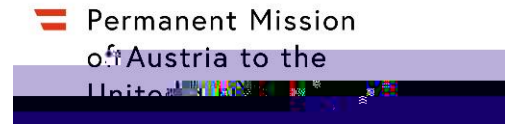




WDC



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 (IGN) during the 77th session of the General Assembly.

At the outset, we would like to express our deep gratitude for the trust in having appointed us as Co-Chairs of the IGN during the 77th session of the UN General Assembly and the support you have extended to us throughout this process. Without your personal commitment and engagement, the process would not have been able to move forward as it did.

Progress achieved during this session

We would also like to express our warm appreciation for the support that has been extended to us during the IGN process this session from Member States. Over the course of the 77th General Assembly, Member States participated in the IGN-process with a sincere determination to reform the UN Security Council, a readiness to engage with one another in an open and constructive manner, including on proposals that do not reflect their national positions, and an honest commitment to building convergences of positions. More than 90 Member States delivered statements, some on behalf of Groups of States, in the five formal informal meetings, five interactive dialogues and six ³ X Q I R U P D O ´ P H H W L Q J V E H W Z H May 2023.

We have tried, to the best of our ability, to take on an innovative approach and to instill a new dynamic in this process in a manner that is in line with General Assembly Decision 62/557, whilst fully understanding and taking into consideration the growing sense of urgency regarding Security Council Reform. As such, we would like to recall the five innovative practices in the IGN process during this session:

informal setting on a set of broad themes regarding the reform process. We are grateful for the active and collegial participation during those meetings which enabled us to address highly controversial political matters in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

Revised Co-Chairs Elements Paper

After conclusion of the fourth IGN Meeting held on 3-4 April 2023, the Co-Chairs circulated to Member States the Co-Chairs Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation. At the fifth IGN meeting held on 4-5 May 2023, Member States and Groups of States had the opportunity to express comments on the aforementioned Paper. Furthermore, the Co-Chairs also allowed for written comments on the Paper by Member States and Groups of States to be submitted to them by 22 May 2023. Having carefully considered the comments, we are pleased to transmit the final version of the Revised Co-Chairs Elements Paper (attached herewith). The Co-Chairs emphasize that this Paper reflects their personal understanding of the current state of the IGN discussions on the five clusters and their interlinkages, as well as other issues raised by delegations, including on procedural matters. It is our belief that the Co-Chairs Elements Paper for the 77th session will serve as a useful basis for taking the IGN process forward in the 78th session of the General Assembly. While significant divergences remain on the key issues of categories of membership and the veto, overall there has been a positive development with **more convergences and fewer divergences** reflected in the Co-Chair's Elements Paper, and several new elements or clarifications added to existing convergences and divergences. Nevertheless, it is clear that to overcome the remaining divergences, further in-depth discussions are necessary and long-held positions will have to be recalibrated.

Way Forward

In view of the strong sense of urgency that was expressed during the High-Level Debate at the beginning of the 77th UN General Assembly and at all meetings of this IGN session to come to an early reform of the Security Council and the tangible momentum of the process this year, the Co-Chairs recommend that the work from this session be rolled over to the 78th session of the General Assembly. In view of the positive reactions and support by Member States, the Co-Chairs believe it would be useful to continue the five innovative practices that have been implemented during this session in future sessions.

Mr. President,

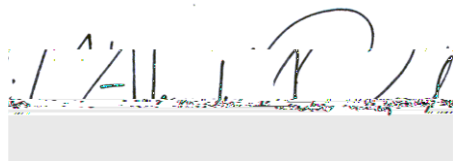
Permit us to assure you once again that it has been a distinct honour to have been appointed to facilitate the IGN process during the 77th session. We take this opportunity to once more express our deep appreciation to you for the trust and confidence you have placed in us throughout the process during this session. We would also like to express to all Member States and Groups of States our profound gratitude for the support that they have extended to us. The progress achieved during this session would not have been possible without their active engagement, constructive approach, and commitment to moving this reform process forward. We are also grateful to the outside academics, think-tankers and experts who advised us and to those that shared their insights at the Open House. Finally, we would not have been able to do this work without the reliable support from Judit Cziko and Peter Stone of the PGA Office, from Svetlana Emelina-Sarte of DGACM and, in particular, our advisers Raphael Ruppacher at the Austrian Mission and Fahad Mohammad Hajji at the Kuwaiti Mission. They deserve our highest appreciation and gratitude.

Over the past months we have come to understand that Security Council reform is truly a team effort and we are grateful to have been part of this team this year.

Finally, we would be grateful if this letter and its attachments could be circulated to all Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations in New York.

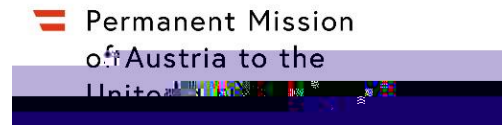
Please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Tareq Albanai
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of



To:
H.E. Mr. Csaba . U | V L
President of the UN General Assembly
United Nations Headquarters
New York

Attached: The Co & K D L U ¶ V O H W W H U R I 0 D U F K U H F R P P H Q G L Q J Z H E F D V W L Q J D
Co- & K D L U ¶ V April 2023 Regarding the launch of the website, the Co & K D L U ¶ V O H W W H U R I \$ S U L O
convening an annual meeting between the IWG Chair and IG chairs, the revised Co- & K D L U ¶ V (O H P H Q W V 3 D S H U



3 March 2023

Excellencies,

At the outset, we would like to once again express our deepest appreciation for the trust and confidence the President of the General Assembly placed in us by appointing us 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 (IGN) during the 77th session of the General Assembly. We will continue to facilitate this process in a way that ensures its transparency, inclusivity and Member State driven nature.

So far, we have conducted two rounds of IGN meetings. The first meeting took place on 26-27 January 2023, and the second on 16-17 February 2023. Alongside these meetings, the Co-Chairs have met, engaged and consulted extensively with interested Member States and Groups of States. These meetings and exchanges will continue during our Co-Chairmanship in order to find the spaces of convergence enabling Member States to move this important process forward.

Having said that, we believe we have found an opening that will make a positive impact on the IGN process as a whole, one that enhances its working methods and its transparency and maintains its credibility. Throughout the first and second IGN meetings, and from our extensive meetings and exchanges with Member States and Groups of States, the Co-Chairs have heard the consistent and clear calls for webcasting and recording of the IGN meetings. This matter is of specific importance to smaller Permanent Missions, which face particular challenges in following the numerous parallel processes during the General Assembly session, as well as other meetings at the United Nations.

Based on the converging positions of Member States and Groups of States that we have been able to identify from our engagement with them, we would like to recommend the following

1. To webcast the first segment of each of the IGN meetings, i.e. the debate where States have the possibility to deliver prepared statements until the list of speakers is exhausted. The second segment of the meetings, which takes the form of an interactive discussion, will not be webcast. We suggest to start proceeding this way at the next meeting of the IGN scheduled for 9 and 10 March 2023.
2. That the Office of the President of the General Assembly (OPGA) works with the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management (DGACM) to establish a specific website to act as a repository of the recordings of the webcasts as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the IGN process, as well as links to the OHP EHU 6WDWHASIA standing order, to which we would kindly encourage Member States to email their statements to e-statements@un.org, preferably at least 2 hours in advance of each meeting both to facilitate interpretation and to publish the statements in e-statements in the [United Nations Journal](#)

Excellentes,

We believe and hope, that the aforementioned recommendations, when put into practice, will be most useful for

A rectangular area containing a handwritten signature in blue ink. The signature appears to be "Alexander" followed by some initials and a date "1/15".

5 April 2023

Excellencies,

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 (IGN) during the 77th session of the General Assembly

With reference to our letter dated

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Alexander V. Lukashenko", is written over a redacted area. The signature is written in a cursive style. To the right of the signature, there is a small handwritten mark that looks like "1".

27 April 2023

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacity as Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations on the question of equitable representation and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other related matters to the Security Council (IGN) during the 77th session of the General Assembly

Kindly find attached for your information a copy of our letter dated 27 April 2023 addressed to H.E. Ambassador Ferit Hoxha, Permanent Representative of Albania to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chair of the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions.

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



Alexander V. ...

27 April 2023

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 (IGN) during the 77th session of the General Assembly

At the outset, we take this opportunity to express our appreciation for your efforts, in your capacity as Chair of the Security Council Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions towards enhancing the working methods of the Security Council and improving the process by which the Council addresses issues concerning its documentation and other procedural questions

During the IGN meetings this session, many Member States highlighted the need to enhance the working methods of the Security Council in order to ensure its transparent, efficient, effective and accountable functioning. Several issues have been raised by Member States during its sessions, as well as previous sessions, which relate to the working methods not only of a future reformed and enlarged Security Council, but delegations also consistently raise issues that relate to the working methods of the Council. These issues relate, among others, to the following:

- f* Reviewing the current system of membership
- f* Enhancing the opportunities of the

- f* The effective and consistent implementation of Presidential Note 507 and other Presidential Notes related to the working methods of the Council.
- f* 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
- f* Further strengthening cooperation with regional and regional organizations and arrangements
- f* Early submission by the Security Council of annual reports of a more

A redacted area containing handwritten text in black ink. The word "Alexander" is clearly visible in the center. To the right, there are some initials and a checkmark. Below the name, there are some illegible scribbles and what appears to be a signature.

Co-Chairs IGN GA77

Revised Co-Chairs' Elements Paper on Convergences and Divergences on the question of equitable representation 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 discussion on the reform of the Security Council".

from Think Tanks and Member States to an informal Open Discussion Outside the Horseshoe. The CoChairs also informally met with representatives of present and former Chairs of the Security Council Informal Working Group and Other Procedural Questions (IWG) to discuss efforts to reform the working methods of the Council. As a follow-up, the CoChairs sent a letter to the Chair of the IWG on 27 April 2023, in which they informed the Chair about issues concerning the current working methods of the Security Council that were raised during the UNGA 77 IGN meeting recommended an annual meeting between the IGN CoChairs and the IWG Chair.

Pursuant to the recommendation of the CoChairs in their letter of 3 March 2023, from the third IGN meeting of 9 March 2023 onwards, 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 the same letter dated 3 March 2023, the CoChairs recommended that the Office of the President of the General Assembly (OPGA) collaborate with the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management (DGACM) to establish a specific website as a repository of the recordings of the webcasts as well as of the letters, decisions and other documents related to the process. These recommendations by the CoChairs (webcasting and website) were widely welcomed by delegations in the IGN meeting on 9 March 2023. The CoChairs in their letter of 5 April 2023 announced the launch of the website. It can be accessed via the following link: <https://www.un.org/en/ga/screform/>

Within the IGN process, there are several major Groups, representing a set of positions in the reform of the Security Council, including but not limited to: the African Group, the Arab Group, Benelux, CARICOM, the Group of 4,

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 enjoy 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 informality of the General Assembly. Throughout the years of the IGN deliberations several documents have been produced by the previous Chairs and submitted for consideration by Member States to help inform the IGN's future work, including the Framework Document of 2015, WKH³ (OHPHQWV RI & R P DQG , VVXH V IRU) XUWKHU cil a WWJVà ‡YS(A'ëó Hôó Hôó Hôó Hôó H

- 4) The principle of democracy remains an important principle in Member States' efforts to reform the Council and needs to be further discussed.
- 5) 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.
- 6) 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).
- 7) 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 is viewed as a priority and several delegations emphasized that Africa should be treated as a special case.
- 8) To improve the prospects for early reform, a continued, active, and enhanced engagement is of utmost importance.
- 9) Although 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.
- 10) All five clusters are strongly interlinked and therefore negotiations should be based on the principle: "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed". Member States

- 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 of 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,
- 2.4 Improve the participation in and access to the work of the Security Council and 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

States, in line with relevant provisions of the Charter

2.4.6 Further strengthening cooperation with regional and- sub regional organizations and arrangements, inter alia the African Union's Peace and Security Council

2.4.7 Further enhancing the transparency of the work of subsidiary organs of the Security Council.

3) Deliberations of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly (AHWG), including resolution 75/325 of 10 September 2021 and all other previous resolutions adopted by consensus relating to the GA revitalization, should be taken into consideration in discussions on this key issue.

Divergences

- 1) Further ways to enhance the accountability of an enlarged Security Council to the UN membership continue to be explored.
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 20s, within an overall range of 22-27 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

Working methods of the Security Council

4) There is a need to regularly review the working methods of an enlarged Security Council

⁵ Inter alia, Articles 31 and 32 of the UN Charter

⁶ In line with, inter alia, Chapter 8 of the UN Charter

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

and to adjust them as appropriate.

- 5) Majority required for decisionmaking: the number of affirmative votes required should be in line with the current practice 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"
- 6) In addition to the ongoing efforts of the Security Council towards keeping its working methods under consideration in its regular methods under -41.92 re W* n B 12.488rlar in

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, specifics will depend on the outcome of discussions regarding 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 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 permanent seats only, either with 2-year term non permanent seats only or 1-year term non permanent seats and/or the possibility of immediate reelection 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

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

enlargement into 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.
- 3) There has been overall agreement to the need for 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 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

5.2 In case of expansion of both permanent and nonpermanent 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 nonpermanent seats for: African States: no less than 2, 1, 1-2, 2; Asia Pacific States: 1; Eastern European 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.