for consecutive reelection.***

Panama considers that the very nature of membership “categories” does not correspond to the democratic institution that we are trying to perfect. In the long run, we would like to see there are no membership categories, just as is the case in all the other UN bodies.

In keeping with other UN bodies, the number of Security Council members would be expanded, however capping it at 21 for manageable discussions.

Having said that, and understanding the reality and dynamics of the current Security Council, we propose a gradual transformation, where the existing categories of permanent and non-permanent membership evolve into a sort of “semi-permanent” membership: Member States would be elected for longer terms (e.g. 3 years), with the opportunity for consecutive reelection. We propose working together to come up with a staged, innovative, win-win scenario where, eventually, the P5 themselves “come up for reelection”.

The total transition would last 15-20 years, considering the commitments well into the 2030's as already acquired by some Member States in terms of their candidacy under the current SC with 5 Permanent Members and 10 Non-Permanent Members on a two-year rotation.

The first stages in the transition would see the introduction of an additional six seats in the SC, in the current two-year rotation. We would have to work out together the best timing to change that to a three-year rotation, and also what year we can agree to have the current P5 enter into the reelection process and in what order and stages.

Panama makes this reform proposal for evolving into semi-permanent membership based on:

- ✓ the principle of equality among States, under which the UN aims to operate;
- ✓ in consideration to and respecting the current P5 historical presence and role in the Security Council; and
- ✓ the fact that there is an important number of countries (including the current P5 themselves) whose level of commitment with the organization—be it in the form of financial contributions or in the supply of troops for peacekeeping

operations, or any other—have earned them representation in this very important body of the UN.

**b) Geographic and Regional Representation:**

We propose the six new positions in the SC be distributed in the following way: two for Africa; two for Asia; one for GRULAC; and, one for WEOG.

This distribution takes into account the various other proposals on the table, and the fact that they intend to give greater representation to developing countries.

**c) (i) An expanded Security Council would have a total of 21 seats**

**(ii) Working Methods of the Council**

An expanded SC would maintain the same proportionality of 60% for voting purposes, i.e. decisions would be adopted by the affirmative vote of 13 members.

Working methods would continue to be revised and adapted to allow greater openness and transparency for the greater membership of the UN, on whose behalf the SC operates.

**d) The question of the Veto**

Panama believes the veto is an anachronistic tool, belonging in a period of our past history. Regardless of which membership formula we end up using for the Security Council, our aim should be to eliminate the veto.

Until we reach the stage of full abolishment of the veto, we should continue to strive for it not to be used, especially in humanitarian situations.

## **MALAYSIA'S POSITION ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC) REFORM**

The position of Malaysia on the five (5) main issues in the UNSC reforms are as follows:

### **i. Categories of membership**

- Malaysia supports the expansion of both categories in the UNSC.

### **ii. Regional Representation**

- Malaysia holds the view that expansion should see more seats for the developing countries and equitable geographical representation in the enlarged membership, in both categories. This is important for inclusiveness in the decision-making process of the Security Council.

### **iii. Size of an enlarged Security Council and its working methods**

It is expected that the issue of membership expansion and working methods of the Council would continue to be debated in the future, which may require regular review of these two issues. As such, a review mechanism is recommended.

#### *(a) The size of an enlarged Security Council*

- Malaysia supports the expansion of membership, both permanent and non-permanent categories, so as to ensure fair regional representation and correspond with the current geopolitical realities and dynamics.

#### *(b) Working methods of the Council:*

- Malaysia supports the need for more briefings by the President of the UNSC to the larger UN membership, and these briefings should be more interactive and substantive. The current practice of reading from prepared texts agreed by UNSC members has constrained the President from engaging the wider UN membership on issues of major concern, including seeking their valuable views that could add value to the work of the UNSC as a whole.
- There is a need for more transparency and close consultations amongst all members of the Council on all matters that the Security Council is seized with.

- There is a need for improvement in the efficiency, accountability and transparency of the Security Council, including through a formalisation of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure which has yet to be adopted.
- There should be more coordination between the Security Council and troop contributing countries (TCCs), towards strengthening the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. The Council's meetings with TCCs should be sustained, regular and timely, in particular with regards to resolutions and mandates of the operations.
- There should be more structured interaction and regular consultations between the Council and the Peacebuilding Commission.
- Malaysia also welcomes the wrap-up sessions at the end of the Presidency as well as the holding of 'Arria-Formula' meetings, which are some of the methods being utilized to enhance closer interaction with non-Council members.

#### **iv. The Question of Veto**

- Malaysia has been among the countries that have consistently called for the abolishment of the use of the veto in conformity with the principle of sovereign equality as envisaged in the Charter. Nevertheless, we continue to call for a restraint in the use of veto powers especially in cases of international crimes of the most serious nature such as in instances of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Alternatively, the exercise of the veto should be regulated so as to prohibit such power being the sole discretion of its holder to unjustly overrule the wishes of the majority. In this regard, Malaysia would call for a modified veto system whereby a minimum of three vetoes should be made a prerequisite to block a resolution.
- The new Permanent Members should also be accorded veto power so as to contribute towards a more balanced and representational decision-making process, particularly if it is agreed that all regions would be represented in the Security Council.

#### **v. Relationship between the UNSC and the UNGA**

Malaysia is of the view that there should be a clear delineation between the work of the UNGA and the UNSC, based on their respective mandates. There is also the need to prevent the gradual encroachment of the work of the UNSC in matters that fall under the prerogative of the UNGA. Malaysia also feels that there is need to institutionalise the monthly consultations between the President of the UNGA and the President of the UNSC as well as call for an enhancement of the annual

reports of the UNSC to the UNGA, which should be more comprehensive and analytical rather than merely narrative.

**v. Cross-cutting issues**

- Malaysia encourages the UNSC to take advantage of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) by seeking its advisory opinion, consistent with Article 96 (1) of the UN Charter. Malaysia believes that the UNSC deliberations on contentious political issues would be better served if supplemented by an authoritative legal opinion. Although the legal opinions are not legally binding, they would contribute towards upholding the principle of respect for the rule of law as enshrined in the UN Charter.

Malaysia remains firm and clear on the need to reform the UNSC. We wish to underscore that the spirit of flexibility and compromise are key in advancing the IGN negotiations forward. Malaysia looks forward to engage with all Member States to find areas of convergence and consensus in our common goals to make the UNSC more accountable, effective and transparent.