

5 April 2024

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacity as Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (IG(S)ent). Throughout the current session of the IG(S)ent, our

work has been guided by the principles of transparency and inclusivity, while taking into account the renewed sense of urgency expressed by many delegations during the General Debate of the UNGA High-Level Week and the deliberations in the ongoing IG(S)ent process.

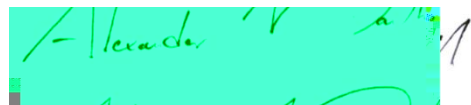
In General Assembly decision 77/559 of 29 June 2023, Member States decided to hold informal meetings during its seventy-first session, as reflected in the letter dated 2 June 2023 from the Co-Chairs, and on the document entitled "Co-Chairs' Revised Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and

This Revised( O H P H Q W V 3 D S H U E X L O G O Chair's Revised Elements Paper R Q W K  
on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase  
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seeks to reflect the G & K D L U V ¶ X Q G H U v r e D s a t e of the I G N d i s c u s s i o n s  
the five clusters and their linkages, as well as the progress made during the current I G N  
sessions so far, including on procedural matters. The X S G D W H V P D G H W R W K L V \ H D U  
have been focused on further expanding the areas of convergence and narrowing down the areas  
of divergence.

We are also pleased to announce that the sixth I G N meeting will be held on 15 April from  
10.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. in the Trusteeship Council Chamber and will serve as an opportunity  
for delegations to provide comments or suggestions to ensure that the enclosed document, as  
the basis of the outcome of this I G N session, is reflective of the elements of convergence and  
G L Y H U J H Q F H W K D W G H O H J D W L R Q V K D Y H d i s c u s s i o n s . L I L H G D Q C

We look forward to the continued active participation and constructive engagement of all  
delegations in the forthcoming meeting.

Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.



## Co-Chairs IGN GA78

### Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

#### Introduction

In the Declaration on the Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (A/RES/75/1 of 21 September 2020), the Heads of State and Government representing the peoples of the world, reiterated a call for reforms of the three principal organs of the United Nations and committed *"to instill new life in the discussions on the reform of the Security Council"*.

indicated, among other things, that *After decades of debate, the majority of Member States now acknowledge that the Security Council could be made more representative of the twenty-first century, such as through enlargement, including better representation for Africa, as well as more systematic arrangements for more voices at the table* In his policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace

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77/559 of 29 June 2023.

During the UNGA 78 IGN, the Co-Chairs focused their efforts on a new and innovative approach to conduct the business of the IGN, while preserving the important advancements and negotiations already achieved in previous sessions and the institutional framework as set out by

UNGA Decision 62/557. UNGA 78 IGN focused on three main areas of work: (1) the continuation of the negotiations on the five clusters mentioned in paragraph (e) (ii) of UNGA Decision 62/557, (2) a new Structured Dialogue on models that had been proposed by States and Groups of States

"The World Summit

*Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters* 5 June 2023 and reflects the Co-Chairs' understanding of and views on the current state of the IGN process following the comments and remarks heard from Groups of States and Member States during the UNGA 78 IGN session.

## **I. Elements of General Convergence and Divergence**

### **Convergences**

- 1) The reform of the United Nations Security Council is in the interest of Member States and the United Nations system as a whole.
- 2) The reform of the Security Council is a Member States driven process.
- 3) The reform of the Security Council shall ensure an inclusive, transparent, efficient, effective, democratic and accountable functioning of the Council.
- 4) The objective of reform is to make the Council more "broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation

General Assembly, and agree that the IGN process is the legitimate and most appropriate platform to pursue Security Council reform.

- 11) All five clusters are strongly interlinked and therefore negotiations should be based on the principle: "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed". Member States acknowledge that arriving to a successful conclusion of the IGN process will entail compromises and agree





Charter<sup>1</sup>,

2.4

2.5 Welcome the consensual adoption of General Assembly resolution 76/262 ( ) which created a standing mandate for a General Assembly debate when a veto is cast in the Security Council and encourage Member States to participate actively in the General Assembly discussions, aiming to make the United Nations more responsive to challenges to peace and security.

- 3) Deliberations of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly (AHWG), including resolution 77/335 of 1 September 2023 and all other previous resolutions adopted by consensus relating to the GA revitalization, should be taken into consideration in discussions on this key issue.

## **2. Size of an enlarged Security Council and the Working Methods of the Council**

### **Convergences**

- 1) There is a shared agreement among Member States that the Security Council needs to be enlarged in order to be more representative of the current membership and reflective of the realities of the contemporary world.
- 2) The reform of the Security Council should lead to an expansion of the Security Council, and therefore, certain areas of working methods need to be addressed as a result of expansion, with a view to increasing the transparency, effectiveness, functionality, and accountability of an enlarged Council.

### Size of an enlarged Security Council

- 3) An enlarged Security Council should consist of a total of members in the mid-20s, within an overall range of 21-27 seats, with the exact number to emerge from the discussion of Member States on the key issues of "categories of membership" and "regional representation", and with the total size ensuring a balance between the representativeness and effectiveness of an enlarged Council<sup>7</sup>.

### Working methods of the Security Council

- 4) There is a need to regularly review the working methods of an enlarged Security Council and to adjust them as appropriate.
- 5) Majority required for decision-making: the number of affirmative votes required should be in line with the current ratio of Art. 27 (3)<sup>8</sup>, with the exact number of votes required to emerge from the discussions of Member States on the key issues of "categories of

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<sup>7</sup> This would, at a minimum, entail amendments to Article 23 (1) and 23 (2) of the UN Charter.

<sup>8</sup>

for the future Council will have to be further discussed:



### **3. Categories of membership**

#### **Convergences**

- 1) In an enlarged Security Council, the expansion of the category of 2-year term non-permanent members is accepted by all Member States as part of a comprehensive Security Council reform that would entail an expansion also in another category (either permanent seats or longer-term non-permanent seats).

#### **Divergences**

- 1) During the IGN meetings, the following options in a reformed Security Council have been presented by Member States:
  - a. Enlargement of the Security Council in both the permanent and 2-year non-permanent categories; and
  - b. Enlargement of the Security Council with non-permanent seats only; either with 2-year term non-permanent seats only or 2-year term non-permanent seats and/or the possibility of immediate re-election and/or longer term non-permanent seats.
- 2) A significant number of delegations argue that the enlargement should include expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent categories.
- 3) A number of delegations, in particular the Uniting for Consensus Group, stress that only periodic elections of the members of the Security Council can guarantee full accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly and enable regular assessments whether the composition of the Council reflects the current membership and the realities of the contemporary world.

### **4. The question of the veto**

#### **Convergences**

- 1) The question of the veto is a key element of Security Council reform.
2. A significant, growing number of Member States support limitations to the scope and use of the veto. The following options have been suggested by Member States, amongst others:
  - i. Introducing a possibility for the General Assembly to overrule a veto with a large majority.
  - ii. Limiting the scope of the veto to enforcement measures under Chapter VII.
  - iii. A more consistent application of Art. 27 (3) of the UN Charter.

- iv. Introducing the necessity of more than one negative vote of permanent members to count as a veto in an enlarged Security Council, in case of enlargement in the permanent category and expansion of the veto to new permanent members.
3. There is a strong and growing support among Member States for voluntarily refraining from the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocity crimes. Initiatives in this regard include (1) the "Political statement on the suspension of the veto in case of mass atrocities" presented by France and Mexico during the 70th session of the GA<sup>10</sup>, (2) the "Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes"<sup>11</sup> by the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) Group. In addition, there have also been proposals to codify the provisions of these initiatives and make them mandatory.

## Divergences

- 1) The following options in regards to the veto are being discussed by Member States:
  - b. In the case of enlargement of the Security Council in the permanent category:
    - i. Extension of the veto to all new permanent members; or
    - ii. No extension of the veto; or
    - iii. Extension of the veto to be decided on in the framework of a review.
  - c. Abolition of the veto,
  - d. Opposition in principle to the veto but with the caveat that as long as long as long a t, 4( )38-3(opo

- 3) There has been overall agreement to the need for an equitable representation of developing countries, small states, cross-regional groups such as Small Island Developing States, and Arab States. In this regard, there is significant support for the creation of a rotating cross-

- 4) In seeking a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States for an enlarged Security Council, ways should be sought to ensure consistency between the principles listed in paragraph d) of GA decision 62/557 with Article 23 (1) of the UN Charter which refers *the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution*

### **Annex: Models presented during UNGA78 IGN**

Mexico: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/77/pdf/2023-05-03-ign-cochairs-mexican-proposal.pdf>

Liechtenstein: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/77/pdf/2023-08-01-liechtenstein.pdf>

L.69: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/78/pdf/2023-11-30-cochairs-letter-l69-model.pdf>

G-4: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/78/pdf/2024-02-09-cochairs-postponement-g4-presentation.pdf>

UfC: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/78/pdf/2024-02-27-cochairs-ufc-model.pdf>