# ARTICLES 108 AND 109

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TEXT OF ARTICLE 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

TEXT OF ARTICLE 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. Articles 108 and 109 constitute, in their entirety, Chapter XVIII of the Charter. Both Articles lay down methods of effecting changes in the Charter, and are therefore considered jointly in this study.

2. The various proposals which have been made to amend the Charter or to convene a general conference to review the Charter, as well as the action taken thereon are reviewed in the General Survey. The questions bearing upon Articles 108 and 109 which have arisen in connexion with the proposals are discussed in the Analytical Summary of Practice. 1/

1/ For the questions concerning the merits of those proposals, see in this Repertory under Articles 27 and 61.
I. GENERAL SURVEY

3. Proposals to amend the Charter or to convene a general conference to review the Charter were submitted as early as the second part of the first session of the General Assembly and again at the second and third sessions. No further proposals have been submitted up to and including the ninth session of the General Assembly.

4. The proposals submitted related to the provisions of Article 108, concerning the method of voting in the Security Council, and to those of Article 109, with regard to the composition of the Economic and Social Council. None of the proposals in question were adopted; they were either rejected, withdrawn, or not put to the vote. Hence, the Charter has not been amended since its adoption and the United Nations has never held a general conference to review the Charter. The only decision taken which bears upon Chapter XVIII is contained in resolution 796 (VIII), by which the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to undertake certain studies to assist it in deciding, at its tenth session, whether a general conference should be held to review the Charter.

5. With regard to the question of the method of voting in the Security Council, the General Assembly, at its first session, allocated the agenda items entitled as follows to its First Committee:

"Calling of General Conference of Members of the United Nations under Article 108 of the Charter in order to eliminate the so-called 'veto privilege'."

"Calling of General Conference of Members of the United Nations under Article 109 of the Charter for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter."

6. The above-mentioned agenda items were considered by the First Committee in conjunction with another item, entitled "Application of Article 27 of the Charter dealing with the method of voting in the Security Council". In the course of the discussion, the representative of the Philippines submitted a draft resolution under the terms of which Article 27 would have been amended, and the representative of Cuba proposed that a general conference be convened to review the Charter. The representative of the Philippines subsequently withdrew his draft resolution in favour of the proposal submitted by the representative of Cuba. However, that proposal was rejected and the resolution actually adopted by the General Assembly made no mention of either a general conference to review the Charter or the question of an amendment to it.

7. Another proposal under the terms of which a general conference would have been convened was submitted by the representative of Argentina at the second session of the General Assembly in connexion with an agenda item entitled "Convocation of a general conference under Article 109 of the Charter to amend the privilege of the veto". The item was considered by the First Committee together with an agenda item entitled

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2/ G A (I/2), 1st Com., 19th-23rd, 33rd and 42nd mtgs.
3/ See para. 16 below.
4/ See para. 21 below.
5/ G A (I/2), 1st Com., 42nd mtg., p. 293.
6/ G A resolution 40 (I).
7/ See para. 26 below.
8/ G A (II), 1st Com., 112th-115th mtgs.
"resolution /9/ of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly in relation to the exercise of the veto in the Security Council and the extent to which the recommendations contained in that resolution have been carried out". A draft resolution under the terms of which the whole problem of the method of voting in the Security Council would be referred to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly was put to the vote before that submitted by the representative of Argentina and was adopted by the Committee. Accordingly, the draft resolution submitted by Argentina was not put to the vote. The draft resolution adopted by the Committee was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly and became resolution 117 (II).

8. In the course of the debate /10/ in the Interim Committee, a proposal /11/ was submitted by the representative of Argentina which as amended /12/ and adopted /13/ by the Interim Committee, read as follows:

"The Interim Committee recommends to the General Assembly to consider at its third regular session whether the time has come or not to call a general conference, as provided for in Article 109 of the Charter."

9. The report /14/ of the Interim Committee on the method of voting in the Security Council was submitted to the General Assembly at the first part of its third session in accordance with the terms of resolution 117 (II), and was considered /15/ by the Ad Hoc Political Committee. A draft resolution /16/ submitted by the representative of Argentina under the terms of which a general conference would have been convened to consider the desirability of revising the Charter was rejected. /17/ The resolution /18/ eventually adopted by the General Assembly on the subject of voting in the Security Council, did not refer to the question whether a general conference should be held to review the Charter.

10. In connexion with the question of the composition of the Economic and Social Council, the representative of Argentina submitted an item entitled "That the number of members of the Economic and Social Council stipulated in Article 61, paragraph 1, be increased to twenty-four (24)" for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly at the second part of its first session. Consideration of the item was deferred, /19/ with the agreement of its sponsor, to the second session of the General Assembly, at which time it was allocated to the Joint Second and Third Committee.

11. During the debate /20/ in the Committee, the representative of Argentina submitted a draft resolution /21/ under the terms of which Article 61 of the Charter would have been amended, but later withdrew /22/ it on the understanding that it would be submitted to the General Assembly at its third session.

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9/ G A resolution 40 (I).
10/ A/AC.18/SR.4, 12 and 15-19.
11/ A/AC.18/71.
12/ A/AC.18/SR.19, p. 11.
13/ Ibid., p. 13.
14/ G A (III), Suppl. No. 10, A/578.
15/ G A (III/1), Ad Hoc Pol. Com., 17th-29th mtgs.
16/ See para. 25 below.
18/ G A resolution 267 (III).
19/ G A (I/2), General Com., 24th mtg., pp. 82-84.
20/ G A (II), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., 19th-20th mtgs.
21/ See para. 18 below.
22/ G A (II), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., 20th mtg., p. 44.
12. The item was thus submitted anew at the third session of the General Assembly and was again allocated to the Joint Second and Third Committee. The representative of Argentina then submitted a draft resolution 23\footnote{See para. 26 below.} under the terms of which a general conference to review Article 61 of the Charter would have been convened and the number of members of the Economic and Social Council increased. During the debate, a\footnote{G A (VIII), Annexes, a.i. 58, 70 and 72, p. 16, A/2559, paras. 8-10.} draft resolution, the text of which did not mention a review conference, was submitted as an alternative. At the request of the representative of Argentina, that draft resolution was put to the vote first and was adopted.\footnote{G A (I/2), 1st Com., pp. 323 and 324, annex 7 a (A/C.1/34).} Consequently, the proposal submitted by the representative of Argentina was not put to the vote.

13. During the debates on the various proposals mentioned above, the view prevailed that the stage at which an amending of the Charter could be considered had not yet been reached. It was held that the Charter should be given a period of trial and that the proposals which had been submitted for the purpose either of amending the Charter or of convening a general conference to review it were therefore premature. With respect to the question of the method of voting in the Security Council, it was asserted that such problems as had arisen were a result of the international political situation and could thus not be solved simply by amending the Charter.

14. In connexion with the provision of Article 109\footnote{G A (III/1), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., 30th-33rd mtgs.} (3) regarding the inclusion in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly of a proposal under the terms of which a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter would be called, the view was expressed by a number of delegations at the eighth session of the General Assembly that it would be desirable to make early preparations so that, at its tenth session, the General Assembly would be in a position to express a considered opinion on whether such a conference should be convened. The matter was raised in the course of the debate on resolution 795 (VIII) at its draft stage and, without committing themselves on the question whether the Charter should be revised, several representatives favoured the convening of the general conference referred to in Article 109 (3). Some representatives went further by asserting that the Charter should be revised, and cited specific provisions which, in their opinion, required modification. On the other hand, the view was expressed that it would be premature to deal with the question of a review of the Charter before the tenth session, and a few representatives warned that proposals made in anticipation of a revision of the Charter would increase international tensions.

II. ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF PRACTICE

A. Procedure for the amendment or review of the Charter

1. Proposals submitted under Article 108

15. Of the various proposals regarding amendments to the Charter referred to in the General Survey, two were submitted to the General Assembly under Article 108.

16. At the second part of the first session of the General Assembly, the representative of the Philippines submitted the following draft resolution 27/\footnote{G A resolution 208 (III).} to the First Committee:
"The General Assembly of the United Nations,

"Noting that the Security Council has failed to reach an agreement on many current and serious problems demanding swift and decisive action;

"Recognizing that the stalemate has resulted from the requirement of unanimity among the five permanent members of the Security Council; and

"Desirous of enlarging the areas of agreement between these five permanent members of the Security Council:

"Resolves that paragraph 3, Article 27, of the Charter be amended in order to read as follows:

'3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of at least three permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.'"

17. The draft resolution was subsequently withdrawn 28/ by its sponsor in favour of a proposal submitted by the representative of Cuba (see paragraph 6 above).

18. At the second session of the General Assembly, the representative of Argentina submitted the following draft resolution to the Joint Second and Third Committee: 29/

"The General Assembly

"Resolves:

"I. To amend Article 61 of the Charter which, upon ratification of this resolution in conformity with Article 108 of the Charter, shall read as follows:

"Article 61

"1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-four Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

"2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, eight members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

"3. At the first election (which shall take place after ratification of this resolution) the General Assembly shall elect six new members, in addition to the six members due for election on expiry of their term of office. The term of office of two of the new members shall expire at the end of the first year and that of two others at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

"4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

28/ G A (I/2), 1st Com., 21st mtg., pp. 102 and 103.
29/ G A (II), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., pp. 73 and 74, annex 6 (A/354). The words underlined constitute amendments of or additions to the text of Article 61.
Paragraphs 19-23 Articles 108 and 109

"5. (Additional paragraph) In electing members of the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly shall take particular account of the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of a stable and efficient international economy, as well as of their ability to co-operate in the solution of world economic and social problems;

19. The draft resolution was withdrawn by its sponsor on the understanding that it would be submitted to the General Assembly at its third session.

2. Proposals for the calling of a general conference under Article 109

20. Of the various proposals referred to in the General Survey concerning the calling of a general conference under Article 109, two related to a review of the Charter while two others were aimed at the amendment of specific Articles.

a. Proposals for a review of the Charter

21. At the second part of the first session of the General Assembly, the representative of Cuba submitted the following proposal:

"The delegation for Cuba to the General Assembly of the United Nations proposes that the General Assembly should resolve:

"1. To convene, in conformity with Article 109 of the Charter, a general conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter of the Organization.

"The said conference should be held at the same place as the second session of the General Assembly in 1947 and should begin work immediately after the conclusion of the Assembly.

"2. To appoint a special committee composed of representatives of all Members of the United Nations which, before 1 February 1947, express their desire to serve on the committee, the said committee to consider and report to the General Assembly what amendments would make the United Nations a more effective instrument to maintain world peace and security, and to invite the organs and agencies of the United Nations and interested official and private organizations to submit to the committee their observations and proposals."

22. The preamble and the first part of the proposal submitted by Cuba were rejected by 26 votes to 8, with 8 abstentions, and the second part was rejected by 21 votes to 13, with 9 abstentions.

23. At the first part of the third session of the General Assembly, the representative of Argentina submitted the following draft resolution:

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30/ G A (II), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., 20th mtg., p. 44.
31/ G A (I/2), 1st Com., pp. 326 and 327, annex 7 d (A/C.1/58).
32/ G A (I/2), 1st Com., 42nd mtg., p. 293.
"The General Assembly,

"Considering that experience has shown the necessity of holding the general conference referred to in Article 109 for the purpose of discussing the advisability of reviewing the Charter,

"Decides to hold a general conference of the United Nations for the purpose of discussing and taking a decision concerning the revision of the Charter;

"Requests the Security Council to pronounce on this question;

"Resolves that, in the event of an affirmative decision by the Security Council, the Secretary-General shall take steps to convene the general conference referred to in Article 109 of the Charter at the headquarters of the United Nations on the first Tuesday of April 1949."

24. The draft resolution was rejected 34/ by 22 votes to 12, with 10 abstentions.

b. PROPOSALS TO AMEND A SPECIFIC ARTICLE

25. Two proposals have been submitted for the purpose of convening a general conference to amend specific Articles of the Charter.

26. At the second session of the General Assembly, the representative of Argentina submitted the following draft resolution: 35/

"The General Assembly

Resolves

1. To convene a general conference of the Members of the United Nations in conformity with Article 109 of the Charter, for the purpose of studying the privilege of the veto granted to the five permanent members of the Security Council, with a view to its abolition as a result of the experience acquired in its application and of the necessity of adjusting the action of the United Nations to the purposes and principles laid down in Chapter I of the San Francisco Charter, in so far as they concern the juridical equality of States and the maintenance of international peace.

2. The conference shall begin its work three days after the termination of the second regular session of the General Assembly."

27. The draft resolution was not put to the vote (see paragraph 7 above).

28. At the first part of the third session of the General Assembly, the representative of Argentina submitted the following draft resolution: 36/

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that the time has come to increase the number of members of the Economic and Social Council,

"Resolves:

"(1) To convene, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter XVII, Article 109, of the Charter, a general conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing Chapter X, Article 61, relating to the composition of the Economic and Social Council, and raising the total number of its members to twenty-four;

"(2) The sole business of the said conference shall be to consider the amendment in question and the consequential procedure for incorporating the new members.

29. During the debate 37/ on that draft resolution, the view was expressed that the proposal should have been submitted under Article 108 rather than under Article 109. It was held that proposals to amend a single Article came under Article 108.

30. The draft resolution was not put to the vote (see paragraph 12 above).

B. The powers of the General Assembly in respect of the calling of a general conference to review the Charter

1. Competence to prescribe the terms of reference of the conference

31. During the discussion, 38/ at the first part of the third session of the General Assembly, of the draft resolution submitted by Argentina (see paragraph 28 above) there was objection to the second paragraph of the draft text on the ground that any such limitation on the powers of the conference as stipulated in that paragraph would constitute an encroachment on the powers of the general conference and would, for that reason, be contrary to the Charter.

2. Competence to undertake preparatory work

32. In addition to the proposal submitted by Cuba at the first session of the General Assembly (see paragraph 21 above), proposals to undertake preparatory work with regard to the possible holding of a general conference to review the Charter were submitted at the eighth session of the General Assembly. These proposals expressly referred to Article 109 (3) of the Charter.

33. After discussion of these various proposals, 39/ the Sixth Committee adopted a draft resolution 40/ submitted by Argentina, Canada, Cuba, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Pakistan. The draft resolution was adopted in an amended form by the General Assembly and became resolution 796 (VIII), which read as follows:

37/ G A (III/1), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., 30th-33rd mtgs.
38/ G A (III/1), Joint 2nd and 3rd Com., 30-33rd mtgs.
39/ See paras. 34-36 below.
40/ G A (VIII), Annexes, a.i. 58, 70 and 72, p. 11, A/C.6/L.306/Rev.2.
"The General Assembly,

"Having regard to the provisions of Article 109 of the Charter under which a proposal to hold a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter is to be placed on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly if such a conference has not been held before that session,

"Considering that the examination of such a proposal will require considerable preparation on the part of both the Secretary-General and Member States,

"Considering that study of the legislative history of the Charter and of the practice followed by the various organs of the United Nations is one of the best methods of acquiring knowledge of the Charter and will greatly facilitate the General Assembly's consideration, at its tenth annual session, of the question of calling a General Conference,

"Having regard to the memorandum by the Secretary-General,

"Requests the Secretary-General to prepare, publish and circulate among the Member States during 1954, or shortly thereafter:

(a) A systematic compilation of the documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization not yet published;

(b) A complete index of the documents of that Conference on the lines envisaged in part II and part III C of the memorandum by the Secretary-General;

(c) A repertory of the practice of United Nations organs appropriately indexed."

Various proposals under the terms of which the United Nations would have undertaken other forms of preparatory work were also submitted, but were not adopted. A draft resolution, 41/ submitted by Costa Rica and Egypt and subsequently withdrawn, 42/ read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having regard to the provision of Article 109, paragraph 3, of the Charter,

"Mindful of the fact that the General Assembly in compliance with this provision may decide to hold a General Conference for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter,

"Recognizing that the examination of the proposal to hold this General Conference would require considerable preparatory work,

"Recognizing further that the work and deliberations of this General Conference - in case the General Assembly should decide to convene it - would be considerably facilitated if a comprehensive study were made of the provisions of the Charter as applied by the various organs of the United Nations.

41/ Ibid., A/C.6/L.305.
42/ GA (VIII), 6th Com., 374th mtg., para. 6.
Paragraphs 35-36

"1. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare all the relevant documents and materials necessary for the preparatory work and the study mentioned above;

"2. Decides to establish an advisory committee composed of fifteen Member States to assist the Secretary-General in the preparatory work necessary for the possible convening for the General Conference referred to in Article 109, paragraph 3, of the Charter;

"3. Requests this Committee to:

(a) Prepare a questionnaire to be circulated by the Secretary-General to the Member States to ascertain their preliminary views on what they may deem appropriate for the purpose of the General Conference referred to in Article 109 of the Charter;

(b) Receive, examine, analyse and co-ordinate the views expressed by the Member States;

(c) Report to the General Assembly not later than 30 June 1955;

"4. Invites the Member States to submit their views on the questionnaire communicated to them by the Secretary-General."

35. The six-Power draft resolution, as originally submitted, embodied two additional paragraphs which read as follows:

"2. Invites the Member States to submit, preferably not later than 31 March 1955, their preliminary views with regard to the possible review of the Charter;

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to circulate these preliminary views to Member States as soon as they have been submitted."

An amendment under the terms of which these two paragraphs would be deleted was submitted by Belgium, Colombia, France and Mexico. The provision of the amendment calling for the deletion of paragraph 2 was adopted by 24 votes to 23, with 5 abstentions. As a result, the provision of the amendment relating to paragraph 3 was automatically adopted, and that paragraph was considered deleted.

36. Under the terms of an amendment to the original six-Power draft resolution submitted by Panama, the two additional paragraphs reproduced in paragraph 35 above would have been replaced by the following text:

"2. Invites the Member States to submit, preferably not later than 31 March 1955, their objections to the Charter and their views with regard to the possible review of the Charter;

43/ G A (VIII), Annexes, a.i. 58, 70 and 72, p. 12, A/C.6/L.306/Rev.2.
45/ G A (VIII), 6th Com., 379th mtg., para. 22.
46/ Ibid., para. 38.
47/ G A (VIII), Annexes, a.i. 58, 70 and 72, p. 13, A/C.6/L.310.
Requests the Secretary-General to circulate these objections and preliminary views to Member States as soon as they have been submitted, so that each Member State can express its opinion thereon;

Instructs the Secretary-General to submit all the above documentation to the General Assembly at its session in 1955 so that the Assembly can consider whether a General Conference should be convened to take a definitive decision regarding such amendments to the Charter as may be necessary and advisable.

In view of the decision noted in paragraph 36 above, the amendment was not put to a vote.

Apart from the above-mentioned proposals and amendments which related to the preparatory work for a general conference, an amendment was submitted by Belgium, Colombia, France and Mexico under the terms of which any reference to Article 109 would have been deleted from the preamble to the six-Power draft resolution and the following text substituted for the original preamble:

"Considering that any measure likely to lead to a more thorough knowledge of the Charter is conducive to the efficient functioning of the United Nations,

"Considering that a study of the preparatory work on the Charter and of the practice followed by the various organs of the United Nations is one of the best methods of acquiring knowledge of the Charter,

"Considering that such a study may be made with the help of the official documents by the Secretary-General of the United Nations."

That amendment reflected the position taken by some representatives on the question of whether the General Assembly was competent to undertake the various forms of preparatory work contemplated in the proposals referred to above, a point which arose during the discussion in the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly.

In the course of the discussion, the question was raised whether the General Assembly was competent to undertake any preparatory work for the general conference to review the Charter mentioned in Article 109 (3). The views set forth below were among those expressed in support of the position that the General Assembly was not competent to undertake the preparatory work in question. (1) The only function vested in the General Assembly under Article 109 was that of deciding whether a general conference should be convened to review the Charter, and the date and place thereof. (2) The provisions of Article 10 were governed by those of Article 109. (3) No certainty existed that the conference mentioned in Article 109 (3) would be held, and any decision made on the assumption that it would be held would be contrary to the provisions of Article 109.

On the other hand, the views set forth below were among those expressed. (1) The terms of Article 10 and Article 109 (1) were sufficiently broad to enable the General

48/ Ibid., p. 13, A/2559, para. 28.
49/ G A (VIII), Annexes, a.i. 58, 70 and 72, p. 12, A/C.6/L.307.
Assembly to undertake preparatory work for the possible holding of a general conference to review the Charter. (2) The terms of Article 109 in no way limited the powers of the General Assembly under Article 10. (3) Under the provisions of Article 108, the power of amendment was vested in the General Assembly itself. Accordingly, it was hardly possible that the Charter would in the very next Article limit the power of the General Assembly with regard to a general conference to review the Charter.

41. Upon being put to the vote, 51/ the amendment was rejected.

C. Ratifications required for the entry into force of revisions of the Charter

42. In the course of the various discussions on the proposals to amend the Charter or to convene a general conference to review it, a majority of the representatives expressed the view that, under the provisions of Articles 108 and 109, no change could be made in the present Charter without the approval of each of the permanent members of the Security Council. 52/

43. However, a different view was expressed by a few representatives during the discussion 53/ in the Interim Committee of the General Assembly referred to in paragraph 8 above. They considered that the Charter, after being revised by a general conference called for that purpose, would become a new treaty which would incorporate its own provisions on the method of its ratification. This new treaty would then come into force in accordance with those provisions irrespective of the provisions of Articles 108 and 109 of the present Charter.

51/ Ibid., 380th mtg., pp. 104 and 105.
52/ See, for example, G A (VIII), Annexes, a.i. 58, 70 and 72, p. 16 A/2559, para. 8.
53/ A/AC.18/SR.4, 12 and 15-19.
Chapter XIX

RATIFICATION AND SIGNATURE