



Permanent Mission of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations  
New York

17 June 2025

Excellencies,

I have the honour to address you in my capacity as **Chair 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 (**IGN**) during the 79<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly.

Throughout the current session of the IGN, 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 UNGA79 High-Level Week and the mandate given to the IGN by the Pact for the Future which recognized the centrality of a reformed Security Council in strengthening multilateralism and restoring trust in global governance. Notably, the Pact includes the most progressive and concrete commitment to Security Council reform since the 1960s, aiming to enhance the Council's transparency, inclusivity, accountability, effectiveness, and representativeness.

In **General Assembly decision 76/572 of 12 July 2022**, Member States decided to continue the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform by “*building on the informal meetings held during its seventy-sixth session, as reflected in the letter dated 16 May 2022 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 increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters, circulated on 19 May 2022, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015, to help to inform its future work*”. In fulfilling the **mandate set forth therein** and following the positions, proposals, views, and remarks heard from Member States and Groups of States during the **five IGN meetings held so far** this session on 19-21 November, 21 January, 27 February, 18 March and 29 May, we are pleased to transmit the enclosed document entitled “Revised Co-Chairs Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters”.

This Revised Elements Paper builds in large part on the “Co-Chairs Revised Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters” circulated on 29 April 2024. It seeks to reflect the Co-Chairs’ understanding of the **current state of the IGN discussions** on the five clusters and their linkages, as well as the **progress made during the current IGN session**, including on procedural matters. The updates made to this year’s Elements Paper have been focused on further expanding the areas of convergence and narrowing down the areas of divergence. We trust that the document will serve as a useful basis for taking the Intergovernmental Negotiations on Security Council Reform forward during the 80th session.

We are also pleased to remind delegations that the sixth IGN meeting will be held on **23 June in the Trusteeship Council Chamber**. Delegations will have the opportunity to provide comments or suggestions to ensure that the enclosed document, as the basis of the outcome of this IGN session, is reflective of the elements of convergence and divergence that delegations have identified and articulated during this year’s discussions.

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.



**Tareq Albanai**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the  
State of Kuwait to the United Nations

**To: All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations, New York**

## Co-Chairs IGN GA79

### **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"*. In the United Nations Secretary General Report on "Our Common Agenda" it was 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"*. At the General Debate during High-Level Week of the 79<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA79), a large number of Heads of State or Government, Ministers and other high-level participants referred to the need for a reform of the Security Council. This renewed urgency for the continuation of the intergovernmental negotiations has resulted in a high number of meetings in the framework of the IGN, formal and informal, and recourse to novel forms of interactive discussions reflecting a strong determination to achieve tangible progress.

#### *Work of the IGN during UNGA79*

The Pact for the Future has invigorated the IGN process. Adopted during the 79<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly, the Pact for the Future is a landmark outcome document aimed at strengthening multilateralism and revitalizing the United Nations system. It includes a dedicated chapter on Security Council reform that reaffirms the central role of the Intergovernmental Negotiations as the exclusive Member State-led platform to carry this agenda forward. For the first time since the 1960s, Member States have agreed to clear parameters for reform, signaling a historic breakthrough and ushering in a bold new era in the IGN process.

Recognized by the Secretary-General as "the strongest language on Security Council reform in a generation – and the most concrete step towards Council enlargement since 1963"<sup>1</sup>, the Pact calls for intensified efforts to identify convergences across the five clusters and outlines three actions:

1. We will reform the Security Council, recognizing the urgent need to make it more representative, inclusive, transparent, efficient, effective, democratic and accountable,
2. We will strengthen our efforts in the framework of intergovernmental negotiations on

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<sup>1</sup> <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/09/1154476>

- Security Council reform as a matter of priority and without delay, and
3. We will strengthen the response of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security and its relationship with the General Assembly.

These actions give the IGN a mandate to advance agreement on reform parameters, develop a consolidated model in the future based on convergences on the five clusters, and the models presented by Member State, and implement interim measures to improve the Security Council's effectiveness and accountability in the meantime.

In line with the Pact's clear mandate to begin work without delay, the first IGN meeting of the 79th session was held on 19 November 2024. The session took a comprehensive approach, addressing all five clusters with particular attention to categories of membership and the representation of cross-regional groups. This timely convening reflected the strong political will to act swiftly on the momentum created by the Pact.

The consolidated model is now a clear objective for the IGN moving forward. This future consolidated model will provide a concrete basis to guide the next stage of negotiations, with the aim of translating years of deliberation into a path toward tangible outcomes. It represents a major step in shifting the IGN from theoretical discussion to practical and tangible engagement.

During the 79<sup>th</sup> session of the UNGA, the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform (IGN) built on the informal meetings held during its seventy-eighth and previous sessions, and on the *"Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters"* circulated on 29 April 2024, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States, reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015 (known as the "Framework Document"), as stipulated by Decision 77/559 of 29 June 2023.

During the UNGA 79 IGN, the Co-Chairs continued to build on the approach established in previous sessions by focusing efforts on a constructive and inclusive process 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 79 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 and were contained in the repository and (3) the new mandate given by the Pact for the Future to work towards developing a consolidated model in the future based on convergences on the five clusters, and the models presented by Member States.

On the negotiation of the five clusters, the Co-Chairs convened four meetings: 19 November 2024, addressing all five clusters in a comprehensive manner with a particular focus on categories of membership and representation of cross-regional groups as a follow up to the negotiations of the Pact for the Future; 21 January, focused on the question of the veto; 27 February, focused on working methods of the Security Council and 18 March focused on the

size of a future council and 24 June focused on the Revised Co-Chairs Elements Paper.

On the structured dialogue on models proposed by States and Groups of States, the Co-Chairs convened two meetings: the meeting on 21 November focused on the model proposed by Liechtenstein, and the meeting on 29 May focused on the model proposed by CARICOM.

A dedicated discussion on the limitation of the veto was held for the first time in IGN history. The Co-Chairs convened two rounds of informal discussions “Taxel Talks” (“un-formals”) on 25 November and 4 December. The meeting on 25 November focused on the question of the veto, including limitations of the scope and use. This unprecedented discussion marked a direct response to the Pact’s call for renewed attention to this critical issue and reflects growing openness among delegations to address it constructively. The meeting on 4 December discussed the interim measures mentioned in Article 41 of the Pact for the Future.

In order to seek new academic insights and expand the sources of inspiration for the intergovernmental discussions, and to continue the practice from last year, the Chair in his personal capacity invited representatives from Think Tanks and Member States to an informal Open House Discussion hosted at the Permanent Mission of Austria, entitled “*The UN at 80 – ready for reform*” on 17 April 2025.

Pursuant to last year’s established procedure, which was endorsed in UNGA Decision 77/559, the first part of the IGN meetings, i.e. the debate where States have the possibility to deliver prepared statements until the list of speakers is exhausted, were webcast in order to enhance the transparency and inclusivity of the IGN process. In addition, the IGN repository website (<https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/>) continued to be used and populated with information during the 79<sup>th</sup> session.

### *Background about the IGN*

Within the IGN process, there are several major Groups, representing a set of positions regarding the reform of the Security Council, including but not limited to: the African Group, the Arab Group, Benelux, CARICOM, the Group of 4, the L69 Group, the Nordic Group, and the Uniting for Consensus Group.

"The World Summit Outcome Document of 2005" adopted by GA Resolution A/RES/60/1 reaffirmed Member States' commitment to strengthen the United Nations, with a view to enhancing its authority and efficiency, as well as its capacity to address effectively, and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It supports in this context an early reform of the Security Council as an essential element of the overall effort to reform the United Nations to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions. Preceding the IGN and the World Summit Outcome Document of 2005, the General Assembly adopted several resolutions specifically on Security Council reform, including Resolution 47/62 from 11 December 1992, Resolution 48/26 on 3 December 1993, which created the Open-Ended

Working Group on Security Council Reform, and Resolution 53/30 from 23 November 1998.

On 15 September 2008, the General Assembly adopted Decision 62/557 on the "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters", which stipulates: *"To commence intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform in informal plenary of the General Assembly during the sixty- third session of the General Assembly, but not later than 28 February 2009, based on proposals by Member States, in good faith, with mutual respect and in an open, inclusive and transparent manner, on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Council, seeking a solution that can garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States"*.

Decision 62/557 also mentions that IGN should refer to five key issues: 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.

The IGN officially started in early 2009 and has continued since then in informal plenary of the General Assembly. Throughout the years of the IGN deliberations several documents have been produced by the previous Co-Chairs and submitted for consideration by Member States to help inform the IGN's future work, including the Framework Document of 2015, the "Elements of Convergence" circulated on 12 July 2016, the "Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration" circulated on 27 June 2017, the "Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration" circulated on 14 June 2018, as well as the "Revised Elements of Commonality and Issues for Further Consideration" as circulated on 7 June 2019. Since IGN GA72 session, efforts have been made by the subsequent Co-Chairs to advance the work of the IGN. As a result there are now two documents referred to in the last roll-over decision (Decision 76/572 of 12 July 2022) - the Framework Document of 2015 and the "Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters" circulated on 19 May 2022.

This Elements Paper builds on the *"Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters"* circulated on 29 April 2024 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 79 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 of its decisions", as stipulated by "the World Summit Outcome Document" of 2005.
- 5) There is a growing general agreement on the need for the increased representation of developing countries and small- and medium-sized states, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS).
- 6) There is a wider recognition and broader support by Member States for the legitimate aspiration of the African countries to play their rightful role on the global stage, including through an increased presence in the Security Council, as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration adopted by the African Union in 2005. Redressing the historical injustice against Africa as a priority and, while treating Africa as a special case, the representation of the underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups, such as Asia-Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean should be improved;
- 7) Member States agree to consider the inclusion of a review clause in a comprehensive reform of the Security Council so as to ensure that the Security Council continues over time to deliver on its mandate and remains fit for purpose.
- 8) Member States reiterated the need to implement the provisions of the UN Charter in full and in this context, several delegations mentioned the full and consistent application of Article 27 (3).
- 9) To improve the prospects for early reform, a continued, substantive, and enhanced engagement is of utmost importance.
- 10) Even when expressing different views on substance, Member States are driving the IGN process forward together, in accordance with the usual practices and procedures of the 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 to support a possible outcome that strikes a balance between different interests and positions, while not reflecting in its entirety each individual proposal.
- 12) At the same time, Member States also acknowledged that certain incremental changes to the working methods and functioning of the Security Council in its current form can be

made without amendments of the Charter and can help to render the Security Council more efficient, effective, inclusive and transparent in the meantime.

- 13) The IGN process should build on the work done in previous years, so that convergence will increase gradually, seeking solutions that garner the widest possible political acceptance by Member States, as mentioned in Decision 62/557.
- 14) Member States support the introduction of the webcast for the first segment of each of the IGN meetings, namely the debate where delegations have the possibility to deliver prepared statements since 9 March 2023. Member States also support the retention of the second segment of each IGN meeting (interactive dialogues) as closed meetings without webcast. There is also broad convergence on the usefulness of the informal meetings, the so-called “Taxel-Talks” organized by the Co-Chairs to complement the IGN meetings.
- 15) There is broad convergence on the usefulness of the repository in the form of a website of the IGN process, the establishment of which was recommended in the letter of the Co-Chairs of 3 March 2023 and which became operational on 5 April 2023. The website acts as a repository of the webcasts, as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the IGN process and the links to Member States’ statements. In order to maximize transparency and inclusivity of the process and facilitate the work of smaller delegations, the website needs to be continuously updated and populated with relevant documents related to the IGN process.
- 16) There is agreement on the usefulness of the structured dialogues held during the 78<sup>th</sup> session on models proposed by States and Groups of States and Member States support that the IGN should build on the structured dialogues with a view to increasing the overall convergences and better understanding of individual proposals.
- 17) There is a growing sense of urgency for Security Council reform which has been expressed in the IGN process and in the General Debate during the High-Level Week. Although a large variety of opinions on the Security Council's reform persist, particularly in relation to the categories of membership; the question of the veto; and regional representation, many member states express a need to progress in the debate over these three clusters. Discussing the suggestions contained in the documents submitted by the various groups and individual Member States more in detail would further enhance convergences and interlinkages between the five clusters, addressing them in a comprehensive manner.
- 18) When discussing the presence of new members in the Council, their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, as reflected in article 23 (1) of the UN Charter, should be given due regard.
- 19) Based on the GA resolution 79/1, delegations continue to agree to the submission of further models and the revision of already presented models by States and Groups of States for the structured dialogues with a view to developing a consolidated model in the future based on convergences on the five clusters, and the models presented by Member States.



## **Divergences**

- 1) There are repeated calls by a number of delegations, in particular the L.69 Group, the Benelux Group, the Group of 4, and the Nordic Group, to introduce text-based negotiations on a single consolidated document with attributions based on which the IGN negotiations should continue, while a number of delegations, in particular the Uniting for Consensus Group, the African Group, and the Arab Group, advocate for the need to first agree on the principles of the reform – particularly the model of reform - before proceeding to negotiations based on a text. One Member State recalled its proposal to move towards “text-oriented negotiations” in order to make progress on the reform.

## **II. Clusters**

### **1. Relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly**

#### **Convergences**

- 1) The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations, the only UN body with universal representation.
- 2) The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly should be mutually reinforcing and complementary, in accordance with and with full respect for their respective functions, authority, powers, and competencies as enshrined in the Charter, including in respect to matters related to international peace and security. In this regard, it is important to:
  - 2.1 Ensure increased cooperation, coordination and the exchange of information among the Presidents of the Security Council and of the General Assembly and also with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in particular the Secretary-General,
  - 2.2 Continue and institutionalize the practice of regular meetings between the President of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly,
  - 2.3 Strengthen the cooperation and communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in particular through the early submission by the Security Council of annual reports of a more comprehensive and substantive nature, and through a timely, informed and meaningful discussion in the General Assembly of the annual report of the Council and of special reports to the General Assembly, in full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>2</sup>,
  - 2.4 Improve the participation in and access to the work of the Security Council and

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<sup>2</sup> Inter alia, Articles 15(1) and 24(3) of the UN Charter, and taking into account GA resolutions 51/193 and 59/313.

its subsidiary organs for all members of the General Assembly, to enhance the Council's accountability to the membership and increase the transparency of its work, in particular through:

- 2.4.1 Continuing to hold open sessions, open briefings, open debates, informal interactive dialogues, Arria-formula meetings, and regular as well as substantive wrap-up meetings by the presidency<sup>3</sup>,
- 2.4.2 Continuing the progress in the selection and appointment process of the Secretary-General as an example of cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly,
- 2.4.3 Further enhancing consultations between the Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries throughout all phases of Council-mandated peacekeeping operations, in line with the relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>4</sup>,
- 2.4.4 Increasing interaction between the Council and the subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly, including the Peacebuilding Commission, such as participation of the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and the chairs of the country-specific configurations of the Commission in relevant debates, in line with the relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>5</sup>,
- 2.4.5 Further enhancing the Council's interaction, including consultations with non-Council members in the process of negotiation of resolutions, with specially affected Member States, in line with relevant provisions of the Charter<sup>6</sup>,
- 2.4.6 Further strengthening cooperation with regional and sub-regional organizations and arrangements, inter alia the African Union's Peace and Security Council<sup>7</sup>,
- 2.4.7 Further enhancing the transparency of the work of subsidiary organs of the Security Council.

2.5 Welcome the consensual adoption of General Assembly resolution 76/262 (“Veto-Initiative”) which created a standing mandate for a General Assembly debate when a veto is cast in the Security Council and encourage Member

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<sup>3</sup> In line with, inter alia, the Presidential Statement S/PRST/1994/81 of 16 December 1994.

<sup>4</sup> Inter alia, Article 31 of the UN Charter.

<sup>5</sup> Inter alia, Article 96 of the UN Charter.

<sup>6</sup> Inter alia, Articles 31 and 32 of the UN Charter.

<sup>7</sup> In line with, inter alia, Chapter 8 of the UN Charter.

States to participate actively in the General Assembly discussions, aiming to enhance the accountability of Permanent Members of the Security Council towards the wider membership and to contribute in making 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>8</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>9</sup>, with the exact number of votes required to emerge from the discussions of Member States on the key issues of "categories of membership", "regional representation" and "the question of veto"<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> This would, at a minimum, entail amendments to Article 23 (1) and 23 (2) of the UN Charter.

<sup>9</sup> The current ratio contained in Art. 27 (3) can be interpreted as "half plus one", 60% or majority +1 and its application for the future Council will have to be further discussed:

<sup>10</sup> This would, at a minimum, entail amendments to Article 27 (2) and 27 (3) and to Article 109 (1) of the UN Charter.

- 6) In addition to the ongoing efforts of the Security Council towards keeping its working methods under consideration in its regular work, with a view to ensuring their effective and consistent implementation, including of Note 507, the Security Council should be invited to consider the following measures in light of the increase in its membership:
- 6.1 Adapting its working methods to ensure transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning of the Council,
  - 6.2 Adapting and reviewing the working methods of its subsidiary organs with a view to enhancing transparency, consistency, and clarity,
  - 6.3 Ensuring the full participation of all members of the Security Council in its work, with a special emphasis on encouraging greater participation of non-permanent members, including the opportunity to serve as penholders and to hold the presidency of the enlarged Security Council at least once during their tenure.
  - 6.4 Enhancing the opportunities of non-members of the Council to participate in and contribute to the work of the Council and its subsidiary bodies, e.g. by ensuring the timely availability of the Council's working documents to the UN membership,
  - 6.5 Undertaking a revision of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure to reflect these measures and further considering the formal adoption of its Provisional Rules of Procedure.
- 7) Delegations also consistently raise issues related to the current working methods of the Security Council in the IGN process, including to continue to review and enhance penholding and co-penholding arrangements, transparency towards the wider membership, the consistent implementation of Note 507, questions related to sanctions regimes and the consultation processes for resolutions which could already be considered by the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions. The proposal of the IGN Co-Chairs for an annual meeting between the IGN Co-Chairs and the IWG Chair to share information in this regard is supported by delegations.

## **Divergences**

- 1) While there is a convergence on the need to enlarge the Council and ensure a balance between the representativeness and effectiveness of an enlarged Council, the specifics will depend on the outcome of discussions regarding the clusters on categories of membership and regional representation.

## **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.

## **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) While there are different views on the categories of membership in a reformed Council, 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.
- 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>11</sup>, (2) the "Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes"<sup>12</sup> by the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) Group.

## **Divergences**

- 1) The following options in regards to the veto are being discussed by Member States:
  - a. 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.
  - b. Abolition of the veto,
  - c. Opposition in principle to the veto but with the caveat that as long as it exists, it should be made available to all permanent members of the Security Council, including any potential permanent members from Africa - based on the common African position reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration adopted by the African Union in March 2005.
  - d. Limiting 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. 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.

## **5. Regional representation**

### **Convergences**

- 1) Enlargement of the Security Council should serve to improve the representation of the underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups.
- 2) An increase in membership should allow for fair and equitable representation of all regional groups, as well as cross regional balances, while maintaining an effective and operational character of the Council.

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<sup>11</sup> A/68/PV.5

<sup>12</sup> A/70/621

- 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, Arab States, the OIC<sup>13</sup> and other groups. In this regard, there is significant support for the creation of a rotating cross-regional seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS). However, more in-depth discussions are needed to clarify questions pertaining to the specific mechanics of nomination and rotation for cross-regional groups.
- 4) There has been overall agreement that Africa should be equitably represented in a reformed Security Council.
- 5) Africa reserves its right to select Africa's representatives in the Security Council, based on its criteria for selection, as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. Candidates would then be considered for election by the General Assembly.
- 6) Representatives from the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Countries (GRULAC) and the Asia-Pacific Group (APG) stressed the need for fair representation of their respective regional groups.
- 7) Members States have expressed different views with regard to the distribution of additional seats among the regional groups, but the majority of proposals call for the distribution of additional seats, whether non-permanent or permanent, to entail no less than 3 additional seats for African States, 3 for Asia-Pacific States, 2 for Latin American and Caribbean States, 1 for Western European and Other States, 1 for Eastern European States, 1 for Arab States and possibly 1 rotating cross-regional seat for Small Island Developing States (SIDS). The concrete models presented during the UNGA79 IGN are attached to this Elements Paper.

## **Divergences**

- 1) The appropriate ratio between the number of non-permanent members and the number of countries in regional groups continues to be discussed.
- 2) The UN Charter, in Article 24(1) states: *"In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf"*. The question of whether a country represents only itself in the Council, its region, or the whole of UN membership continues to be discussed. Member States' views on this issue differ depending also on the category of membership in question.
- 3) In relation with equitable representation, further clarification is needed on the distinction between the concepts of "equitable geographic distribution" and "regional representation". In case of enlargement in the permanent category, the question whether the additional permanent seats will be allocated in the amended Charter to individual Member States or

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<sup>13</sup> One delegation expressed reservations regarding faith-based organizations during the negotiations.

a region continues to be discussed.

- 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 to “*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*”.
- 5) Proposals put forward during IGN GA79 meetings as well as previously reflected in the text and its annex circulated on 31 July 2015 (known as the Framework Document) on the distribution of additional seats under various reform models include, but are not limited to:

5.1 In case of expansion of non-permanent seats, including with a longer term,

Uniting for Consensus group proposed:

African States: 3 longer-term seats; Asia-Pacific States: 3 longer-term seats and 1 two-year term seat; Latin American and Caribbean States: 2 longer-term seats; Western European and Other States: 1 longer-term seat; Eastern European States: 1 two-year term seat; Small States, including Small Island Developing States [SIDS]: 1 two-year rotating seat across all regions.

Mexico proposed the following model during the UNGA 77 IGN<sup>14</sup>:

African States: 3 longer-term seats; Asia-Pacific States: 2 longer-term seats; Latin American and Caribbean States: 2 longer-term seats; Western European and Other States: 1 longer-term seat; Eastern European States: 1 two-year term seat; Small States, including Small Island Developing States [SIDS]: 1 two-year rotating seat across all regions. Among the five longer-term elected seats assigned to Africa and Asia-Pacific, one shall be always assigned to an Arab country.

5.2 In case of expansion of both permanent and non-permanent seats, some Member States, including the African Group, the Arab Group, CARICOM, the Group of 4, and the L.69 Group, proposed:

5.2.1 New/additional permanent seats for: African States: no less than 2 or 2; Asia-Pacific States: 2; Latin American and Caribbean States: 1; Western European and Other States: 1; Arab States: 1.

5.2.2 Additional two-year non-permanent seats for: African States: no less than 2, 1, 1-2, 2; Asia-Pacific States: 1; Eastern European

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<sup>14</sup> See A/77/717.



States: 1; Latin American and Caribbean States: 1; Western European and Other States: 1; Small Island Developing States [SIDS] across all regions that contain SIDS: 1; Arab States across regions: proportionate representation.

**Annex:**

**Models presented during UNGA79 IGN**

Liechtenstein: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/79/pdf/2024-10-30-cochairs-rev-liechtenstein-model.pdf>

CARICOM : <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/79/pdf/2024-12-18-cochairs-CARICOM-Model.pdf>

**Pact for the Future**

Action 39-41: [https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/sotf-pact\\_for\\_the\\_future\\_adopted.pdf](https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/sotf-pact_for_the_future_adopted.pdf)