representation, either by an immediate revision of the rules or by increasing the membership of United Nations organs in such a way as to provide equitable representation to areas which were not represented at all. The Liberian delegation would support any proposal along those lines.

2. Mr. LONCAR (Yugoslavia) said that the item under consideration was an important one; in recent years many States had achieved independence and had become Members of the United Nations, and others would follow suit in the near future. As a result, the composition of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice no longer reflected existing conditions. An increase in their membership would permit a more equitable distribution of seats in those organs. The African and Asian countries, in particular, were not adequately represented as things stood. The proposed amendments, if given effect, would more accurately reflect the spirit of the Charter and strengthen not only the organs concerned but the United Nations as a whole.

3. Unfortunately, a concrete solution of the problem at the current session did not seem possible. The Charter could not be amended without the agreement of the principal political forces represented in the United Nations, particularly the great Powers. The improved international atmosphere would, it was hoped, eventually lead to the establishment of conditions favourable to the solution of that urgent problem.

4. In the meantime, the matter should continue to be studied so that the best solution could be found at the appropriate time. The Yugoslav delegation felt that consideration of the item should be postponed until the next session of the General Assembly.

5. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted with regret that the area of agreement essential to a revision of the Charter was still lacking in the General Assembly. The chief reason for that state of affairs was the absence from the United Nations of the lawful representatives of the Chinese people, and a revision of the Charter for the purpose of enlarging the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations could only be undertaken when the legal rights of the People's Republic of China had been restored.

6. As to whether a revision of the Charter in the existing circumstances was justified, some delegations held that it was purely a technical matter which did not raise any principle or affect the basic structure of the Charter. The USSR delegation had already stated in the General Assembly that any proposal to increase the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations would have far-reaching political consequences, Articles 23 and 61 of the Charter and Article 3 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice would have to be amended. If Article 23 was amended, Article 27 would also have to be amended. It would be
recalled that at the time of the drafting of the Charter, agreement on that Article had been the most difficult to achieve. It was now proposed, as at the thirteenth session, that the first step should be an increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council, although the sponsors of proposals of that kind knew perfectly well that any amendment to the Charter must conform strictly to the provisions of that instrument and must be ratified by all the permanent members of the Security Council, including the Government of the People’s Republic of China. Such a proposal must therefore be viewed as a flagrant attempt to do violence to the whole Charter. The advocates of a revision of the Charter used as an argument the considerable increase in the membership of the United Nations. But there was nothing in the Charter about reorganizing the principal organs of the United Nations when the membership of the Organization increased.

Article 4 simply defined the conditions governing the admission of new Members. Moreover, in Articles 9 and 86 among others, the Charter specifically mentioned the changes which should take place in the membership of some organs following an increase in the membership of the Organization as a whole. That proved that at the time of the drafting of the Charter a change in the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations had been considered an important question of principle which could only be settled in accordance with Article 108.

7. Steps could of course be taken in other directions to allow the new Members to play a more active role. The Charter gave all Member States equal rights, irrespective of the date of their admission to the United Nations. The activity of new Members was not restricted, nor was their election to the principal organs of the United Nations subject to any limitations. In fact, a number of new Member States were represented in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other United Nations organs. Another step that could be taken to increase the participation of all States in the work of the United Nations, particularly in economic and social matters, was to enlarge the membership of the functional commissions, the specialized agencies and the regional commissions.

A step in the right direction had been the decision taken at the twelfth session to increase the number of Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly (resolution 1192 (XIII)). The Soviet Union would continue to support any proposal directed at increasing the participation of Member States in the various activities of the United Nations in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

8. Those in favour of increasing the membership of the principal organs also urged the need to ensure equitable geographical distribution in those bodies. The Soviet Union understood and respected the legitimate aspirations in that direction of the Asian and African countries which had recently been freed from the colonial yoke. The principle of equitable geographical distribution was an important feature of the Charter, and his delegation had always insisted on its scrupulous observance. Unfortunately, that principle and the agreements concerning it, such as the gentlemen’s agreement made in London in 1946 concerning equitable geographical distribution in the Security Council, in accordance with Article 23 of the Charter, were constantly being violated by the Western Powers. Since 1952 the seat in the Security Council intended to be held by an Eastern European country had been filled by countries situated in other parts of the world, such as the Philippines and Japan. That was surely evidence of discrimination against the countries of Eastern Europe. Furthermore, the principle was clearly based on the equitable geographical distribution so long as a fourth of the world’s population was not represented in the Security Council or in other United Nations bodies.

9. Referring to the current elections to the Security Council, he said that there had been twenty-five inconclusive ballots for the simple reason that Poland, which should normally occupy the seat intended for Eastern Europe, had had to compete against Turkey, whose candidature had been instigated by the United States, the United Kingdom and the other NATO countries. Although it was obvious from the votes cast that an overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations favoured Poland, its election was being stubbornly opposed by a small minority led by the United States. As for the motives behind the manoeuvres by the United States delegation, the newspapers were quite explicit on that point. It was stated in The New York Times of 14 October 1959, for example, that the United States opposition to the election of Poland arose from the fear that it might help prevent the West from mustering the seven votes required for a majority in the Council in the event of an international crisis. It was difficult to reconcile that attitude with the principles of the Charter, yet it undoubtedly reflected the true position of the United States. That being the case, and in view of the fact that the principle of equitable geographical distribution was being so flagrantly violated at the present time, what guarantee was there that it would not be violated in the future if the membership of the principal United Nations organs was increased? As things were, it would be possible to provide equitable geographical distribution for the countries of Asia and Africa in the Economic and Social Council, for example, without necessarily revising the United Nations Charter. It could be done merely by changing the voting practices. In the Economic and Social Council, six members represented nineteen countries of Western Europe and the British Commonwealth, and five members represented the twenty-one countries of the American continent. In the twenty countries of Asia and Africa, only three seats. That was a flagrant injustice. Why could not the countries of Western Europe and possibly also those of Latin America yield a few seats to the countries of Asia and Africa and so remedy the injustice?

10. The champions of increased membership of the principal organs held that the proposed measure would help strengthen the authority of those bodies and make the United Nations more effective. His delegation was convinced that the Charter in its existing form met the essential purposes of the United Nations, namely, the strengthening of international peace and the development of international co-operation. The Organization could raise its prestige, improve its work and win the confidence of the peoples of the world only by scrupulous observance of the Charter.

11. Mr. PLAJA (Italy) was glad to find that some of the interesting statements which had been made had helped to clarify certain important points and thus contributed substantially to at any rate a partial solution of the problem. It was now quite clear that the question of the review of the Charter, which had been considered a few weeks earlier by the Committee set up for that purpose—the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of revising the
Charter—and the question of the enlargement of the statutory bodies of the United Nations were two separate questions. The first question was governed by Article 109, and the second by Article 108 of the Charter. For that reason the conclusions and the decision of that Committee did not necessarily apply to the question under discussion. As his delegation had stated in that Committee, the general review of the Charter was a momentous task involving many very delicate problems which could be solved only under particularly auspicious circumstances not prevailing as yet. The amendments which might be worked out under Article 108, however, did not necessarily involve the same difficulties. Consequently, each proposed amendment should be judged solely on its own merits. He agreed with the representative of Ceylon who had said at the 128th meeting that political considerations of a general nature should not prevent the Committee from seeking to remedy the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs by considering amendment proposals, and he added that the possible attitude of permanent members of the Security Council should not stand in the way of consideration of such amendments by the Committee. The Charter itself required the asent of the permanent members of the Security Council for the ratification of an amendment but not for its adoption by the Assembly. All that was needed for its adoption was the affirmative vote of fifty-five Members of the General Assembly.

12. The Greek representative in his statement [128th meeting] had raised many interesting points—particularly concerning an increase in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council—which should be borne in mind when a decision was taken on that question. He had, in particular, made a sound distinction between substantive amendments and amendments relating only to the machinery of the organization. The Peruvian representative had made a similar distinction between substantive and technical amendments (128th meeting). As the technical amendments should not encounter the same obstacles as the substantive ones, they should be considered first.

13. The question of increasing the membership of the Economic and Social Council, in particular, appeared to deserve immediate consideration and decision. At the thirteenth session, the General Assembly had already recognized the need for such a measure (resolution 1300 (XIII)), and the Economic and Social Council by its resolution 690 B (XXVI), had asked the Assembly to give the matter its favourable consideration. It would be a good thing if the membership of the Economic and Social Council were increased in order to allow more voices to be heard—in particular, those of countries of the less developed regions—since questions were dealt with there which were directly related to the well-being of all people. In addition, the solution of that problem, minor though it was, would be further evidence that the international atmosphere had cleared and would make for further progress in that direction. His delegation was therefore prepared to support any decision along those lines which the Committee might take.

14. Mr. YOSANO (Japan) pointed out that if the United Nations was to maintain peace and to promote international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields its principal organs must be so constituted that they adequately represented the entire body of Member States. Thirty-one new States had been admitted to the United Nations since its found-

dation. Nineteen, or nearly two-thirds of them, were Asian and African countries, situated in regions of the world which were not adequately represented on the principal organs of the United Nations. Even the delegations who were against a review of the Charter had admitted that fact. Japan, a recently admitted Member State and an Asian country, had always thought that the Charter should be amended as promptly as possible. The need was all the greater in that the elections of members of the principal organs had met with some difficulties in recent years, owing chiefly to the fact that the number of seats was not in keeping with existing conditions. During the twelfth session of the Assembly, the new state of affairs had been taken into account in changing the membership of the General Committee (resolution 1192 (XII)).

15. It was true that amendments to the United Nations Charter would have to be made in accordance with some procedure stricter than that followed in amending the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. That was due to the importance of the organs in question, but that very importance should prompt a thorough examination of the problem at the earliest possible moment. During the recent debates of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter (A/AC.81/SR.8 and 4), several delegations, including his own, had expressed the hope that the Charter should be examined and amended individually, in terms of Article 108 of the Charter, rather than as part of a complete review of the Charter. Such a review, governed by Article 109, would in fact be premature. It was a pity that the introduction of certain considerations which were alien to the problem had prevented its rapid solution.

16. His delegation would repeat that it was in favour of increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of the Economic and Social Council and members of the International Court of Justice. As it had voted the previous year in favour of General Assembly resolutions 1299 (XIII) and 1300 (XIII), it hoped that despite the obstacles which would have to be overcome more specific and progressive measures could be taken at the current session.

17. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa) recalled that the question of reviewing the Charter had recently been considered by a Committee established for that purpose. It was clear from the discussions in that Committee that the appropriate time had not yet arrived for review, which would require the agreement of all the permanent members of the Security Council. Nevertheless, discussion by the Assembly at the current session could serve a useful purpose. When the appropriate time came for a review of the Charter, the preliminary ground would already have been covered.

18. His delegation realized that the principal organs of the United Nations had been established at a time when the Organization had numbered only about fifty Members. It now had eighty-two and the number would probably be still further increased. His delegation had always maintained that in the interest of efficiency the organs of the United Nations should not have an unduly large membership, but it admitted that the present membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council did not bear any accurate relation to the full membership of the United Nations. As far as the Security Council was concerned, his delegation thought that the number of non-permanent members might be increased from six to, say,
eight. With regard to the Economic and Social Council, there was some merit in the argument that the membership of the Council had originally been intended to comprise about one-third of the total membership of the United Nations. A reasonable increase in the number of members of the Council would accordingly appear necessary.

19. On the other hand, there was no justification for an increase in the membership of the International Court of Justice. As the Court was seldom in session, pressure of work could not be advanced as a reason for increasing the number of judges. Moreover, the number of judges had never been related to the number of members of the Organization. Furthermore, the principle of equitable geographical distribution, of such importance in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, had no special significance in respect of the composition of the International Court of Justice.

20. Referring to the difficulties experienced in recent years in elections of non-permanent members of the Security Council, he said that he did not think that an increase in the number of non-permanent members of the Council would in itself eliminate deadlocks. In his opinion, it would need firm conventions, similar to those initiated in 1937 in connexion with the election of Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, to regulate the distribution of seats of non-permanent members of the Security Council. His delegation hoped that the General Assembly would give serious consideration to that aspect of the problem.

21. Mr. CERNIK (Czecho-Slovakia) recalled that the question of the membership of certain United Nations organs had been before the Assembly for several years. Czecho-Slovakia did not deny that the question was important, but it was a complex one which could not be settled until certain preliminary requirements had been fulfilled. The increase in the number of members of United Nations organs would require some amendments to the Charter, and Article 108 provided that such amendments must be ratified by two-thirds of the Members of the United nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Hence, the last-named must of necessity participate in the discussion of amendments. One of the permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China, was prevented from participating in such a debate, since its seat was illegally occupied by the representative of a defunct régime. Consequently, so long as the question of the representation of China in the United Nations remained unsettled and the legitimate representation of China was barred, the question of increasing the membership of the United Nations organs, in particular of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice, could not be settled.

22. At the 128th meeting the United States representative had tried to represent the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council as a technical adjustment to the Charter. His delegation could not accept that view. Article 61 of the Charter, which established the number of members of the Economic and Social Council, could not be amended except as provided in Article 108. Any other procedure would be illegal and would constitute a gross infringement of the Charter. It was not the first time that an attempt had been made to use the question of increasing the membership of United Nations organs as an excuse for a general review of the Charter. The experience of the past ten years showed that the Charter was an excellent instrument which made it possible to strengthen international peace and security and to develop friendly relations between nations. Although the United Nations had experienced certain difficulties and met with some failures, the reason should not be sought in alleged deficiencies of the Charter but rather in the fact that the provisions of the Charter were not always respected.

23. Turning to the question of equitable geographical distribution in United Nations organs, he recalled that his delegation had often drawn the General Assembly's attention to that very important question, which was closely linked with that of the increase in the number of members of those organs. The provisions of Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter rendered it obligatory for the General Assembly to pay due regard, when electing the six non-permanent members of the Security Council, to equitable geographical distribution. That principle had been deliberately flouted for several years. Again that year, certain Member States were trying to ride roughshod over the gentleman's agreement made in London in 1946 by offering Turkey as a rival candidate to Poland, a socialist country of Eastern Europe. The principle of equitable geographical distribution was better respected in the Economic and Social Council. It was by scrupulous observance of that principle, rather than by amending the Articles of the Charter relating to the composition of United Nations organs, that the work of those organs would be rendered more effective.