

Nations has been frustrated these past five years; that debates on the subject have been diverted into fruitless examinations of unsatisfactory substitute half-measures, which would only postpone a realization of proper representation for all areas, and that action has sometimes been prevented for the most irrelevant of reasons. As has been so clearly stated already, if we question the legality of an Assembly decision reached without the participation of a non-member, we shall have to be consistent and question every other Assembly decision reached since 1945. But the large number of new members at this session makes it urgent and imperative that we make progress now. My distinguished colleague from Nigeria has already made it eminently clear that the under-representation of Africa cannot be permitted to continue any longer, while other delegates have drawn attention to the fact that postponement of a decision will only prolong unnecessarily the inevitably deliberate procedures of Charter amendment.

AN IMMEDIATE MEASURE

"In this connection, I should like to call attention to the suggestion of my distinguished colleague from Argentina that, since Article 108 of the Charter comprises a two-stage procedure for amendments, we in the Assembly should get on with the first stage without delay and adopt an amendment acceptable to all parties. Then will be the time to concern ourselves over obtaining ratifications, when we are halfway to our goal. In this respect, Article 69 of the Charter could perhaps be of aid in bridging the interim period between voting and ratification, by enabling additional representatives from the now under-represented areas to participate in the deliberations of ECOSOC prior to their formal election.

"It is quite clear from the statements made so far on this item that it is generally recognized that the African and Asian areas are at present seriously under-represented on the Security Council and ECOSOC, and that additional seats should be provided for these areas. I think that the statements have also reflected a primary interest in the enlargement of ECOSOC, which, as a functional body, is of very immediate practical value in assisting the development of new states. Also, because the membership of ECOSOC is not restricted by specific Charter rules or other formal conventions regarding membership, it may be less complicated to adapt to present-day political realities.

ATTACK EASIER OBSTACLES FIRST

"We are, then, agreed that the African and Asian areas are inadequately represented on the Councils. Since it has also been, I think, demonstrated that we must make real progress at this session, I suggest we should proceed first in the direction where the obstacles or possibly areas of disagreement are least evident. If politics is the art of the pos-

sible, we should then perhaps not try to solve both the most difficult and the easiest aspects of this problem all at once. It seems to my delegation that the outlook this year for enlargement of the Security Council is not too encouraging, in spite of the valid reasons advanced for the necessity to reform in this direction. Major political differences inevitably become involved with the purely procedural aspects; and we fear that resultant disagreements with respect to one objective might seriously prejudice reaching a satisfactory solution this year for the other.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES

"It is therefore up to this Committee to determine by what procedure we can adequately satisfy the objective so overwhelmingly expressed here. There are several alternatives open to us that have been suggested during the course of this debate:

(1) *Observer status, as authorized under Article 69 of the Charter:* Representation of this type would be without voting privileges and could therefore, I think, be regarded only as an interim solution. My delegation could not look favourably on any attempt to create in this way a kind of second-class membership for any sovereign state. We could possibly envisage some interim arrangement through observer status that would enable additional representatives to participate in the deliberations of ECOSOC between the time of Assembly approval of additional seats and completion of the ratification process. We repeat, this suggestion could only be considered as an interim measure.

(2) *Redistribution of existing seats:* This second alternative does have the advantage of not requiring Charter amendment, but would, of course, require approval of two-thirds of the member states. Previous speakers have called attention to an important disadvantage of this procedure - the fact that an old injustice would merely be replaced by a new one. This procedure would not, I think...contribute to a harmonious and lasting solution. On the contrary, I fear it would arouse the determined opposition of a formidable number of member states, all of whom are naturally obligated to defend their own regional interests. It might also be a bad precedent, which would give all areas a feeling of insecurity regarding their entitlement. Any attempt to raid these seats would likely arouse far more widespread opposition than has ever been shown toward proposals for simple enlargement. We would also agree with the distinguished representative of Guinea that re-distribution without enlargement would not provide sufficient seats for a satisfactory representation of Africa and Asia.

Perhaps distinguished delegates would permit me to recall, for the record, the present distribution between areas of seats in ECOSOC. The 18 seats are now held as follows: 5 for the permanent members of the Security

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