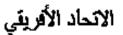
AFRICAN UNION





UNION AFRICAINE UNIÃO AFRICANA

Addis Ababa, ETHIOPIA

P. O. Box 3243 Telephon

Telephone: 517 700

Fax: 5130 36

website: www.www.au.int

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REPORT OF H.E. DR. ERNEST BAI KOROMA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE AND CHAIRPERSON OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN ON THE UN REFORMS

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I. INTRODUCTION

- **1.** The present report is submitted pursuant to the African Union Summit Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.537 (XXIII) during the 23rd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea from 26th 27th June, 2014.
- 2. The report covers the period 30 June 2014 to 20 January 2015 and builds on the 14th Report of His Excellency Dr. Ernest Bai Koroma, President of Sierra Leone and Coordinator of the African Union Committee of Ten Heads of State and Government (C-10) on United Nations Security Council reform and related matters submitted at the African Union Summit held at Malabo in June 2014.
- 3. In carrying out its mandate, the Committee continues to work towards elevating the Common African Position as enunciated in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration to the point that the position is gaining traction and momentum as it presently wields broad support across the wider United Nations membership.
- **4.** The Committee will continue to build on these gains by stepping up its engagement at the highest political level to garner the necessary political will in correcting the historical injustice the African continuent continues to suffer by not being represented in the permanent category and under-represented in the non-permanent category of the United Nations Security Council.
- **5.** The Intergovernmental Negotiation is guided by United Nations General Assembly Decision 62/557 which calls for a comprehensive reform of the Security Council on all five clusters, namely: categories of membership; question of the veto; Regional representation; Size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council, and Relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.
- 6. Areas of convergence in the on-going Intergovernmental Negotiations have been identified with groups like the G-4 (Brazil, Germany, India and Japan) on expansion in both categories, the L-69 and CARICOM including some Member States on expansion in both categories and the question of the veto, and the five permanent members (P-5) on the issue of expansion in both categories as well as qualified support for Africa's inclusion in the permanent category.
- **7.** During the 10th round of the Intergovernmental Negotiation which was devoted to the Five Negotiable clusters, it was obvious that broad support for Africa seems to be gaining momentum with calls from across all regions of the UN membership to address the historical injustice the continent continues to suffer.

- **8.** The wider membership of the United Nations including the C-10 firmly supports the call by His Excellency Mr. Sam Kutesa, President of the 69th Session of the General Assembly to commence text-based negotiations. In this regard, the C-10 had proposed that the second revision of the negotiation text which is widely acknowledged by Member States as a true reflection of all positions should be the basis of a text-based Negotiations.
- **9.** The 11th round of the Intergovernmental Negotiation is expected to commence in February, 2015. Progress made since commencement of the Intergovernmental Negotiations includes the compilation of all positions into a single text for negotiations; a comprehensive understanding and appreciation of the various positions of Member States; the continuous support of the Common African Positon by Member States and interest groups; and the general agreement by Member States to refocus attention on text-based negotiations.

II. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

- **10.** In consonance with its mandate, the African Union Committee of Ten on United Nations Security Council reform (C-10) continues to engage in outreach measures in canvassing, promoting and advocating the Common African Position on the Question of equitable geographical representation on and increase in the membership of the United Nations Security Council and related matters.
- **11.** During the reporting period, the C-10 engaged with Member States and interest groups at the Ministerial level on the margins of the 69th United Nations General Assembly in New York and at Headquarters level with the view to garnering support for the Common African Position enunciated in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration.
- **12.** In line with its mandate, and by way of preparation for the C-10 Heads of State Summit to be held in Zambia, a Ministerial level meeting was held in Nairobi on 17th November 2014.
- 13. Other developments within the Intergovernmental Negotiations include the circulation of the Chair's assessment of the 10th round of the Intergovernmental Negotiation circulated under cover of a letter by the President of the General Assembly on 9th July 2014; the General Assembly debate by Heads of State and Government held in September 2014; consultations held by the President of the General Assembly culminating in the appointment of H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica as the new Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation on United Nations Security Council reform; the annual general debate in plenary held on 12 November 2014 on the *question of equitable geographical representation on and increase in the membership of the United Nations Security Council*; the circulation of a letter to Member States by H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Chair of the

Intergovernmental Negotiations; and a letter dated 12 December 2014 by the Group of 4 (G-4) Brazil, Germany, India and Japan forwarding a Non paper on Security Council reform to the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations in New York.

Assessment of the 10th round by H.E. Ambassador Zahir Tanin, Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation on United Nations Security Council reform

- **14.** The Chair's assessment dated 8th July 2014 provides detailed background account of the process and the 10th round of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, in particular; the restatement of positions by Member States during the six meetings held on the five clusters namely: categories of membership; the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Council and working methods of the Security Council; relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly; and the topic of cross cutting issues.
- 15. The assessment notes that the Non-Paper produced by the Advisory Group of the President of the 68th Session of the General Assembly, does not attempt to be a comprehensive or exhaustive list of positions, but that its strength lies in its concise nature, clear recognition of the inter-connections between the five key issues and the helpful way in which it presents complex data such as positions on regional representation. To address the concerns expressed by some Member States, the Chair suggested that it will be helpful to view the Non-Paper in conjunction with the third revision of the negotiation text, which in the Chair's view retains the full positions and language of Member States.
- 16. The assessment also recognizes the continual emphasis and agreement among Member States on the need to reform the Security Council including the need to correct the underrepresentation in the Council with a view to bridging the disconnect between the Security Council's composition and contemporary realities as well as to ensuring the effectiveness of its work. Contentious issues regarding the President of the General Assembly's Non-paper, the division to reach an agreement on Rev. 3 and the call by some Member States including the C-10 to revert to Rev. 2 for the sake of progress were also highlighted.
- 17. Furthermore, the assessment notes the recognition by all Member States of the interconnectedness of the five key issues emphasizing that reform does not stem from only one proposal but could instead encompass elements from many. Procedural questions in regards to Decision 62/557 guiding the Intergovernmental Negotiations and a potential vote in the General Assembly which falls under the mandate of General Assembly Decision 53/30 which does not necessarily require a consensus on reform issues were also highlighted.
- **18.** Going forward, the Chair maintained that though modest but significant progress have been made over the last five years, the Intergovernmental Negotiations remain one

of the difficult and protracted negotiations within the United Nations. In that regard, the Chair proffered two recommendations as follows:

- **Firstly:** the need to reinvigorate the process through a high-level audit of endevours to achieve early reform of the Security Council, in particular through the Intergovernmental Negotiations, for the consideration of world leaders during the 70th anniversary of the United Nations at a high-level event of the General Assembly. The audit should be drafted by an independent political figure and should consist of an objective summary of the process to raise high-level political awareness of the intergovernmental negotiations, both in terms of its achievements and its limits in a neutral way. The audit would complement efforts and provide momentum in the lead up to the 7oth General Assembly.
- **Secondly:** the membership must continue to work towards basing negotiations on an agreed text. In this regard, Member States need to engage with, build upon, edit or entirely rework the available texts in order to allow for negotiations that are characterized by give and take.
- **19.** This assessment was received by Member States with mixed reactions. Some also questioned the authority of the Chair to recommend a neutral high-level political figure as well as casting doubts on the neutrality of that figure.
- **20.** However, the second recommendation seems to be gaining traction as many Member States agree on the need to focus on text-based negotiations.

The President of the General Assembly H.E. Sam Kutesa

- 21. The President, of the General Assembly is determined that progress on the reform process should be made during his presidency. In that regard, His Excellency Mr. Sam K. Kutesa, President of the 69th session of the General Assembly, commenced consultations with Member States immediately after the general debate of Heads of State and Government. During his acceptance speech and the general debate of Heads of State and Government, H.E. Mr. Sam Kutesa identified the question of Security Council reform as one of his priorities.
- 22. The objective of the consultations was to sound the opinion of Member States on how to move the process forward including the appointment of a Chair of the intergovernmental Negotiations. After several weeks of consultations, the President by a letter dated 10 November, 2014 informed Member States about his decision to appoint H.E. Mr. Courtenay Rattray, Permanent Representative of Jamaica as Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, replacing H.E. Zahir Tanin of Afghanistan.
- **23.** On 14th January 2014, in line with General Assembly resolution 68/307, H.E. Sam Kutesa briefed the General Assembly on work done so far and further outlined priority

areas of work. H.E. Sam Kutesa affirmed that as the United Nations celebrates the 70th anniversary of its founding this year, it is critical that the membership consider how it can reform and strengthen the organisation to meet the world's increasingly complex global challenges.

24. In this context, H.E. Sam Ketusa declared that the reform of the Security Council is a priority. Hence, the need to move the Intergovernmental Negotiation on Security Council reform forward. In that regard, the on-going informal consultations by the Chair were critical to finding a way towards Text-based negotiations, with the next round of negotiations scheduled to begin in February, 2015.

The General Assembly debates held in September 2014 and 12 November 2014

- **25.** During the general debate held in September 2014, over one hundred Heads of State expressed concern over the slow pace of the reform of the Security Council and continue to urge for decisive progress.
- **26.** This demonstrates high-level commitment to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council. However, translating this commitment into the requisite political will for meaningful progress towards achieving real reform remains to be the main challenge for Member States.
- **27.** On 12 November, 2014 H.E. Mr. Sam K. Kutesa, President of the 69th session General Assembly chaired the General Assembly plenary meeting on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the UN Security Council. H.E. Mr. Sam K. Kutesa, reiterated his commitment to the issue of Security Council reform as a priority during his tenure and emphasized the importance attached to it. In that regard, the President of the General Assembly urged Member States to firmly move the process to text-based negotiations on all clusters and to take the necessary steps to reform the Security Council to preserve its fundamental role in the maintenance of international peace and security for future generations.
- **28.** Member States that participated in the debate called for and supported the need for text-based negotiations aimed at achieving the commencement of real negotiations.
- **29.** Many Member States called for expansion in both categories. A few, mainly the Uniting for Consensus (UfC) advocated for expansion in the non-permanent category only. Some P-5 members supported the inclusion of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan and an enhanced African representation in the permanent category. All members of the P-5 supported an enhanced representation of Africa in an expanded Security Council.
- **30.** The issue of the veto was a major subject of debate with some calling for its outright abolition, its extension to new permanent members so long as it continues to exist whilst others called for curtailing its use in certain circumstances such as in situations of gross atrocities and violations of human rights. Some P-5 members supported the inclusion of more developing countries, especially Africa. The United

States of America clearly opposed the idea of extending the veto to new permanent members. The United Kingdom and France supported the G-4 proposed model of reform which suggests the postponement of discussion of extending the veto to new permanent members until after a review period of 15 years.

- **31.** The UfC's concern about expansion in the permanent category was on the basis of the argument that it will only perpetuate the status quo. In their view, the longer term seats through periodic elections is the only way for meaningful reform that could democratize the Council and make it more accountable and transparent. Hence, their stance on enlargement in the non-permanent category only. This position is similar to the intermediate proposal advocated by the Principality of Liechtenstein.
- 32. The L-69, CARICOM, and several other Member States expressed support for the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration as is. Furthermore, the L-69, the CARICOM and several Small Island Developing States (SIDS) reiterated the need for a seat dedicated to Small Island Developing States. This demand is against the background that many of these states have never served in the Council and do not in the long run envisage competing with bigger and more influential states. The L-69 and CARICOM together with many Member States further called for text-based negotiations focusing on all the five clusters.
- **33.** The G-4, calling for text-based negotiations, expressed frustration at the slow pace of the process and urged the newly appointed Chair to move the process into real negotiations. They expressed the need for enhanced representation of Africa that is least represented in the Security Council.
- **34.** The C-10 of the African group also called for Text based negotiations and reiterated its resolve to continue to work towards building alliances and narrowing down differences with other Member States and interest groups. The **C-10** further urged that a work plan, a timeline for negotiations and the modalities by which consensus on given issues will be reflected in a Text is of critical necessity at this stage of the Intergovernmental Negotiation.

Meeting of the African Union Committee of Ten on United Nations Security Council reform at Ministerial level Nairobi – 17 November 2014

- **35.** Pursuant to its mandate, the C-10 held a Ministerial level meeting in Nairobi, Kenya on 17th November 2014 in preparation for the C-10 Heads of State and Government Summit to be hosted by Zambia.
- **36.** Declaring the meeting opened, His Excellency Hon. Uhuru Kenyatta lamented that many International Institutions do not meet contemporary standards; neither do they meet expectations of legitimacy based upon accountability and democracy in their decision-making procedures and representations. He further lamented that The Security Council's present size, exclusive and undemocratic nature are out of step with today's

geopolitical realities. His Excellency President Uhuru Kenyatta stressed that the status quo is discriminatory, unfair and unjust, thus the need to refocus the Security Council towards the realization of its founding objectives as the inequality and lack of representation has led to inconsistencies, efficiency, and the marginalization of the world's vulnerable communities and severely betrayed its largest constituency – the less developed countries. His Excellency President Uhuru Kenyatta therefore tasked the C-10 Foreign Ministers to champion Africa's legitimate right embodied in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration which provides a valuable basis for Africa's collective efforts to advance reform of the Security Council. He concluded by urging the Ministers to redouble efforts to ensure that Africa secures a place at the United Nations Security Council.

37. The outcome of the Meeting entitled "*The Nairobi Consultations*" forwarded to His Excellency Dr. Ernest Bai Koroma by his peer His Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta has been circulated to all C-10 Heads of State and Government for their attention ahead of the Zambia C-10 Summit. The outcome of the C-10 Summit together with outreach at the highest level will be reported to the next African Union Summit.

The Chair's letter dated 17th December 2014

- **38.** By a letter dated 18th November 2014, the President of the General Assembly forwarded a correspondence dated 17th December 2014 by H.E. Ambassador Courtenay Rattray, Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations reiterated his commitment to Chair in an open and transparent manner, respectful of the views of Member States. In that regard, the Chair in preparation for the resumption of the meetings of the Intergovernmental Negotiations, invited Member States to provide him with views both on substantial and procedural issues related to the work ahead on Security Council reform.
- **39.** In that connection, the Chair informed that he had already begun conducting outreach conversations with Member States and groupings of States, at the end of which the next steps will be communicated to Member States.
- **40.** Consequently, at a meeting with the Chair on 15 January 2014, the C-10 representatives reaffirmed their commitment to the question of United Nations Security Council reform and reiterated their support and cooperation with the Chair in advancing progress to the point of commencing Text-based negotiations. In that context, the C-10 proposed that the second revision of the Text which unites the membership should form the basis of text-based negotiations. The C-10 further proposed the need to first reach an agreement on the principles and criteria of the five clusters of the negotiation before embarking on any drafting exercise. These two proposals were informed by past experience of divergent views on the third revision of the Text as well as the attempt by the former President of the General Assembly, Ambassador John Ashe to produce a Non-paper which suffered controversies in terms of the lack of its membership driven nature. Desirous of progress, the C-10 therefore believes that the Chair should respect

the membership driven nature of the process in accord with Decision 62/557 by involving Member States in the drafting exercise of a concise text.

- **41.** The C-10 reiterated the Common African Position as articulated in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration as the substantive position of Africa.
- **42.** The Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations informed the C-10 that consultation with Member states and state groupings was well underway and assured that he will be impartial and will in that regard respect positions of Member States having in mind Decision 62/557 as the mandate. Security Council reform being among the priorities of the President of the General Assembly and commencement of the first Intergovernmental Negotiations meeting in February 2015 as announced, the Chair expressed the need to know the position of Member States which might have changed over time.
- **43.** The Chair reminded the meeting that amendment of the Charter to accommodate reform requires two thirds vote by the General Assembly and a concurrent vote of all of the five permanent members.
- **44.** The Chair will therefore focus on assisting the membership to achieve progress in a pragmatic way. In that context, to change the construct of the negotiations from the approach of the previous sessions, an interactive engagement will be promoted. It will then be up to the Chair to weigh workable and non-workable options.
- **45.** Subsequently, by a letter dated 16th January 2015, the Chair informed Member States that an initial meeting has been scheduled to take place on 11th February 2015 with a view to providing Member States an opportunity to exchange ideas on how to best structure the work in advance of the resumption of the Intergovernmental Negotiation.

Consultations with Interest Groups

- 46. In preparation for an outreach at the highest political level, the Foreign Ministers of the C-10 engaged in consultations with some of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the President of the General Assembly on the margins of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2014. These engagements are ongoing at the Ministerial level and the outcome will inform engagement at the highest level which will feed into the C-10 Summit in Zambia and the next report to the African Union Summit.
- **47.** Whilst consultations by the President of the General Assembly was on-going, the C-10 Permanent Representatives also engaged in outreach measures and consultations with interest groups such as the CARICOM, the G-4, the L-69 and the UfC.

- **48.** The result of these outreach measures indicates that support for the Common African Position is increasingly gaining momentum.
- **49.** The CARICOM and L-69 together with some Member States continue to support the Common African Position in terms of its demands contained in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration.
- **50.** The G-4 whilst expressing its aspiration for permanent membership also supports Africa but continues to express reservations on the question of the veto. In particular, the unwillingness on the part of the P-5 to extend it to new permanent members and the fact that the veto cannot be abolished as it would require the concurrent vote of all P-5 members to do so. The G-4 therefore maintains that the best possible option is to defer the issue of the veto at this stage until after a period of fifteen years after the reform would have come into force for a review of the reform of the Security Council.
- **51.** The UfC, suggested that in order to move forward, more consultations among the membership aimed at narrowing areas of divergence should form part of the work schedule for the present session.
- **52.** Following these consultations, by a letter dated 12 December 2014, the G-4 forwarded a Non-paper to H.E. Ambassador Vandi C. Minah, Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations. The Non-paper notes that reform of Security Council is long overdue and that the year 2015 which marks the 70th anniversary of the United Nations provides a historic opportunity to finally achieve a breakthrough. The Non-paper, divided into two main parts: background and state of play; and the way forward, presents the G-4 position with a shift on size of an enlarged Security Council from the previous 25 seats proposed by the G-4 to 25/26, according 1 or 2 additional seats for Africa in the non-permanent category. The Non-paper also suggests that Member States should give due consideration during the nomination and election of non-permanent members to adequate and continuing representation of Small and medium size Member States, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS) as well as making full use of the possibility of cross-regional arrangements to ensure that the diversity of the General Assembly membership is adequately reflected in the Security Council.
- 53. On the question of the veto, the G-4 Non-paper expressed the view that Member States should continue discussions on the use of the veto in certain circumstances and, in this context proposed the following voluntary offer: "New permanent members would as a principle have the same responsibilities and obligations as current permanent members. However, new permanent members shall not exercise the veto-right until a decision on the matter has been taken during a review, to be held 15 years after the coming into force of the reform."

The Five Negotiable Clusters

- **54.** The five key issues defined by General Assembly Decision 62/557 of 2008 which provide the framework of the Intergovernmental Negotiation are:
 - i) Categories of membership;
 - ii) The question of the veto;
 - iii) Size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods;
 - iv) Regional Representation, and
 - v) Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council.
- **55.** Africa's position in the negotiation text seeks a comprehensive reform of the Security Council on all the five clusters. This position was developed progressively using the **Ezulwini Consensus** and **Sirte Declaration** as the framework and crystallizing the key elements of the two documents and the African Union Summit's adoption of the C-10 report on both the working methods and relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council into a Text that was submitted to the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations.
- **56.** The trajectory of the on-going Intergovernmental Negotiation has produced an understanding of the various areas of convergence as well as divergence.
- 57. The 10th round recorded progress on areas of convergence with many Member States including the P-5 expressing support for expansion in both categories and relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council. Some Member States proposed a size of an enlarged Security Council in the mid-twenties and improvement in its working methods; some others proposed expansion in the low twenties; regional representation was understood by some as representing regional organizations or grouping whilst some others understood it as the need for equitable geographical representation to correct the present imbalance of the Security Council. The **veto** continues to be a contentious issue, with some calling for its abolition, if not ideal, as a matter of common justice, fair that it is extended to new permanent members, others call for curtail of its use.
- **58.** Few Member States, mostly members of the UfC are completely opposed to the idea of including new permanent members. Thus, unlike Africa, the G-4, CARICOM, the L-69, the P-5 and several Member States, the UfC supports expansion in the non-permanent category only along the lines of creating longer term seats as an ideal solution to making the Security Council more broadly representative, legitimate and transparent.

Briefing of the African group

59. In line with the Committee's mandate, the Coordinator of the C-10 Permanent Representatives to the United Nations in New York briefed his colleague African group

of Permanent Representatives to the United Nations at the African Union Observer Mission to the UN on the Nairobi Ministerial meeting, the present state of play and the way forward. The briefing session was interactive with members whilst commending the effort and good work of the C-10 in dealing with such a sensitive and complex issue, also stressed that the C-10 continue to brief them as events on the Intergovernmental Negotiation process and related matters continue to unfold. They reaffirmed the need for the African group to remain cohesive and to continue to speak with one voice on all issues of the reform, and to avoid being used to promote the interest of other groups, as some could well be at variance with the Common African position on Un Security Council reform and related matters.

III. OBSERVATIONS

- **60.** In the light of the foregoing developments on the United Nations Security Council reform, the C-10 is of the view that the Intergovernmental Negotiations remain the appropriate forum to discuss Security Council reform.
- **61.** The C-10 is also of the view that the Chair can work with the Member States to produce an updated version of the second revision of the compiled text which could serve as the basis to move the reform process forward. The agreed updated version could serve as a reference document for Member States in working with the Chair to make progress in drafting a concise text for negotiation.
- **62.** It should be noted that the third revision of the compiled text circulated in 2012 was received by Member States with mixed reactions and has since been a subject of debate and controversy as some Member States accept it. Thus, considered to have stalled the text-based negotiation process. Consequently, some Member States including the C-10 requested the Chair to revert to the second revision which they believe enjoys the support of Member States as a true reflection of their positions and therefore less controversial.
- **63.** The membership remains divided on the role of the Chair in drafting a concise document or resolution. In that context, the C-10 maintains the need for agreeing first on principles and criteria of the negotiations before engaging in any drafting exercise involving merging language or streamlining positions
- **64.** The absence of a roadmap on the phases of the process has the tendency of creating suspicion for any new moves made by the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. Furthermore, the lack of political will by some Member States to make concessions continue to create problems on the process. There is therefore need for predictability and certainty on the phases of the process up to the possible end point of a draft resolution.
- **65.** It is obvious that any individual initiative by groups of Member States is bound to be viewed with suspicion by others and therefore the second revision of the compiled

text if modified to take into consideration the changes in positions of Member States and the availability of a clear roadmap on the process could be the framework for further progress on the reform.

- **66.** The G-4 Non-paper patently reflecting the well-known position of the G-4, who prefers to do without the veto at this stage until review and therefore not supportive and consistent with the Common African Position. Further, this Non-paper which is intended to be transformed into a draft resolution deals with both substance and procedure and is bound to affect positions not in alignment with it.
- **67.** The dynamics of the reform process clearly indicate that the P-5 are major stakeholders. It is therefore worthy to note that real negotiations will not commence without their genuine commitment and political will. This genuine commitment and political will is expected to be manifest when the P-5 come up with a common and unified position on the way forward.
- **68.** Whilst the C-10's engagement with the L-69 is on-going, the interest of the Small Island Developing States already reflected in the L-69 and CARICOM draft resolutions deserves attention.
- **69.** However, the continued membership of some African countries of the L-69 is considered by key partners and Member States as lack of cohesiveness of the African Group. Greater attention therefore needs to be paid to addressing the issue of African countries that are within the ranks of the L-69. This has led to procedural questions in regards to the way forward in strengthening the alliance between the C-10 and the L-69 group.
- **70.** The absence of progress and a clear road map perhaps explains the emergence of initiatives in the form of Draft resolutions and Non-papers by various interest groups anxiously desirous of moving the process forward to their advantage: namely the G.4 (Brazil, Germany, India and Japan) Non-paper; the ACT group proposal on the Working Methods of the Security Council, and the L-69 and CARICOM draft resolutions.
- **71.** Both the G-4 and the ACT Group proposals are also inconsistent with the comprehensive and package deal approach of the process and are considered to be based on a "piecemeal" approach, which might potently tend to prejudice and undermine the pursuit of the goals and objectives set out in Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration.
- **72.** Draft resolutions that seem to be similar to the African Group L-67 draft resolution of 2005, are the L-69 and CARICORM draft resolutions with Minor edits and the inclusion of one non-permanent seat dedicated to Small Island Developing States. This addition by the L-69 and CARICOM increases the size to 27. Therefore, the difference between the African draft resolution and the L-69 and CARICOM draft is on size, affected through the inclusion of an additional one non-permanent seat. All other

elements of their draft resolutions are carbon copy of the African Group draft resolution of 2005.

- 73. The difficulty with the L-69 lies with the continued memberships of Brazil and India of the G-4 which has generated concerns about their intentions. Some believe that their true commitment lies with the G-4 position and the idea of tabling a draft resolution is to put the Common African Position to an untimely test without securing a written support by more than two thirds of the membership. This is against the background that they have a fall back plan, which is the G-4 position whilst Africa does not. Any failure of such an attempt will thus put the Common African Position into disrepute and split its membership which will be quickly exploited by the G-4 to their advantage.
- **74.** In that regard, Africa should continue to oppose any piece meal approach that tends to compromise the integrity of the Intergovernmental Negotiations process and undermine comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council.
- **75.** As noted by the Chair's assessment, Decision 62/557 guides the work of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. However, should a vote in the General Assembly be required to adopt a resolution on Security Council reform, it would in accordance with Decision 53/30 require a 2/3 majority vote of the General Assembly and the concurrent vote of all the five permanent members.

IV. CONCLUSION

- **76.** The African Common Position is still valid and viable, and continues to garner strong support from various groups and fora. Africa should therefore continue to be unified in support of its common position and to speak cohesively with one voice on all issues and aspects of the reform process.
- **77.** Outreach efforts by the C-10 continues to gain support for the Common African Position. This was exemplified in the recent general debate and during consultations with Member States. What is required is to build on the gains made by reaching out to Member States who have not openly opposed or criticized the Common African Position but have also expressed support for reform models that are completely at variance with the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration.
- **78.** In that regard, Africa should continue to pursue its position on the need to firstly agree on the principles and criteria of the negotiations vis-à-vis the five negotiable clusters as contained in decision 62/557 as a pathway to achieving a concise agreed text needed to move to the stage of real negotiations.
- **79.** A concerted effort by all African Member States is required to generate the necessary political will to reach a comprehensive solution on Security Council reform. Any piecemeal approach may potentially harm the elements of the Common African Position and divide its membership and in the process, lose its core demands and

potentially undermine the gains made so far, which must be consolidated at this very crucial stage.

- **80.** The G-4 Non-paper should be viewed with great caution and alertness, as it clearly fails to address the veto, which remains key to the Common African Position. The veto, remains to be a cluster on its own in the Compiled Text and in Decision 62/557, the lodestar of the Intergovernmental Negotiations. Also, the patent absence of any reference to either abolishing or according the veto right to new permanent members in the Non-paper could not in any way be taken to address Africa's demands as contained in the Ezulwini consensus and Sirte declaration. There is also a lack of clarity on size and working methods. The G-4 Non-paper did not address these fundamental issues.
- **81.** A potential division within the African Group created by a few but significant African countries who on the one hand are bound by the Common African Position; but on the other hand are members of the L.69 is viewed as threatening to the cohesiveness and unity of the Group.
- **82.** The L-69 and CARICOM continue to advocate for a seat in the non-permanent category dedicated to Small Island Developing States. In order to further strengthen the Common African Position and secure the gains made with these two groups, it will be useful if due attention is given to their interest from which some African States stand to benefit as well.
- **83.** As the demand to correct the historical injustice done to the African continent by its non-representation in the permanent category and its underrepresentation in the non-permanent category in the Security Council gains momentum, so is the need to patiently and effectively intensify efforts in advocating, canvassing and promoting the Common African Position aimed at garnering the widest possible political acceptance. Africa should therefore continue to engage in the Intergovernmental Negotiation and to reject any proposal that has the potential to undermine its core demands and/or to split its ranks.
- **84.** The President, of the General Assembly is determined that progress on the reform process should be made during his presidency. The way forward this session is to work in close collaboration with the President of the General Assembly, the Chair of the Intergovernmental Negotiation and the wider membership to make further progress on text-based negotiations beyond the second revision of the negotiation text.

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2015-01-30

Report of H.E. DR. Ernest Bai Koroma, president of the republic of Sierra Leone and chairperson of the committee of ten on the UN reforms

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